BYZANTINE ATHENS, 10th - 12th Centuries

CHARALAMBOS BOURAS

ROUTLEDGE

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In this masterful synthesis, Charalambos Bouras draws together material and textual evidence for Athens in the Middle Byzantine period, from the mid-tenth century to 1204, when it was conquered by Crusaders. What emerges from his meticulous investigation is an urban fabric surprisingly makeshift in its domestic sector yet exuberantly creative in its ecclesiastical architecture. Rather than viewing the city as a mere shadow of its ancient past, Bouras demonstrates how Athens remained an important city of the Byzantine Empire as the seat of a metropolitan, home to local aristocracy, and pilgrimage destination for those who came to worship at the Christian Parthenon. *Byzantine Athens* explores the relationship of the Byzantine infrastructure to earlier configurations, shedding light on the water supply, industrial facilities, streets and fortifications of medieval Athens, and exploring the evidence for the form and typology of Byzantine houses. Thanks to Bouras's indefatigable study of all available archaeo-logical reports the first part of the book offers an overall picture of the Middle Byzantine city. The second part presents a fully documented and illustrated catalogue of nearly 40 churches, including synthetic treatments of their typology and morphology set in the wider Byzantine architectural context. Finally, Bouras joins his unrivalled knowledge of the surviving remains and exhaustive scrutiny of the relevant scholarship to offer a historical interpretation of the Athenian monuments. *Byzantine Athens* is a unique achievement that will remain an invaluable compendium of our knowledge of one of the most complex, yet relatively unknown, Byzantine cities.

Professor Charalambos Bouras (1933–2016) was a scholar of international

recognition who taught History of Architecture in the Universities of Thessaloniki and Athens for 35 years. In addition to his ground breaking research as a specialist in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine architecture, he also made significant contributions to the understanding of ancient architecture. He was the President of the Committee for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments, and a member and vice-president of the Board of Trustees of the Benaki Museum, Athens. He passed away in July 2016 during the final preparation of this English edition of *Byzantine Athens*.

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Charalambos Bouras

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Foreword

Athens, one of the most celebrated cities of the ancient world, renowned for its unsurpassed cultural standards in art, architecture, writing, learning and philosophy, as well as for being the birthplace of democracy, retains its ancient reputation, despite periods of decline that have repeatedly threatened its survival, occasionally bringing it to the very brink. The history of Athens, through the two and a half millennia of its existence, oscillating from the peaks of glory to the depths of its declines, has left a checkered record of its past. Books on Athens are numerous, especially those dealing with antiquity, as well as those dealing with the modern era. The history of the intervening centuries of Athens, especially between the eighth and the nineteenth centuries, is far more opaque. It has left fewer written records, while its shrunken urban fabric has preserved a far smaller number of buildings, physically miniscule compared to the grand monuments of antiquity and those of the modern era whose architecture was often inspired by the city's glorified ancient heritage. Books on Athens associated with the Byzantine Empire, the Frankish rule, the occupation of the Catalans and under the Ottoman Empire, relatively speaking, are very few.

Outstanding among the books on Athens between pagan antiquity and the post-Byzantine era is the book by Charalambos Bouras, *Byzantine Athens, 10th–12th Centuries*, first published in Greek (Athens, 2010), whose updated English edition is presented here. Despite the paucity of historical accounts, with their frequently questionable assessments of the city they were describing, but making full use of the results of modern archaeology, Charalambos Bouras has reconstructed a remarkably vivid image of Athens, especially during the centuries of the Middle Byzantine Empire. Conceptually

comparable to the book on Rome, the other great city of pagan antiquity, written by Richard Krautheimer, under the title *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), Athens emerges from its own 'dark age' era – as a shrunken and depressed medieval city is magisterially presented in a new light, which past critics had either failed to recognize, or intentionally denied that such bright moments in its history actually ever existed between the 'peaks' of its 'ancient glory' and its 'pre-modern' rebirth.

Bouras's Athens, much like Krautheimer's Rome, following a third-century crisis and Constantine the Great's acceptance of Christianity as a new state religion in 313, was confronted with considerable pagan resistance in its midst. Additionally battered by 'barbarian' invasions from the third through the fourth century, Athens experienced gradual Christianization in the fifth and sixth centuries, but underwent its own 'dark age' decline during the eighth and ninth centuries. This was followed by three centuries of medieval recovery, from the mid-tenth century to the Frankish occupation in 1204, a period that effectively frames the essence of Bouras's *Byzantine Athens*.

Confronted with a twentieth-century growth and explosion of archaeological excavations, albeit predominantly driven by desire to retrieve as much information as possible about the ancient city, their results increasingly in the course of time began to take notice of the intervening strata of the city during more than a millennium-long life as a peripheral town of the Byzantine Empire. Though numerous and carefully recorded, archaeological reports predominantly refrained from broader analyses and generally contributed very little to the comprehensive understanding of the Byzantine city. Pointing to the synthetic analysis of topography and architecture of medieval Athens by John Travlos in Chapter 8 of his book, *Πολεοδομική ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1960), Bouras singled out Travlos's contribution as the first of its kind, outlining foundations for the understanding of previously unknown Middle Byzantine Athens.

Bouras's book, published fifty years later, is a result of carefully gathered and researched material, primarily based on extensive archaeological excavations induced by a variety of factors affecting the growth of the modern city. Among these stand out excavations for the Metro construction,

that yielded especially valuable insights into the history of the city from its origins to the present. Other invaluable archaeological information was produced by large-scale excavations in areas, such as those within the ancient Agora, providing insights of special importance for the understanding of the city in antiquity, but also in areas where urban changes over time retained specific significant links to the main roads and streets over long periods of time. Important elements of continuity of urban fabric through centuries, in other respects, reveal discontinuities brought about by different patterns of urban life revealing the making of Middle Byzantine Athens.

In addition to the enduring matrix of the principal roads, features such as the city walls with strategically placed strong city gates defined aspects of the city in differing terms over time. Parts of the three lines of city walls have been partially preserved and recorded. The longest and the oldest of these – the so-called Themistoklean Wall – may have survived (in part at least) possibly until the Latin conquest of the city in 1204, but its practical use may have been minimal from it origins on account of its length that could not be effectively manned. Much shorter in length was the hastily constructed Late Roman, so-called 'Post-Herulian wall', built shortly after the devastating Herulian raid of A.D. 267, that fortified the area known as Plaka, on the north side below the Acropolis of Athens. Subsequently, it was extended by another stretch, along the southern flank below the Acropolis, known as Rizokastro.

The shortest, but by far the strongest, fortified section of the city walls enveloped the majestic Acropolis, rising atop a huge rocky formation that dominated the city in antiquity, as it still does today. The Acropolis is renowned predominantly on account of the Temple of Athena Parthenos, one of the most famous architectural monuments in the world, which was neither the sole reason for its origin, nor for its various other functions throughout its history. It goes without saying that the Parthenon shared the fate of the city of Athens throughout its history, as the eternal symbol of its glory and tragedy. From its origins tied to the city, the Acropolis, as was the case in many similar ancient cities, was intended to provide a secure shelter for the city inhabitants in times of crises. The Athenian Acropolis, on the other hand, being located in the very heart of the ancient settlement, was also the most important center of

the city's religious life, focused on the temple dedicated to its chief protectress – the goddess Athena Parthenos. Throughout its long history, the Acropolis witnessed scores of different responses in blending military, religious, and secular functions. Severely damaged at different moments of its history by fires, explosions, plundering and physical defacement, during the last century and a half the Acropolis has become a historical monument par excellence, undergoing a series of restoration undertakings whose conceptual aim has essentially been its return to its original state, substantially from the fifth century B.C. The very process of this general goal has yielded many mistakes in judgment, in technical matters and so forth, but, especially during the last decades of the twentieth century until the present, it has become one of the most impressive achievements in the history of architectural restoration that, in its own right, constitutes a major historical landmark.

At the helm of this project, from its beginning in 1975, stood the author of the present book, Charalambos Bouras, Professor Emeritus of the National Technical University of Athens, an architectural historian of major international distinction, whose knowledge and experience span fields from Ancient, Byzantine, Western Medieval, Renaissance, to the Modern. These are amply reflected in his teaching record at the university and in his published works that blend a profound understanding of disciplines, from history, archaeology, architecture, topography, urban planning and sculpture – above all through his books – *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια με νευρώσεις* (Athens 1965), *Ἡ ἀναστήλωσις τῆς στοᾶς τῆς Βραυρῶνος* (Athens 1967), *Νέα Μονή Χίου. Ἱστορία καί ἀρχιτεκτονική* (Athens 1985), (with Laskarina Boura) *Ἑλλαδική ναοδομία κατά τόν 12ο αἰῶνα* (Athens 2002), and *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture in Greece* (Athens 2006). Undoubtedly, outstanding among his published books is *Byzantine Athens, 10th–12th Centuries*, his latest achievement, in which his knowledge of different fields of architectural history and his mastery of the related disciplines fully come to the fore in making medieval Athens accessible to its readers. Its superb English translation, by Elizabeth Key Fowden, brings the subject matter ever more closely to a broad audience deserving of this revelation of Athens's hitherto unknown past. With it, a comprehensive general history of the great city of

Athens, along with its ‘dark-age lacuna’, genuinely becomes a major new desideratum.

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Charalambos Bouras

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations are used for frequently cited works. Other bibliographical references appear in full in the notes.

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Periodicals and Lexica

AAA	*Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*
ABME	*Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*
ΑΕΜΘ	*Τό ἀρχαιολογικό ἔργο στήν Μακεδονία καί τήν Θράκη*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
Arch. Anz.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ArchDelt	*Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*
ArchEph	*Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς*
ArtB	*Art Bulletin*
ASAtene	*Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente BCH Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher*
BSA	*The Annual of the British School of Athens*
Byz. Forsch.	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Cah. Arch.	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
DChAE	*Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
ΔΙΕΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καί Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΕΕΠΣ ΑΠΘ	*Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ*

	Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
ΕΕΣτΜ	*Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν*
Ἐκκλησίες	Σπουδαστήριο Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ΕΜΠ, *Ἐκκλησίες στήν Ἑλλάδα μετά τήν Ἅλωση* Α' (1979); Β' (1982); Γ' (1989); Δ' (1994); Ε' (1998); Στ' (2002).
EMME	*Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens 1927–33)
Ἔργον	*Τό Ἔργον τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologische Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
Journal RIBA	*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
LSJ	H. G. Lidell, R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford[9] 1940) *ΝΕ Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford 1991)
Prakt	*Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
PraktAkAth	*Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*
PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca* (Paris 1857–1866)
PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina* (Paris 1841–1855)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RbK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
RendLinc	*Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*

TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini

Single word titles, such as *Ἀθηνᾶ*, *Βυζαντινά*, *Βυζαντιακά*, *Δωδώνη*, *Ἑλληνικά*, *Θησαυρίσματα, Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά, Πελοποννησιακά*, *Σύμμεικτα*, *Byzantion*, *Zograf* and so forth, are not abbreviated.

1
Introduction

Previous research and scholarship

Very little remains of Middle Byzantine Athens compared to what has survived from the ancient city. We have, on the one hand, material remains amounting to a modest number of churches as well as the sad relics of buildings brought to light through excavation and, on the other hand, written sources which are unclear, few in number and have to be extracted from a variety of contemporary or later texts. Despite the fact that life continued in Athens over the course of millennia, we are not in a position to recapture an important period in the city's history as a living organism[1] on account of centuries of serious decline or radical changes, but also because we lack archival sources, the result of the political and administrative discontinuity the country has undergone since 1204.

Inevitably, comparison of medieval Athens with the glorious city of antiquity has always been, and continues to be, diminishing to the former. However, comparison with other provincial Middle Byzantine cities in the empire shows Athens to have been an important center with a literally impregnable fortress, relatively large population, metropolitan see, pan-Hellenic pilgrimage site and prestige that did not go unappreciated by educated people of that day. The state of our knowledge and understanding today make it possible for us to appreciate the existence over time of landscapes and ancient monuments, both around and inside the medieval city, that were preserved in a much better condition in the Middle Byzantine

period than today. Furthermore, the great transformation and destruction of what Byzantine monuments had survived, as well as the natural environment, took place after the Greek War of Independence and the creation of the new Greek state – in other words, in a recent and quite well-known period.

Studies of Christian Athens, especially those focused on the urban plan and monuments of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, are numerous. These studies have largely taken the form of articles; they are usually incomplete, some are not up to date, and quite commonly they fail to engage with other studies. Few are synthetic in nature, and those that are concern themselves more with the city's history and less with its topography and architecture. The information provided by the written sources is either limited or very well known, and has been used in previous studies. By contrast, the archaeological evidence, even though it is constantly growing, has not been adequately exploited by scholars. Moreover, studies using this evidence are primarily descriptive and do not address architectural issues.

The most important synthetic work on the topography and architecture of medieval Athens is still a chapter in a book published by John Travlos in 1960 about the development of the Athenian urban plan.[2] While more recent studies[3] on the same subject may be well-informed, they tend to be overviews in article form that make minimal and only selective use of newer, more specialized publications. Only a very few Athenian churches have been satisfactorily published. The architecture of most of these has become known through the *Index of the Medieval Monuments of Greece* (*Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*)[4] (1929, 1933). The significant progress represented by the publications of the American School is focused on Athenian monuments from antiquity and only a few from the medieval period. The same has been true of the hundreds of so-called 'rescue' excavations that have been carried out in the city from 1960 onwards and published in the *Chronika* of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*. Unfortunately, these publications typically present only general information and do not offer architectural interpretations of the finds.[5] Much new information has come to light thanks to the publication of catalogues of permanent museum collections and temporary exhibitions, or albums with photographs from archives found

primarily outside Greece.

The state of research and publication led me to conclude that a new study of the medieval city of Athens would be an original and at the same time useful contribution. What is needed is a synthetic work that assembles not only the unexploited primary material, but also older evidence reconsidered and evaluated on the basis of more recent findings with an eye to Byzantine architecture and urban planning. Furthermore, this new study should draw the necessary correlations and attempt a historical interpretation of the monuments using both older and more recent historical studies.

The chronological boundaries of the present study embrace the three centuries of medieval Byzantine prosperity from approximately the mid-tenth century to the Frankish occupation in 1204. In the case of certain monuments, reference will be made to earlier building phases, primarily after iconoclasm. The outermost topographical boundaries have been extended somewhat in order to include comment on three important monasteries, of Kaisariani, Hagios Georgios known as the Omorfi Ekklesia at Galatsi, and the Monastery of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos of the Philosophers on Mt Hymettus.

The written sources

The written sources for medieval Athens, as for other contemporary cities in Greece, are very few. The information they contain regarding the city's topography and architecture is even more exiguous and, in the main, indirect. Consequently, the written sources contribute more towards our understanding of the city's ecclesiastical, economic and social history and only indirectly its built environment. Some sources dating from the Frankish period after 1204, and even some from the Ottoman period, are of interest when they refer to past affairs.

Inscriptions and graffiti that have survived to our day contain useful information, mainly about the dating of certain monuments and their founders. They also preserve information about the city's history that may be

of indirect use. Without exception they have all been transcribed and commented upon in earlier publications. Coins and associated portable finds are useful for the dating of buildings discovered through excavation, although investigation of these objects does not fall within the scope of the present study.

Discussion of the above evidence can be found at the relevant places in this study, both in the course of my investigation of particular monuments and in my historical commentary on and interpretation of the built environment of that time. Here, as a start, I present what can be understood as a synthetic catalogue of these monuments and their environs.

The richest source of information for medieval Athens is to be found in the writings of Metropolitan Michael Choniates[6] that include orations, letters, treatises, addresses and verse. These have been repeatedly published[7] and commented upon and have provided the basic documentation for all modern studies[8] of the condition of Athens, as well as southern Greece, at the end of the twelfth century. Choniates's generalizations, his negative view of provincial life and his endless complaints give a quite different impression from the picture of economic prosperity in Greece[9] that can be derived from other sources in the period just before the arrival of the Franks. This situation raises doubts over Choniates's credibility. The *History* written by his brother Niketas also provides some information about the city's fate in the same period.

A fragment of a *Praktikon*[10] recording properties in the Athens area, and preserved by chance, contains very interesting data about the topography of Attica before 1204, including toponyms, physical boundaries, names of residents, economic data and other information indirectly related to the city. Several names of Athenians are attested in another similar document, the *Ktematologion* (land register) of Thebes.[11] Information about monuments still preserved in the Middle Byzantine period can also be discovered in sources from the Late Antiquity.[12] For example, a codex from the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai that was published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus[13] contains addresses and letters referring to the known hierarchs in Athens and,

indirectly, to the Christian Parthenon. The *Life of Hosios Loukas*[14] also contains indirect information about Athens and mainland Greece more generally in the tenth century. We find scattered information about Athens during the three subsequent centuries in Skylitzes's *Chronicle*[15] and in the letters of Ioannes Apokaukos.[16] Venetian sources,[17] as well as an *acta* of Pope Innocent III,[18] preserve occasional information about subjects relating to Athens immediately after 1204. Sources concerned with the metropolis of Athens, its metropolitans and other church officials in the Middle Byzantine period have also been published and commented upon.[19] These sources will be discussed below as part of the investigation of the condition of the Church in Athens.

The Middle Byzantine inscriptions preserved in Athens are either incorporated into particular architectural monuments (Hagioi Theodoroi, Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, Hagia Aikaterine, Hagios Ioannes Mangoutes, the *katholikon* of the monastery of the Hagios Ioannes Kynegos of the Philosophers), or they are isolated inscriptions derived from monuments that were destroyed (the church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, Sts Kosmas and Damianos) in Halandri and tou Stavrou (of the Cross) at Aigaleo, the tower of Metropolitan Leo, an architrave from the Acropolis, or even funerary monuments that refer to a no longer extant monastery (of the Megale Panagia and the Hagia Triada). The graffiti come from buildings that are still standing and are often difficult to read and transcribe, but have proven to be of critical importance for the dating of certain buildings or historic events (the Parthenon, Propylaia, Hephaisteion, Soteira Lykodemou, Hagios Asomatos sta Skalia).

In later texts, especially the accounts of travelers starting with al-Idrisi[20] in the twelfth century, there is scattered information about the city of Athens and its monuments that later increases in volume as Europeans become interested in classical antiquity. References to Byzantine monuments are rare, but what interests us is information these sources provide about the state of preservation of ancient buildings that are lost today but were certainly still standing in the medieval period. In various Byzantine texts we find indirect reference to the cult of the Theotokos and pilgrimage to the Parthenon,

transformed into a church dedicated to her and to which we have devoted a special section.

The physical environment of Athens

It is not necessary to describe the physical environment of medieval Athens, since very little had changed from ancient times until the 1840s when the inhabitants began to open new roads, erect large buildings in the city and scar the surrounding hillsides with quarries.

The Acropolis, the Areopagus, Mt Lykabettos, Mt Ardettos, the Agrai (the rising ground across the Ilissos River), and the hills of the Muses (Philopappos), the Nymphs (the Observatory) and the Kolonos Agoraios (the so-called Theseion) formed the city's immediate natural surroundings. The eastern boundary was the small valley through which the Ilissos flowed until it met the Kifissos a considerable distance downstream and to the southwest. It is unknown whether these two rivers had water year round in the medieval period. A tributary to the Ilissos was the Kallirrhoe spring[21] near the Temple of Olympian Zeus (the Olympieion), while in the vicinity of the ancient Lyceum arose the Eridanos[22] or, rather, in it converged waters arising from the foothills of Mt Lykabettos.[23] Already from antiquity, the section of the Eridanos located at the northern edge of the Athenian Agora was artificially covered and certainly continued to function[24] in the Middle Byzantine period. It passed through the small valley of the Kerameikos, along the ruins(?) of the Sacred Gate[25] and debouched into the Ilissos to the southwest of the city.

In the limestone rock of the western hills, the Areopagus and the Acropolis, there were caves. In some of these there were also springs (such as in the Klepsydra cave on the north slope, or the Asklepieion cave), while in others chapels had been built (such as that dedicated to Hagios Ioannes Chrysostomos in the cave of Pan and to Hagia Marina on the hill of the Nymphs). Although the *Praktikon* refers to many cultivated fields within the walls and even a 'forest' near the Kerameikos gate, we should probably

envision the natural setting of the medieval city as quite bare, not unlike it was depicted by Stademann[26] after the Greek War of Independence.

Michael Choniates, who knew the ancient Greek sources, did not expect the uneducated Athenians of his day to preserve ancient names.[27] He himself, however, recognized besides the Acropolis, the names of Piraeus,[28] 'honey-colored' Hymettos,[29] Areios Pagos,[30] Kallirrhoe,[31] Lykeion[32] and other 'immovable works of nature'.[33]

We possess no information about the routes of access into Middle Byzantine Athens. Clearly the roads from the Peloponnese and the area around Thebes ended up in the vicinity of Eleusis, whence travelers entered the Athens basin along the Sacred Way, which traversed the valley north of Mt Aigaleo where the Daphni monastery was located.[34] However, the main lines of communication were by sea, for the transport of both goods and people. The *Praktikon* mentions the 'χωρίον (village or site) Piraeus', but nothing about the large natural harbor that was apparently not considered worthy of mention among the period's centers of production.[35] Michael Choniates assures us that the wider region '… did not lack good bays, on both sides of the Peloponnesian Isthmus and of the Euripus…'.[36] Indeed, from the *Life of Hosios Loukas* we learn that journeys to and from Italy were made via the Gulf of Corinth and through the isthmus in the direction of the Aegean[37] and Piraeus, where an official called an 'Athenarchos' inspected those traveling to the capital.[38] It must be remembered that the small craft of those days did not venture far from the shore[39] so that those coming from Constantinople and Thessalonica would pass through the Euripos strait and coast along the eastern shores of Attica in order to reach Corinth or Monemvasia.[40] Choniates himself describes his travels by sea to Chalcis, Eretria, Aulis and Kea.[41]

General overview of the urban plan of medieval Athens

At the risk of seeming to get the cart before the horse, it is necessary to set out a general overview of the form and nature of the medieval city even before the primary evidence is considered. As we stated earlier in the introduction, a well-rounded understanding of our subject is hindered by the serious gaps in our knowledge with regard to the demographic conditions as well as the structure of provincial society and many of the important institutions in our period. Consequently, the role of the archaeological record is that much greater, despite the various reasons[42] for caution[43] that are valid for Athens as elsewhere.

In our overall picture of Athens in the Middle Byzantine period, as in the later years of foreign rule, the Acropolis fortress dominated the city. The part of the city that was fortified in Late Antiquity was extended slightly to the north and south, and in this new zone, across a relatively extensive area, the new Middle Byzantine residential neighborhoods spread out, but always within confines of the ancient city. Monasteries and isolated churches were built in this general area where the outer Roman fortification circuit seems to have served more as a boundary marker than a defensive wall.

The factors influencing urban development in medieval Athens, which will be examined indirectly[44] in what follows, can be briefly described as:

The geomorphology, physical environment and natural resources.
The existing remains of the ancient and Late Antique city.
The economy, relation to the hinterland and secondary production and, finally, the urban plan.

On the basis of the archaeological finds, we can be certain that Athens underwent significant change during the period under investigation, with the spread of settlement into areas that had remained uninhabited from the seventh to approximately the second half of the tenth century. The city expanded beyond the Post-Herulian wall in all directions. There is no evidence that the expansion was based on a merging with a preexistent secondary residential core, or that there were certain limits inside the Valerianic wall. The density of the urban tissue in these new neighborhoods, especially in the Agora, is not what we would expect. It is clear not only that Athens lost its monumental character as a result of the Herulian invasion, but

also that the urban landscape which developed in the course of the city's last period of prosperity in the fifth and sixth centuries proved transitory.[45] The archaeological remains also bear witness to the fact that, in the period under review, the city came to resemble many densely built residential units interspersed with open spaces (such as the Tzykanisterion, or polo field) and cultivated tracts,[46] despite not having walls to limit them. The survival from antiquity of many roads created as the result of an earlier period of dynamic growth also lent the medieval urban fabric an irregular plan. Finally, the same archaeological finds show that the houses were small in size and cheaply constructed (recycling building materials and putting to new use ancient walls, pavements, wells etc.). The constructions remind us of what Theodoros II Laskaris would say a little later about Pergamon, another ancient city that had seen better days.[47]

Within the urban landscape of Athens during the period under discussion, the main point of reference was, of course, the looming presence of the Parthenon and its importance as a church. But we do not know the exact character of the citadel's circuit wall, with its tower (or towers) and its supplementary fortifications, mainly at its western end. The churches, and especially their domes, were visible from afar on account of the small dimensions of the surrounding houses and the rise of the land. They did not occupy critical positions in the city such as hilltops or other natural elevations, but were woven into the urban fabric and, in the case of monasteries, surrounded by enclosure walls. It is not known how the Post-Herulian wall was incorporated into the urban fabric at this time or how much of its original height was preserved.

The difficulty of investigating the part of the city enclosed by the Post-Herulian wall and the fact that some areas were left undeveloped because of the sharp incline of the terrain,[48] combined with the scattered character of the built-up areas outside the walls, have all obstructed attempts to calculate the inhabited surface area. But even if we knew the total area, it would in no way enable us to calculate the number of inhabitants, as has often been noted.[49]

Our ignorance of the number of inhabitants in medieval Athens is indeed the great gap in our knowledge. It remains unknown why in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries there was a great expansion of housing and, at the end of the same period, a gradual abandonment of the city, as witnessed by Michael Choniates.[50] Neither do we know whether the few Athenian aristocratic families, and in general the ruling class, who here as elsewhere in Byzantium preferred city life, were confined to particular neighborhoods.[51] It is nearly certain that there was no Jewish quarter, since there is no evidence for the existence of Jews in Athens,[52] which was not, in any case, among the places visited by Benjamin of Tudela.[53] Neither can the presence of foreign merchants be verified[54] despite the fact that Athens was among the cities where Venice enjoyed trading privileges.

It is unclear when Athens was capital of the theme and seat of the *strategos* of Hellas.[55] It certainly was not at the end of the twelfth century.[56] In any case, there is no evidence in Athens for buildings related to a *strategos* such as a praetorium, prison, customs office or other administrative buildings. It is very likely that transfer of the administrative center from the city to the Acropolis had already been made in the Dark Ages, while the buildings related to the self-government of city-states had long since ceased to exist. The establishment of officials on the Acropolis can be confirmed at the end of our period by the residence of the metropolitan in the Propylaia[57] once they had relegated to him many administrative responsibilities, as we shall see below.

From neither the written sources nor the archaeological remains does it emerge that Athens had a 'Mesi', in other words, a central street lined on both sides with venues for a range of commercial activities, and off which one gained access to some important place of worship, as in Thessalonica[58] or Serres.[59] Such a street might have been the one that crossed the Library of Hadrian from west to east, alongside the Megale Panagia, but this is simply conjecture. Moreover, we do not know whether a processional way (*opsikion*) had been established in connection with the pilgrimage to the Virgin in the Parthenon. It is possible that such a road coincided with the last section of the Panathenaic Way before it reached the Acropolis and that had remained in use from antiquity. Rows of shops or workshops have been found in other

parts of the medieval city.

In any case, the absence of urban planning is confirmed not only by the cramped and disorderly state of construction, but also by the coexistence of residential buildings with polluting industrial establishments, as well as burials, despite the general ordinances that had long since been laid down. But, generally speaking, the absence of planning was widespread among provincial cities in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.[60] In the older correct topographic drawing of the city by Fauvel,[61] one cannot discern even the outline of the Post-Herulian wall in the fabric of the late eighteenth-century city. It is well known that Ottoman ideas about the economic activities of cities, as well as the important demographic upward turn experienced in Athens during the first centuries of Ottoman rule, triggered great changes in the general shape of the city.

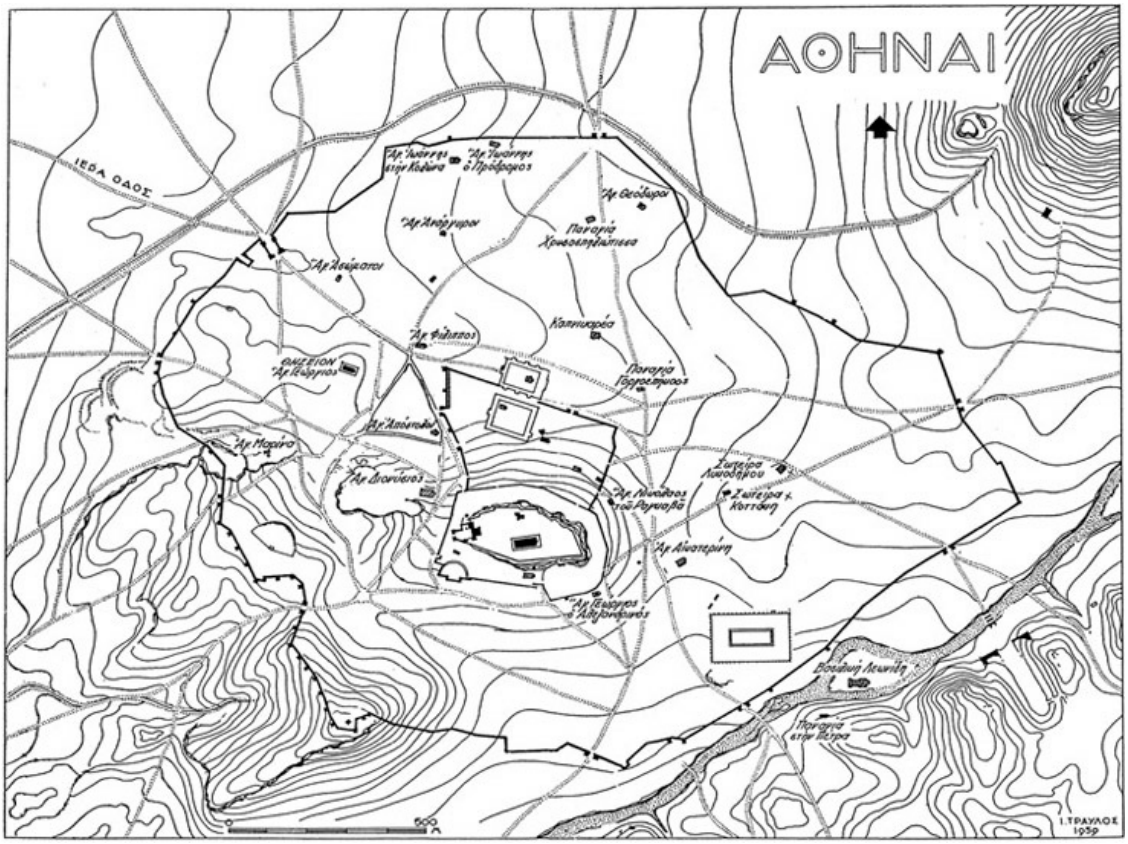

Figure 1 Athens, A.D. 267 to 1204 (J. Travlos).

The belief that parish churches[62] were the nuclei of neighborhoods cannot be verified in the case of Athens, given that we do not know, on the one hand, which churches were *katholika* of monasteries[63] and, on the other, what was the function of the small chapels woven into the dense residential tissue and of which paltry remains have been discovered through excavation. More shall be said about this topic below.

Notes

1 In contrast to medieval Rome, see R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton 1980) preface XV–XVI.

2 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 149–162.

3 Bouras, City; Ch. Bouras, Middle Byzantine Athens, *GLAS CCCXC de l'Académie Serbe* (Belgrade 2001) 103–113; Kazanaki, *Ἀθήνα;* Kazanaki, Athens; Biris, *Ἀθῆναι*; Chatzidakis, *Ἀθήνα*; Koder and Hild, *Hellas*, 127, 128.

4 Xyngopoulos, *Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν*; Orlandos, *Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς*.

5 As well as the lack of drawings to scale in most of the publications. For the destruction of the Byzantine layers before appropriate study was carried out, see A. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Berkeley 1985) 34.

6 See *ODB* I, 427–428 *s.v.* Choniates, Michael (A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler); Michael Choniates was metropolitan of Athens during the period 1182–1204 and kept the title till his death, in 1222.

7 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*; F. Kolovou, Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτης, *Συμβολή στήν μελέτη τοῦ βίου του καί τοῦ ἔργου του. Τό Corpus τῶν ἐπιστολῶν* (Athens 1999); V. G. Vasilievskij, Epirotica, *Vizantyiski Vremennik* 3 (1896) 254; G. Stadtmüller, Michael Choniates and Metropolit von Athen, *Orientalia Christiana* 33–2 (1934) 127–325; K. M. Setton, A note on Michael Choniates, *Speculum* 21 (1946) 234–236; G. Dendrinos, Τό Ὑπομνηστικόν τοῦ Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη, *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 5–6 (1992) 189; C. Livanos, Michael Choniates, poet of love and knowledge, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 30 (2006) 103–114.

8 Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*; Herrin, Organisation; eadem, Realities; eadem, Collapse.

9 Herrin, Organisation, 136, 137.

10 Granstrem et al., Praktikon; Kaldellis (2009) 116–118.

11 N. Svoronos, Cadastre.

12 K. Karapli, Ἡ Ἀθήνα καί οἱ βαρβαρικές ἐπιδρομές, in *Ἀρχιτεκτονική καί πολεοδομία ἀπό τήν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως σήμερα. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς Ἀθήνας* (Athens 1977).

13 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀθηναϊκά ἐκ τοῦ ΙΒ' καί ΙΓ' αἰῶνος, *Ἁρμονία* 8 (1902) 209–224, 273–293.

14 D. Sophianos, *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς* (Ἁγιολογική Βιβλιοθήκη Ι) (Athens 1989).

15 Ioannis Skylitzes, Synopsis Historiarum, I. Thurn (ed.), *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantine* 5 (Berlin and New York 1973) 364.

16 G. Vasilievski, S. Petrides, Jean Apokaukos, lettres et autres documents inedits, in *Izvestija Russkago Archeologiceskogo Instituta v. Konstantinopole* XIV 2–3 (1909) 69–100.

17 G.L.F. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur lteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Wien 1856) I 265, 488, 493.

18 Acta Innocentii P.P. III Th. Haluscynkyi (ed.), *Pontif. Comm ad redij*, Fontes III 2 (Città del Vaticano 1944) 357–362; A. Sommerlechner and R. Murauer (eds.), *Die Register Innocenz* III, 10 (Wien 2007).

19 J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Graz 1962) XVI 191 et passim, XVII, A' 373; J. Darrouzès, Obit de deux metropolites d'Athènes, Leon Xeros et Georges Bourges, *REB* 20 (1962) 190–196; idem, Notes sur Eupthyme Tornikes, Euthyme Malakes et George Tornikes, *REB* 23 (1905) 148–167; G. Parthey, *Nili Doxapatri Notitia patriarchatuum et locorum nomina immulata* (Berlin 1866) 265–308; Herrin, Organisation, 131 ff. (codex of Athens 1371); H. Gelzer, *Ungedruckte und ungenugend veryffentliche*, Text der Notitiae Episcopatum, ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen kirchen (München 1901) 480–490.

20 A. Jaubert, *Géographie d' Edrisi* (Paris 1846) 295; Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*, 54–55.

21 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 204, 205.

22 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 201 (bibliography); Shear (1997) 514–521. The water sources in the region of the Lyceum are mentioned by Strabo (ibid., 515 n. 41).

23 Shear (1997) 515.

24 Ibid., n. 47.

25 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 303, fig. 391.

26 F. Stademann, *Panorama von Athen* (München 1841).

27 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 44.

28 Ibid., A', 98, 316, B', 451.

29 Ibid., B', 13, 14. From the top of Hymettus he was able to see and recognize coastal areas and islands, B', 14.

30 Ibid., A', 316, B', 451.

31 Ibid., B', 44.

32 Ibid., B', 451.

33 Ibid., A', 316.

34 The monastery, occupying a strategically critical site at the entrance to the plain of Athens, was strongly fortified, see Ch. Bouras, The Daphni Monastic Complex Reconsidered, in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (eds.), *Ἀετός, Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart 1998) 10, 11; Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 30.

35 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966) 168. Piraeus was an intermediate port between Thessalonica and the West. See also p. 225.

36 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 148, 155, 605.

37 D. Sophianos, *Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη* (Athens 1989) 66, 136.

38 Ibid., 80, 81. The same route was followed by Benjamin of Tudela, traveling from Corinth to Thebes. See M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (London 1907) 9–10.

39 This does not mean that long sea communications, as between Athens and Alexandria, were excluded; see A. Avramea, Land and sea communications, 4th–15th centuries, in Laiou, *Economic History* I, 80.

40 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 137.

41 Ibid., B', 362, 656.

42 J. Russel, Transformations of Early Byzantine Urban Life. The Contribution and the Limitations of Archaeological Evidence, in *Major Papers, 17th Intern. Byzantine Congress* (Washington and New

York 1986) 138, 139, 150.

43 Ibid. The number of full and complete excavations is small, only sections of cities have been excavated and the stratigraphy is incomplete. The danger exists that a misguided archaeological interpretation will be taken as a verity and be endlessly recycled.

44 In the following chapters in various places and under different titles.

45 Namely, the great and luxurious residences on the Areopagus hill, the south slope of the Acropolis and in the Agora (the Palace of the Giants). See Frantz, Late Antiquity, 37–48, 95–110.

46 Granstrem et al., Praktikon.

47 *Theodorus Ducas Laskaris, Epistulae*, N. Festa ed. (Firenze 1898) no. 32, 107 ff.

48 Mainly on the east and the north slopes of the Acropolis.

49 T. Gregory, Fortification and urban design in Early Byzantine Greece, in R. Hohfelder (ed.), *City, Town and Countryside in Early Byzantine Era* (New York 1982) 50; Mango, *Βυζάντιο*, 79. According to W. Treadgold, *A History of Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford 1997) 702, Athens had between ten and thirty thousand residents. According to H. Hunger, Athen in Byzanz, Traum und Realität, *JÖB* 40 (1990) 52, Athens' one hundred churches testify that the city had more than 3,000 Christian inhabitants.

50 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 307, B', 511.

51 The archaeological finds do not reveal physical evidence for the nobility (Kazanaki, Ἀθήνα, 213), landowners and state officials of Athens. In fact, the name 'kastrinoi' (people of the 'kastro', or citadel) was commonly applied in later times in the Aegean to members of the old noble families, but in the case of Athens we find it used in one rather murky reference by Choniates (Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 311, B', 518–19), to solidiers. See also Loungis, Ἐξέλιξη, Lounges, Exelixe, 47, 51.

52 Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, 269. See also Frantz, Late Antiquity, 59 nn. 17, and 18.

53 M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, op. cit., 9–10. Benjamin passed from Otranto to Corfu and thence via Arta and Naupaktos to Corinth and Thebes.

54 A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge 1989) 218; F. Thirriet, *La Romanie Venitienne* (London 1977) 39.

55 A. Orlandos, Une inscription Byzantine inédite du Parthénon, *BCH* 70 (1946) 418–427. A graffito of the year 848 testifies that the seat of the strategos was at Athens. See also Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή*

Ἑλλάς, 55.

56 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, passim.

57 The view that Choniates's residence was in the Propylaia is widely accepted (Bouras, City, 646 n. 291), but it is based only on a vague phrase in one of his letters: ἡ τε Ἀκρόπολις αὕτη ἐφ'ἧς ἐγώ νῦν καθήμενος αὐτήν δοκῶ πατεῖν τήν ἄκραν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ('And this Acropolis on which I am now residing, I consider that it touches the very summit of heaven'), Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 12; Kaldellis (2009) 149.

58 O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris 1913) 142, 143 n. 3, 4.

59 A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἔρευναι εἰς τά Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα τῶν Σερρῶν* (Thessaloniki 1965) 2, fig. 1.

60 Bouras, Πολεοδομικά; H. Buchwald, Byzantine town planning: Does it exist?, in M. Grünbart, E. Kislinger, A. Muthesius and D. Stathakopoulos (eds.), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453). Proceedings of the Intenational Conference (Cambridge 8–10 September 2001)* (Wien 2007) 57–74.

61 L. Beschi and I. Travlos, La casa di L.S. Fauvel, primo museo Atheniese, *ArchEph* 140 (2001) 76, fig. 3; A.G. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse* (Paris 1807). None of the later published maps of Athens collected by H. Omont (Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XXII ff.) offer information useful to our research.

62 M. Angold, The shaping of the Medieval Byzantine City, *Byz. Forsch.* 10 (1985) 17; Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*, 738. For the changes in the city during the Ottoman occupation, see M. Kiel, Central Greece in the Suleymanic age, *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 13 (2002–2003) 77 n. 17; D. Karydis, *Πολεοδομικά τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καί τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens 1980) 277–291.

63 In any case, most of the Byzantine churches of Athens were within the limits of the Roman Wall. See map no. XII in J. Travlos, *Athènes au fil du temps* (Paris 1972).

2
The Built Environment and the Monuments

The fortifications of Middle Byzantine Athens

In the study of the urban development of Athens from the tenth century until the Frankish period, the city's defensive works are bound to play a central role. Many questions arise: which of the fortifications were preserved from antiquity, what defensive purpose did they originally serve, how did they relate to the fabric of the medieval city, and were they reinforced with new defensive works in our period?

The difficulties we confront in answering these questions are due to the almost complete lack of external information and the fact that the relevant archaeological finds are poor in quality, hard to date, and published only in brief. Lack of precision in the terminology used to describe the finds only compounds the difficulties.

The ancient wall – both the Themistoklean course and subsequent Hellenistic and Roman interventions – has been carefully explored and studied from the time of Cyriac of Ancona to the present day, and serious effort has been made to relate the interpretation of its remains to the topography of Athens on the basis of the written sources. Other areas that have been investigated are the positions of the ancient gates and related roads, some of which were preserved until the medieval period. Unfortunately, however, after successive destruction and rebuilding, additions and repairs,

the remains of the ancient defenses survive at such a low level, usually only the foundations, that the original form assumed by the upper courses is more or less unknown today. Consequently, the view espoused by Travlos[1] that the ancient wall[2] surrounded the Middle Byzantine city until 1204 (Fig. 1) does not mean, given the city's considerable extent,[3] that the wall *protected* the city, as is implied by both him and others.[4]

There are uncertainties about the latest Roman walls. The impossibility of dating the foundations firmly, the piecemeal character of most of the excavations, the lack of inscriptions and above all the fact that building materials were reused during the various reconstruction and restoration works on the defenses have produced a certain confusion found in older publications[5] and in some more recent ones too.[6] After centuries of peace, what is thought to have been the first of these late walls of Athens was constructed, according to Zosimus,[7] by order of the Emperor Valerian,[8] between A.D. 253 and 260. It is thought to have followed the course of the ancient Greek wall, but excavations have shown that this was not always the case,[9] as, for example, at a section of the wall south of the Acropolis[10] on the Pnyx hill[11] where the Roman wall was supported against the back wall of the ancient stoa and two new towers and a gate were built further down, by the church of Hagios Demetrios Loumbardiaris.[12] Our knowledge of the Roman walls is especially uncertain on the east side near the Ilissos[13] where the course of the ancient walls remains unknown.

Figure 2 Acropolis. Beulé Gate. View from the west.

Subsequent to Travlos's 1960 publication of his *Urban Development of Athens* (there is no English translation, and it will be known henceforth as *Poleodomike*), there have been general considerations of the Roman-Valerianic wall again by Travlos[14] and by Alison Frantz,[15] while other sections of the wall came to light later in the National Garden[16] and in trenches in one of Athens's main arteries, Vasilissis Sofias Avenue,[17] and elsewhere.[18] As for the well-known Beulé Gate (Fig. 2) of the Acropolis, which incorporated architectural members from the choregic monument of Nikias, it is debated[19] whether it belonged to the Valerianic fortification or to the next phase.

In any case, neither the Valerianic wall, nor whatever remained of the older wall, kept the Heruli from capturing and destroying the city in 267. Immediately afterwards, perhaps under the emperor Probus,[20] the so-called Post-Herulian wall was constructed and encircled a small part of the city (Fig. 3). Both walls, designated as Valerianic and Post-Herulian, were built in the Late Roman period, and once the slightly later defensive work had been studied in some depth, mainly in the Athenian Agora, the name 'Post-Herulian' became current in scholarship, and will be used here.

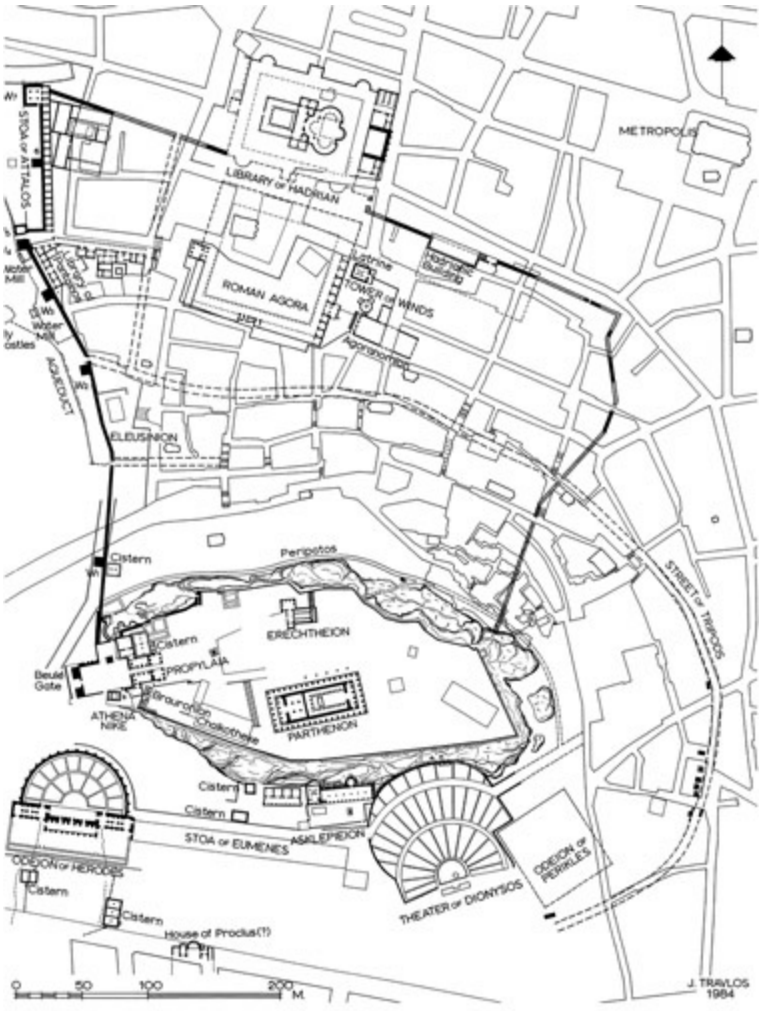

Figure 3 Plan of Acropolis and Post-Herulian wall in the third century (J. Travlos).

We are reasonably sure of the course of the Post-Herulian wall to the north of the Acropolis because a reasonably large section of it is preserved to a considerable height and has been the subject of thorough study, especially in the Agora.[21] Over the last hundred years sections of it were torn down at the so-called Gymnasion of Diogenes,[22] behind the Medrese[23] and along the entire length of the Stoa of Attalos[24] in the interest of investigating older monuments. The wall incorporated three sides of the Library of Hadrian (west, north and east), while the south side was destroyed at some unknown point in time. The Post-Herulian wall was constructed mainly of reused architectural members, spoils from the destroyed monuments in the Agora. The wall is thick and relatively well built.[25] Research carried out by Manolis

Korres has shown that the wall also stretched (for a period of time at least) to the south of the Acropolis[26] (Fig. 4), and sections of it, mainly along the Stoa of Eumenes, were still preserved in our period, since it was incorporated much later in the Rizokastro.[27] The width of the walled area was restricted and some of the building materials were removed already in the Early Christian period for the construction of other buildings (Fig. 5). A small section of this extension (followed later also by the Ottoman Serpentze) is still visible between the Beulé Gate and the west side of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, although its identification as part of either the Valerianic or Post-Herulian wall is not certain. Travlos and Threpsiadis[28] believed that the only difference between the two walls was the use of iron clamps in the former, since the employment of reused building materials in both complicates any further distinction between them.[29]

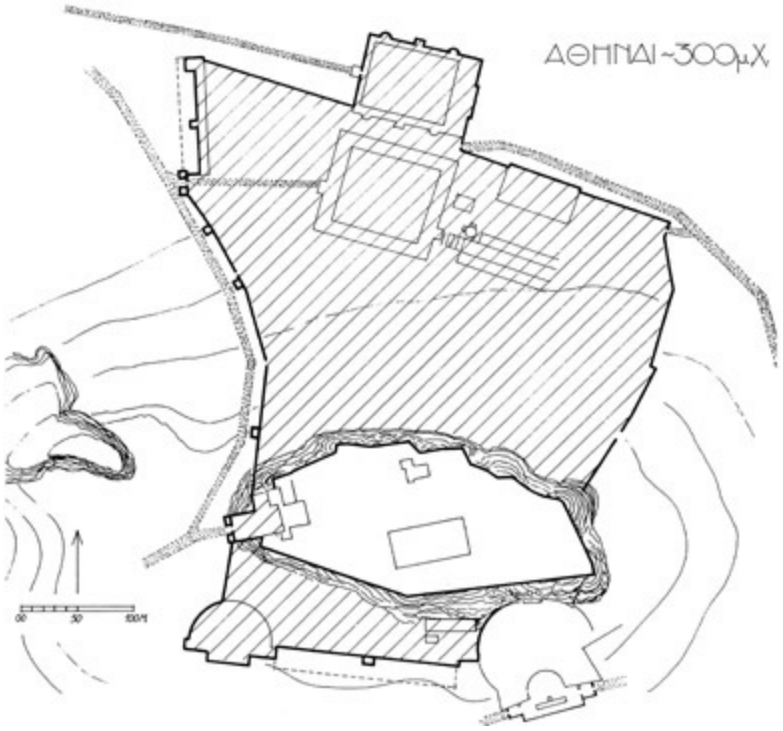

Figure 4 Plan of the Acropolis and the Post-Herulian wall in the third century. According to M. Korres.

Given that the contraction of Roman cities with the erection of new walls is a development we find almost three centuries later,[30] we have reason to

wonder why they built this wall enclosing a relatively small area if it was in fact the case that the Valerianic wall was still in use. Castrén[31] has formulated the interesting view that the Post-Herulian wall fortified a part of Athens that was not destroyed in 267 (including the Library of Hadrian in which state archives and tax records were stored), but this theory does not correspond to Korres's opinion concerning the extent of the defenses on the south slope of the Acropolis.[32] It would not be unreasonable to accept the view[33] that there was no direct communication between the fortified section of the city and the Acropolis. The medieval cities of Corinth and Argos, for example, had acropoleis located at a considerable distance from the settlements, while at other cities, such as Servia and Thessalonica, the acropoleis were totally isolated and strictly strategic in character.[34] The significant difference in elevation at the point where the Post-Herulian wall and the Acropolis meet makes direct communication between them almost impossible.

Figure 5 Pilaster pedestal of a late antique building in front of the Post-Herulian wall near the Stoa of Eumenes.

Since the publication of Travlos's work in 1960, new remarks and observations about the Post-Herulian wall – that do not, however, alter our knowledge of its actual course – have appeared, primarily in the *Chronika* of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* and in the fresh information drawn from the excavations by N. Tsoniotis.[35]

The gates in the Post-Herulian wall present greater interest for our understanding of the Middle Byzantine city, as do the later breaches and minor gates that provided communication with the city's neighborhoods outside the walls. These will be investigated together with the streets and the overall urban fabric.

An honorary inscription on a stele[36] dating to circa 400 records that Iamblichos, who 'with his wisdom illuminated Athens', built towers at his own expense and strengthened the wall. It is conjectured that the wall in question is the outer Valerianic wall and not the Post-Herulian wall, without any direct archaeological support for this reading. Logically, this reinforcement of the fortifications at the end of the fourth century was in response to the Gothic threat[37] and, possibly, any damage incurred from the earthquake of 365.

Figure 6 Map of the Hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx and the Mouseion, with the Valerianic wall and its subsequently added (Justinianic?) towers. Drawing by J. Travlos.

The next fortification in Athens is mentioned by Procopius[38] as one of Justinian's defensive works, 'the circuit-walls… at Athens… had suffered from the long passage of time, while no man in the whole world took thought for them'. In this case too, archaeological confirmation is scant[39] and comparisons difficult because, on the one hand, only foundations are preserved and, on the other, we lack studies of the Justinianic fortifications in Greece.[40] This has not, however, stood in the way of the misguided interpretations espoused in older publications.[41] Here too damage from the earthquakes of 551 would most likely have played a role.

Of interest in connection with the situation in Athens is a passage in Procopius that mentions the fortification of Constantina in northern Mesopotamia:[42] 'in all parts of the defenses [the emperor] inserted a new tower between each pair of towers, and consequently all the towers stood out

from the circuit-wall very close to one another.' We find this method in Athens, too, where foundations of towers measuring approximately 5 × 6 meters have been uncovered through excavation. These would have been added to the existing curtain wall in the Post-Herulian or Valerianic wall in the area of the Ilissos,[43] the Pnyx[44] (Fig. 6) and today's city center.[45] We observe a similar attempt to decrease the length of the curtain wall by inserting new towers at the eastern gate of the Valerianic wall.[46] Foss and Winfield[47] consider the multiplication of towers and the arrangement of the entrances in a broken line as typical of Justinianic fortifications, whose function was more defensive than offensive.

If the inserted square towers were indeed Justinianic (as their excavators agree), then the Roman or Valerianic wall with the sizeable extension functioned as a defensive work until the late sixth century. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the towers that were demolished in the Post-Herulian wall in the Agora,[48] or the one that was located beside the Hadrianic Pantheon,[49] were built at the same time as the wall or added later. In other words, we do not know to what extent the sixth-century reinforcement with towers extended also to the Post-Herulian wall.[50]

After Travlos in *Poleodomike (Πολεοδομική)*, we find new notices of towers that were built up against the Valerianic wall and thought to be Justinianic, published mainly in the *Archaeologikon Deltion* (*ArchDelt*).[51] Repairs to the Post-Herulian wall, or a later, Justinianic phase of the wall, were noted in the area around the Library of Hadrian.[52]

Whether defense against the Slavic invasions (if they were actually directed against Athens) was offered by the Acropolis, the Post-Herulian wall, or the expanded Valerianic wall is another problem. Travlos believed that the Justinianic ameliorations preserved the city against the Slavs, who managed to destroy other Greek cities.[53] But that is doubtful, given that once again the archaeological testimony (that is, the results of the destruction) and their interpretation[54] are not convincing, while, to the contrary, there are remains of habitations from the seventh century in the Agora and elsewhere,[55] as well as signs of security in the city during the emperor Constans II's sojourn in 662

to 663.

The archaeological evidence for Athens is very poor for the long period between the mid-seventh and the mid-tenth centuries. The evidence grows with the creation of new settlements[56] outside the Post-Herulian wall from the tenth century to the Frankish occupation. New construction was extensive and represents an important provincial city in the context of the Middle Byzantine flowering in Greece. These constructions were built over both large and small areas of fill all across the ancient Agora; they appeared on the south slope of the Acropolis and in the vicinity of the Olympieion, today's Syntagma Square and the modern city center.

The only literary source from this period that refers to walls is the well-known *Praktikon* of the Athens area. There are seven references to the 'Royal wall',[57] always in the sense of a familiar boundary, within which there were fields, vineyards, churches, ancient buildings and a playing ground (Tzykanisterion) 'in the *kastron*'. All this presupposes a large space and makes very probable the suggestion proposed by the editors of the *Praktikon* that the 'Royal wall' was the Valerianic wall along its wide ancient course and not the Post-Herulian on the north side of the Acropolis, against which other neighborhoods were squeezed (to be discussed below). But one wonders in what condition these Roman walls were preserved seven centuries after their erection and also what defensive value they had, given that they had a perimeter of almost 8 kilometers and would have required a large number of defenders.

It seems that Athens's defenses were not neglected in the period under discussion, however meager and difficult to interpret our evidence – both direct and indirect – may be. Clearly the Acropolis was always impregnable and, consequently, it was maintained in working condition as the last place of retreat. We know of two sections of the now-demolished wall,[58] the first south of the temple of Athena Nike and the second above the north tower of the Beulé Gate. Drawings of both (a ground plan of the former and the façade of the latter) were published by Bohn.[59] There were two lines of defense on the west side of the Acropolis. The ground plan of the Propylaia by Haller von Hallerstein[60] – made shortly after 1810, before the destruction of the Ottoman

fortifications began – sheds light on the first line of defense (Fig. 7). The wall followed the south and west side of the Nike rampart and reached as far as the Pedestal of Agrippa. Somewhat to the south stood the arched gate into the Acropolis that was constructed of ancient *spolia* and clearly depicted in two illustrations made by von Heideck[61]

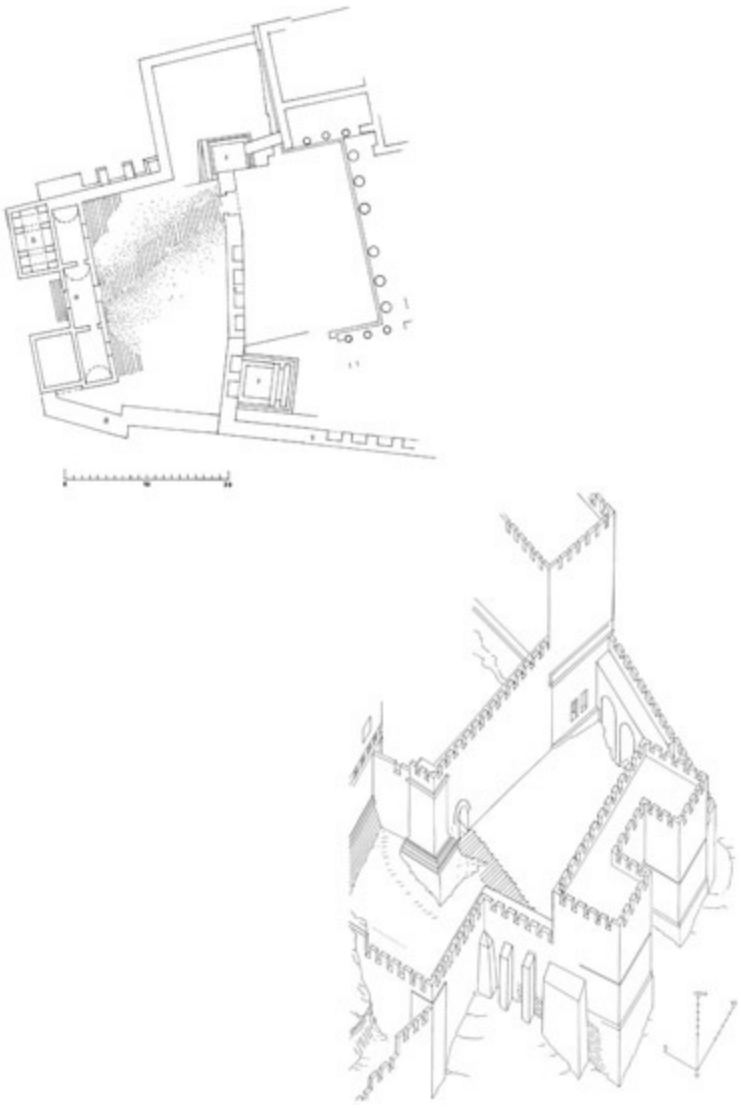

Figure 7 Acropolis entrance in the Middle Byzantine period, α. The Beulé Gate, β. The Valerianic or Post-Herulian Wall, γ. Byzantine Wall, δ. Middle Byzantine phase of the north tower, ε. Pedestal 'of Agrippa,' z. Temple of Athena Nike.

(Fig. 8). It appears from the structure of its arch, made entirely of fine brick,

that the well-built transverse gate was Byzantine, an identification verified by L. Ross.[62] This did not, however, prevent its demolition along with the Turkish ramparts it supported. According to Bohn's drawing, the wall was two meters thick and formed an ambulatory above the level of the Nike rampart, supported on a row of blind arches. In Haller von Hallerstein's drawing there are two more blind arches in the west section of the wall. The blind arches with strong brick piers probably belonged to the period under investigation. Similarly built walls with a corridor 'over blind arches' also existed in antiquity,[63] but the fact that these were destroyed by classical archaeologists suggests that the structures were considered to be later. We find similar Justinianic walls at Sergiopolis (Resafa) and similar Middle Byzantine walls in Constantinople (in sections of walls that were restored) and at Daphni Monastery.[64]

Figure 8 Acropolis. Main entrance before the demolition of the Byzantine transversal wall. K. W. Heideck, 1835. München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

The view that the Acropolis was strictly military in character is not compatible with the fact that the Parthenon served not only as a pilgrimage site, but also as a church in which services were held, a fact confirmed in the writings of Michael Choniates.[65] Nonetheless, citizens were not encouraged to visit the citadel, and the entrance was controlled. Attempts to locate archaeological or literary evidence for defensive works inside the Acropolis itself in the Middle Byzantine period have failed.

No information about the Byzantine circuit wall of the Acropolis has survived. It probably followed the ancient course and had battlements that rose slightly higher than the ancient wall. Today a large part of the south side has been faced with rubble after the damage it suffered in 1678. In addition, a significant part of the east side was reconstructed by the Ottomans after an earthquake in the eighteenth century. The structure known today as the belvedere is the base of an observation(?) tower, dating most likely to the Ottoman period (Fig. 12).

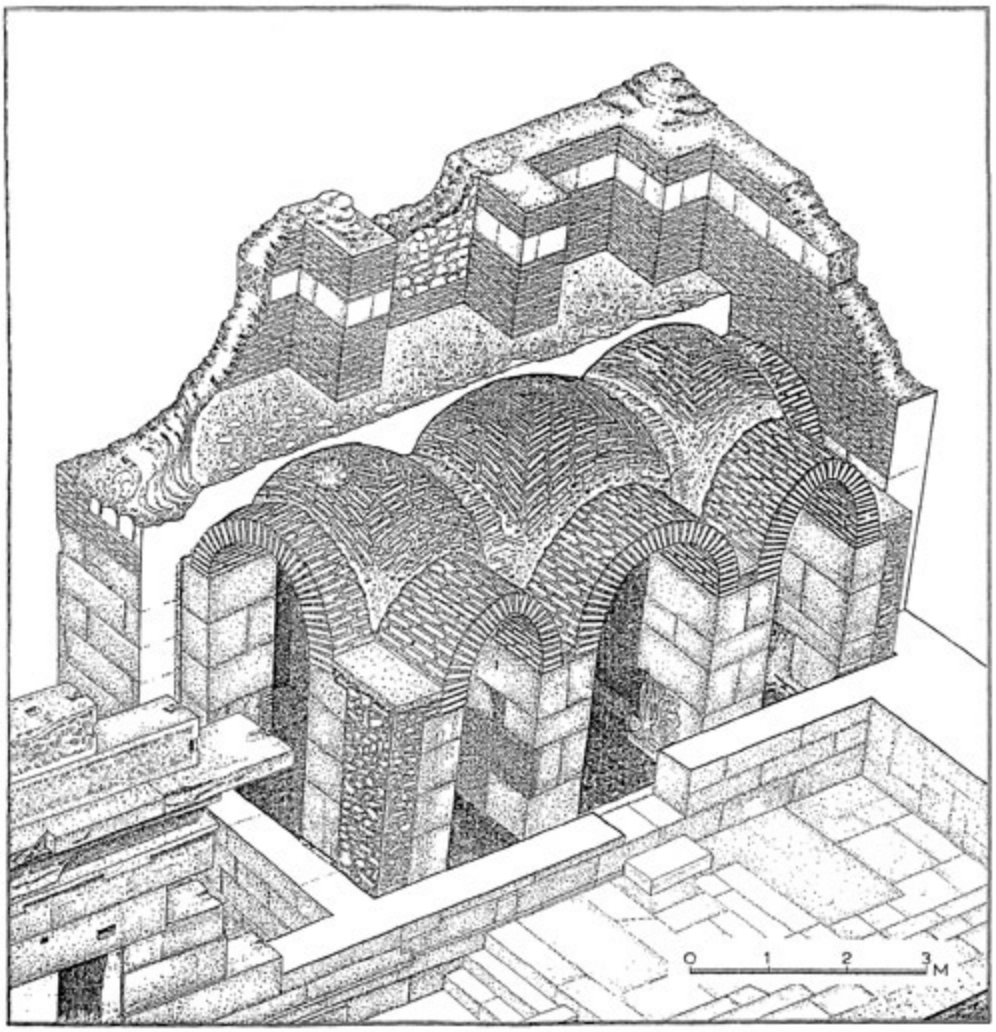

Figure 9 Acropolis. North tower by the Beulé Gate. Middle Byzantine vaulted supports of the first floor. Drawing by D. Giraud and M. Sigalas.

A well-known inscription from the area of the Areopagus (now in the Byzantine Museum)[66] refers to the erection of a tower, before 1069, by the metropolitan and *synkellos* Leo, at an unknown location.[67] At the entrance to the Acropolis, by the north tower of the Beulé Gate, alterations were made in the Middle Byzantine period by demolishing a vaulted stoa on the east side of the tower and constructing at its center three high cross-vaults that rested on protruding pilasters (Fig. 9).[68] We have no information about the upper elevations of the tower.[69] The demolition of walls in the area of the Propylaia and the temple of Athena Nike after the War of Independence deprived us of

priceless information about how the citadel functioned in the medieval period. In the Valerianic or Post-Herulian section of the wall that linked the fortifications of the Beulé Gate to the Nike rampart, the south gate[70] was opened near the rampart's base. This was most likely done later, when new outer fortifications were created on the south side, because we cannot otherwise explain the existence of two gates in such close proximity. A new study of the problem is not possible, since everything was demolished between 1885 and 1890.

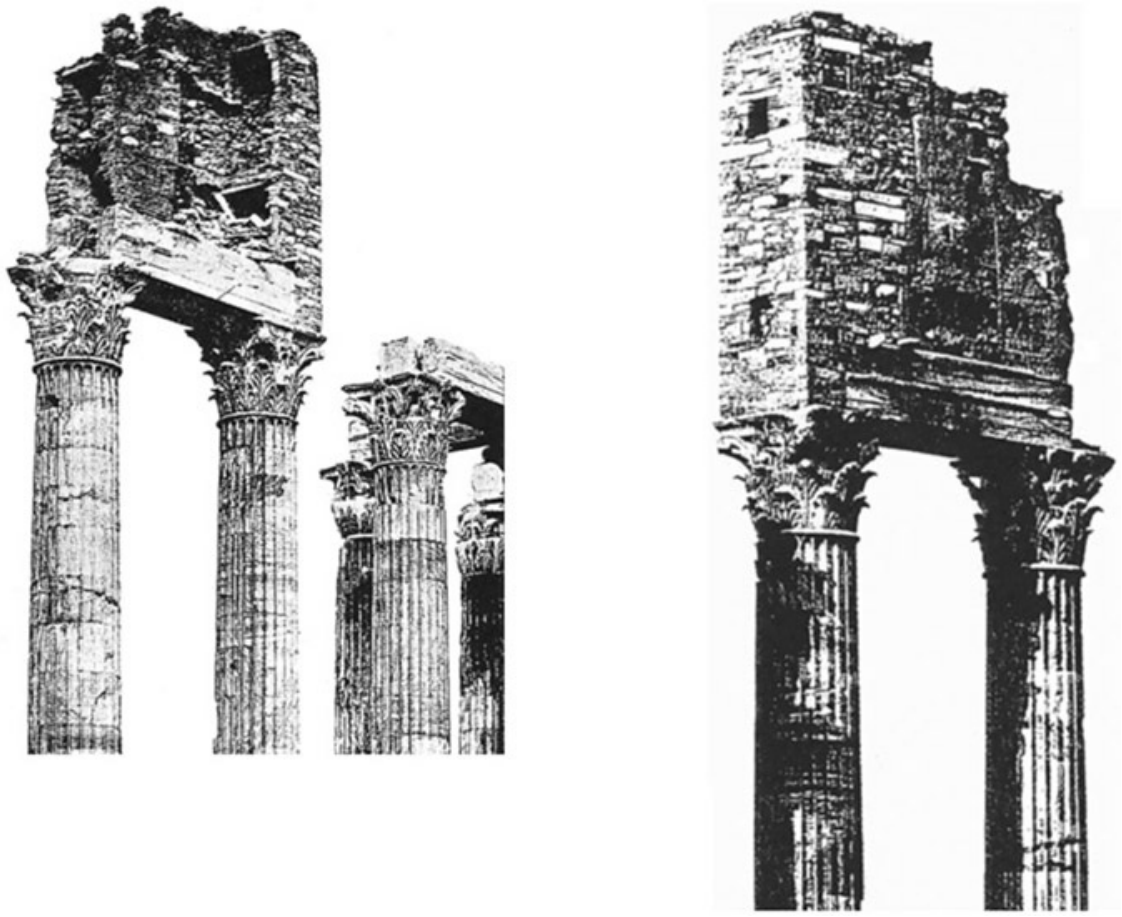

Figure 10 Olympieion. Two views of the medieval building on the architrave of the temple. Photographs by J. Robertson (1854) and P. Moraites (1870). Athens, Benaki Museum – Photographic Archive.

Other signs of medieval fortification works have been noted on the Hill of the Nymphs[71] and down at the Dipylon Gate, very close to Hagios Demetrios Loumbardiaris (now covered over), where a small square tower was built

between the gate's two Roman towers.[72] Potsherds from the eleventh and twelfth century were found in the fill. We should perhaps include in the defensive works of medieval Athens an observatory, in the form of a small building supported until 1870 on two columns of the Olympieion (Fig. 10),[73] once thought to be a stylite's hermitage.

At the end of the Middle Byzantine period we have clear evidence from metropolitan Michael Choniates that Athens was an unfortified city. According to his address to the praetor Demetrios Drimys[74] and in his letters to Basileios Kamateros[75] and the Belisariotes,[76] Choniates states repeatedly that, in contrast to other cities, Athens was completely unguarded and at the mercy of raiders.

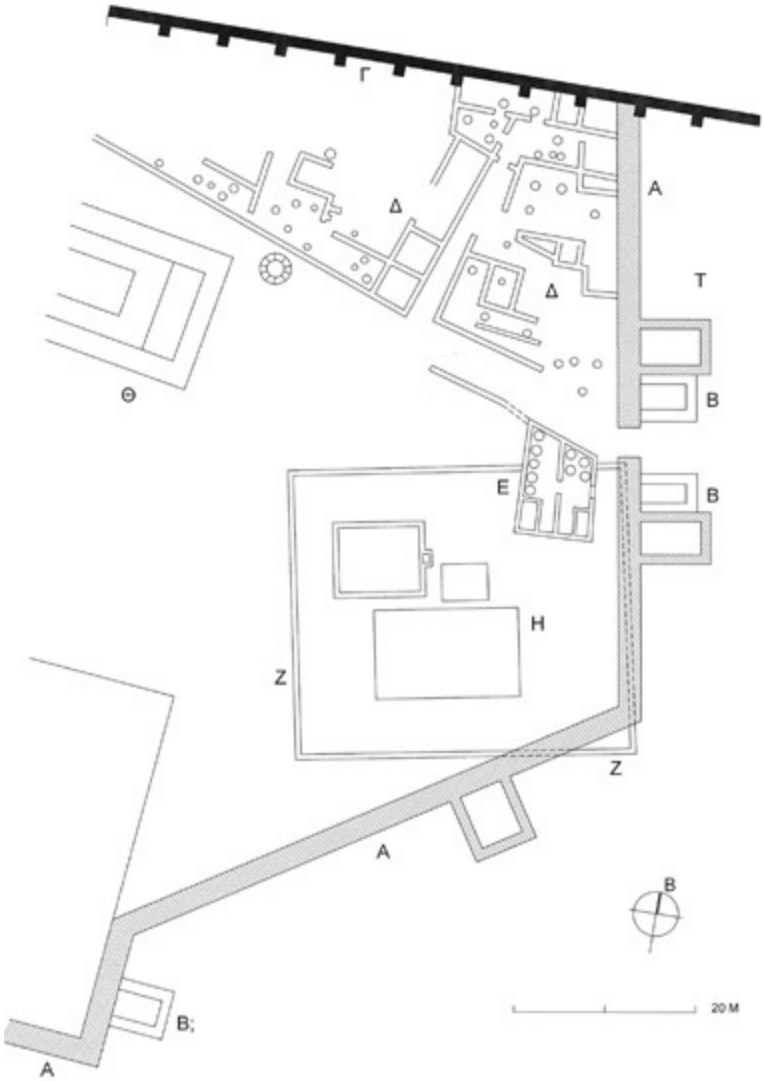

Figure 11 Plan of the area south of the Olympieion. A. Valerianic wall, B. Towers of the Justinianic period, Γ. Olympieion circuit, Δ. Houses and workshops, E. Workshop, Z. Circuit of the temple, H. Temple of Kronos and Rhea, Θ. Temple of Apollo Delphinios. Drawing by J. Travlos. Redrawn.

Here there is some vagueness: when he refers to the city, was Choniates thinking of the larger area including the Middle Byzantine settlement, or the area north of the Acropolis that was encircled by the Post-Herulian wall? Were the ruinous walls to which he refers[77] part of what was known at that time as the 'Royal' wall, or were they what remained of the Post-Herulian wall with its Middle Byzantine improvements? It appears indirectly from the *Praktikon* that the former, that is, the Valerianic wall, would no longer have had any defensive value.[78] A further indication that this wall had been destroyed at least in part, and used as a quarry, comes from the discovery of the remains of a twelfth-century workshop[79] located just in front of the eastern gate (Fig. 11). It appears that the old road was preserved[80] but all the architectural elements related to the gates' defensive function,[81] now no longer relevant, were destroyed in the process of the workshop's construction.

In any event, when in 1204 Leo Sgouros attacked Athens, as attested by Niketas Choniates,[82] the city was defended from the Acropolis while the lower settlement was plundered and burnt by the tyrant's army.

The fact that the old walls had become useless was confirmed a little later, in the thirteenth century, when the Frankish Dukes of Athens built a new wall around the Acropolis, the Rizokastro, part of which has been discovered in excavations.[83] It had a small perimeter,[84] no towers and was constructed of recycled building materials. Travlos believed it to be Middle Byzantine,[85] but more recent research has shown it to date from the period of Frankish rule.[86] It was designed to defend the Acropolis citadel and not to protect the settlement. Its conjectured connection with the Post-Herulian wall[87] is not documented and would not have made sense, while, by contrast, the coincidence of its course with the wall of the Stoa of Eumenes[88] seems logical. The typology of the Rizokastro is consistent with that of other known Frankish fortifications in the East,[89] such as at Burgas, Toprakkale, Korykos, Crac des Chevaliers and others.

When much later, after the mid-sixteenth century, interest in Hellenic antiquity arose in Europe, the Hellenist and Philhellene Martin Crusius from Tübingen sought, and received, information about Athens from the Constantinopolitan scholars Theodosius Zygomalas and Symeon Kavasilas,[90] who were knowledgeable about Greece. The reply he received is of interest: 'In the past, the city of Athens was tripartite and fully inhabited. Now, the inner area (that is, the Acropolis …) is inhabited solely by Ishmaelites, and the outer area (the in-between part) entirely by Christians. And of the outer city (in which there are also palaces of marble and large columns …) only one third was inhabited …'.

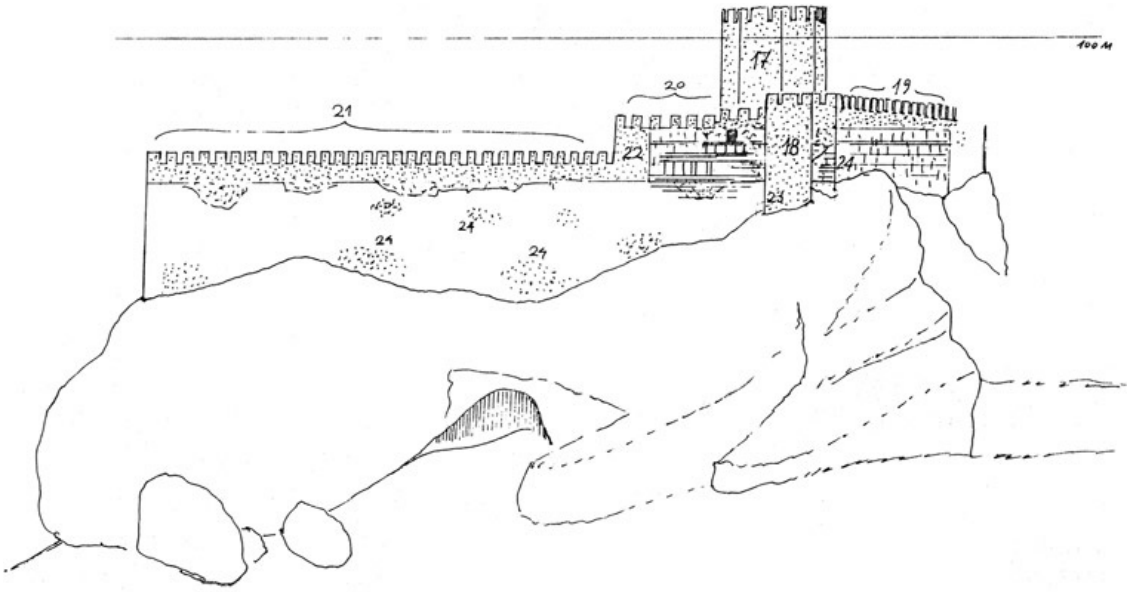

Figure 12 Acropolis. The Eastern wall during the Middle Ages. Restored (M. Korres).

It is likely that the two Constantinopolitans are referring to the town plan as it was in antiquity and that their 'tripartite' division relates to the city's walls: those of the Acropolis (Fig. 12), the Post-Herulian wall or the Rizokastro, and the 'outer', Valerianic wall, of which only ruins would have existed at that time.[91]

The gates in the walls and the streets

Although the evidence attests the poor condition of Athens's fortifications and their state of disrepair at the end of the twelfth century, we should not generalize from this about the period of nearly three centuries that are the focus of our study. This is particularly important when we consider structures such as gates, which were preserved more or less independently of the overall condition or strategic value of the walls.

Gates, and by extension the streets that pass through them, have a sort of inertia – they don't change easily if they continue to be used. We must accept that this was the case in Athens too, at least for the gates in the Post-Herulian wall that surrounded the urban core, the oldest part of the city that was never abandoned, despite significant urban expansion in the Middle Byzantine period. In other cities, too, where there was continuous occupation from the Early Christian to the Middle Byzantine period we find that the gates and streets were preserved, such as at Nicaea,[92] Corinth[93] and Thessalonica.[94] And although in the area of the Agora and Kerameikos we find very thick layers of fill and, as time went on, new streets were occasionally opened,[95] there are places in the Late Roman urban nucleus, by contrast, where the ground level remained almost unchanged from antiquity to the Ottoman period, such as in front of the entrance to the Library of Hadrian and the Roman Agora, or at the entrance to the Acropolis. In recent years there has been limited building activity, and few instances of rescue excavation in the part of Plaka that lies inside the Post-Herulian wall. This, combined with the summary fashion in which investigations were carried out in the past, especially in the two large Roman complexes in the same area, has deprived us of the chance to study the Byzantine street plan and urban layout inside the Post-Herulian wall. In the new areas of settlement outside the Post-Herulian wall, the survival of some of the streets from antiquity predetermined the irregularities of new streets that were made. In the area of the Agora especially, we observe a rise in the street level over time as a consequence of consecutive layering, together with a narrowing of street width. In addition, we also find sections of ancient streets (such as along the Panathenaic Way) where buildings have encroached and the street level has risen significantly. These changes to the street system are clearly associated with the intervening destruction of houses, for which

evidence does exist.

The older and much wider Valerianic wall underwent similar developments. Although it had lost its defensive role, it was still visible and recognized as a point of reference for the city, if we are to trust the testimony of the *Praktikon*.[96]

Research conducted by Travlos and the American School of Classical Studies led to the conclusion that the Post-Herulian wall had eight gates in its northern section, five of which have been confirmed by excavation.[97]

On the west side of the wall, in the area of the ancient Eleusinion, stood the Hypapante Gate,[98] the starting point of a road leading eastwards, although its course and terminus in the medieval period are unknown.[99] A little further to the north and protected by gate W2[100] was the Christos Gate (Fig. 13), the conjectured terminus of the Street of the Tripods,[101] which followed the course of the ancient street and is partially preserved today. It is peculiar that the ancient, medieval and modern phases follow the same course in the eastern section of the Street of the Tripods (in other words, the part outside the Post-Herulian wall) whereas we would have expected the opposite, namely that the three phases would coincide where the street was in continuous use inside the walls. In any case, it seems that the Street of the Tripods followed a cutting along a contour on the north slope of the Acropolis, where it was found in an excavation[102] with a width narrower than that of the ancient street.

Figure 13 Post-Herulian wall. West Side. Christos Gate.

Still further to the north, on the west side of the wall between towers W4 and W5, is the Pyrgiotissa Gate.[103] In antiquity there was an east–west-oriented street with a stoa[104] that ran directly to the Archegetis propylon, also known as the Gate of Athena Archegetis, in the Roman Agora. The propylon's fine state of preservation, the close proximity of Middle Byzantine churches[105] and the density of construction inside the Roman Agora[106] in the same period establish with certainty that this street continued to exist and function throughout the period under investigation.

For reasons of security there must have existed along the west side of the Post-Herulian wall either an open space or a street. Travlos noted[107] on many occasions that the ancient Panathenaic Way was preserved into the medieval period, and he specified at which points along its course it had survived.[108] In the vicinity of what is today Thiseiou Street, the Panathenaic Way was covered by medieval houses either entirely[109] or along part of its width.[110] The area lay outside the Post-Herulian wall where the existence of extensive deposits altered the terrain in the Middle Byzantine period. By contrast, the upper part of the Panathenaic Way was preserved towards the Acropolis where the gradient was steep and the deposits fewer.

The northern side of the wall was 480 m long and enclosed three sides of

the Library of Hadrian.[111] In the view of Alcestis Choremi,[112] one gate between the large corner tower W7 and the Library façade was not original, but was opened later to allow the passage of a medieval(?) road which ran parallel to today's Areos Street. According to Korres, another ancient road, which entered the walled area from the west and led to the Library's propylon, was preserved into the medieval period. We will return to this road again later.

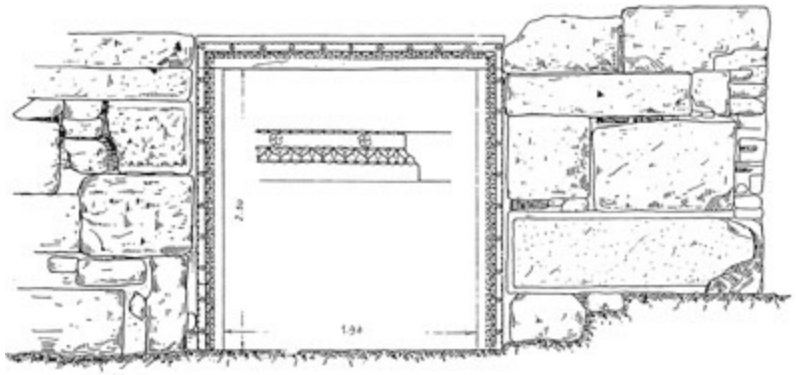

Figure 14 Post-Herulian wall near the Krystalliotissa church on Adrianou Street and the gate's Byzantine marble door frame. Drawing by A. Orlandos.

Travlos believed that there was yet another gate in the north wall at the edge of the eastern side of the Library of Hadrian, perhaps below the modern Aiolos Hotel. Further to the east and immediately beyond the ruins of the Pantheon[113] (which supported the wall) was the Krystalliotissa Gate (Fig. 14).[114] Both the wall's smaller width at this point and its Middle Byzantine door frame[115] suggest that this gate was also constructed later, perhaps in the eleventh century, in a section of the wall that had been breached and rebuilt. The gate owes its name to the Post-Byzantine church known as the Krystalliotissa,[116] remains of which are preserved south of the gate. To the east of Mnesikleous Street the wall continues approximately another 75 m. This section includes the plot at 94 Adrianou Street where a small gate was discovered. According to the excavator G. Dontas[117] the wall was also breached here at some point in the Middle Byzantine period.

We do not know for certain which streets led from the interior to the gates

in the north wall. For reasons of security,[118] an open space free from buildings should have been left outside the gates from the time of the wall's construction, in order to serve as a thoroughfare, and it would have continued in use until some undetermined period. This street, which would have followed roughly the course of today's Adrianou Street, would have given access to the above-mentioned gates in the north wall (Fig. 15).[119]

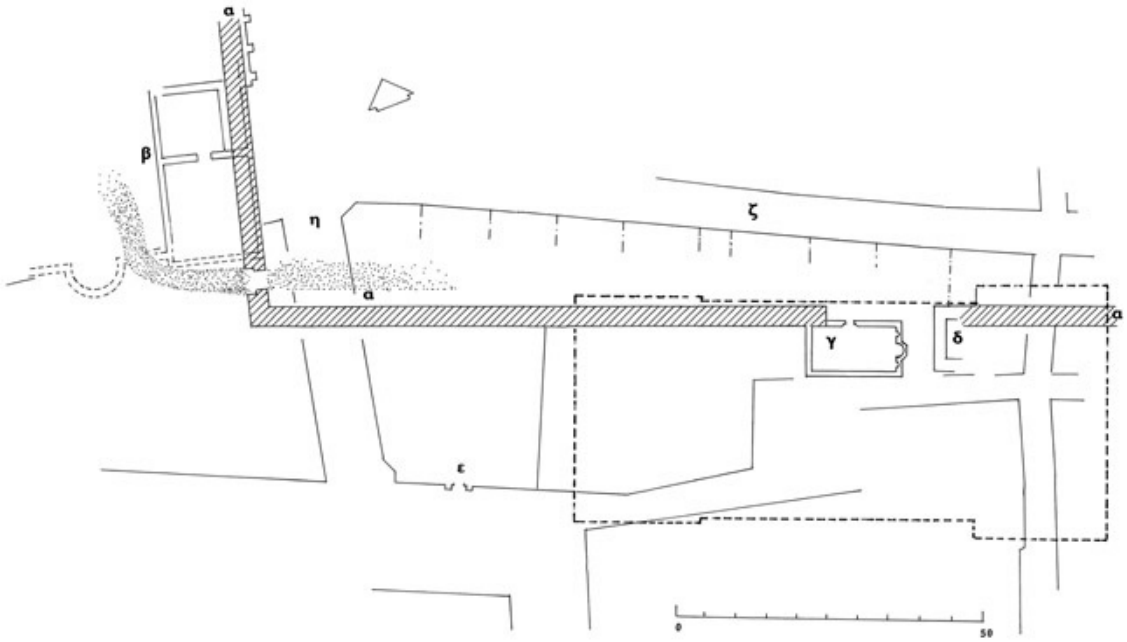

Figure 15 α. North flank of the Post-Herulian wall along Adrianou Street, reconstructed. β. Library of Hadrian, γ. Church of the Panagia Krystalliotissa, δ. Tower of the Justinianic period, ε. Entrance to the medrese, ζ. Adrianou Street, η. Aiolou Street.

The east side of the Post-Herulian wall has not been adequately studied, with the result that we do not know the course it took to ascend to the Acropolis wall. It is conjectured that there was a gate in the east side through which passed the Street of the Tripods and perhaps another street higher up, but physical remains of these gates have not been found. Still further to the south, on the east side of the Acropolis, Korres[120] has demonstrated the existence of a Middle Byzantine street (separated by considerable amounts of fill from the Roman levels[121]) which coincided, approximately, with present-day Thespidos and Kydathinaion Streets and was related to two Byzantine

churches, Soteira Lykodemou and Sotera Kottakis. After excavating a large area in Plaka, Threpsiadis[122] reached the conclusion that Apollonos Street succeeded a street dating from the Ottoman period that followed, in turn, the course of an ancient street running in the direction of the Diochares Gate and must obviously have existed in the intervening medieval period.

Whatever had survived from the Middle Byzantine period inside the Library of Hadrian was demolished by Stephanos Koumanoudis in the course of his excavations in 1885.[123] Before this, he had already demolished the small ecclesiastical complex known as the Asomatos sta Skalia ('The Archangel on the Steps')[124] built in front of the Library's façade and whose general appearance is preserved only in a drawing by Jacques Carrey[125] (1674). In this drawing it would seem that access through the middle of the Library's propylon was obstructed by two small Middle Byzantine buildings, contemporary with the Asomatos chapel. However, more recent excavation by Knithakis and Tiginaga[126] showed that a street with a winding diversion did in fact make its way through the Library propylon – not on its axis but through the intercolumniation on its south side, consequently depriving the propylon of its overall monumentality. But there is evidence to suggest that present-day Adrianou Street continued into this complex, thereby creating an east–west-oriented thoroughfare that ended up at the gate which Travlos correctly conjectured to lie under the Aiolos Hotel, at the intersection of Aiolou and Adrianou Streets, as they are today. As Korres observed, this street was succeeded by the one that appears to run south of the Megale Panagia in the drawing by L.F.S. Fauvel[127] dated 1780, that is to say before the Library site was subject to demolition and alteration.

Returning to the area east and northeast of the Acropolis, situated outside the Post-Herulian but inside the Valerianic wall, we may turn to the findings of Travlos and Threpsiadis from their research conducted at the site of the Olympieion. Here, too, the earliest excavations[128] and the creation of new streets[129] destroyed Middle Byzantine ruins and related access routes. However, the eastern gate in the Valerianic wall, flanked by towers,[130] was discovered, as well as the old street leading from east to west that traverses

the gate. As previously mentioned, a Middle Byzantine workshop was built over the street, thereby compromising the gate's defensive value,[131] but it left free part of the gate that continued to be used in the medieval period. We do not know whether this street passed through the Arch of Hadrian[132] or turned towards the south slope of the Acropolis.

Excavations along Amalias Avenue did not bring to light a Middle Byzantine street, but have made it possible to propose its existence between two groups of 13 and 29 containers for produce (*siroi*),[133] possibly belonging to shops, arranged lengthwise in rows. If this conjecture is correct, it would mean that there was a second (?) marketplace outside the walls and arranged in a linear fashion, as in other Byzantine cities.[134] A paved street from the Middle Byzantine period was discovered in excavations in Xenofontos Street.[135]

On the southern slope of the Acropolis, outside the walls, we know for certain that there was a Middle Byzantine settlement built over Roman and Early Christian ruins, and several ancient streets have been noted which continued to be used in the tenth to twelfth centuries, with only slight encroachments.[136] The most important was that named Odos 1, which ran from east to west between houses and workshops. The shortness of the section discovered does not permit its secure identification with the road leading to the Olympieion and thence the eastern gate. Excavation at the former site of the Makrygianni barracks showed that this street turned abruptly northwards. The dating of the discovery is, however, uncertain. The street's extension to the east of the church of Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos as far as Thespidos Street is pure conjecture.

Further westwards, to the southeast of the church of Hagios Demetrios Loumbardiaris, were discovered the ruins of a gate in the Valerianic wall,[137] with two square towers and a smaller one between them, which the excavators considered medieval. The street that exists there today succeeded the ancient street (and probably a Byzantine one) that passed through this gate. The street leads to the Koile, a neighborhood of ancient Athens whose name appears in the *Praktikon*,[138] even though we cannot be sure that in the

medieval period the name designated a neighborhood as before, or was now just a toponym.[139] And, consequently, it is uncertain whether this street terminated at the entrance to the Acropolis or bifurcated, presumably to serve the settlement on the southern slope.

Further to the north, in the area of the Kerameikos was preserved, in all probability, something from the Valerianic (?) fortifications of the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate, vaguely referred to in the *Praktikon* as the 'Epano porta' (upper entrance).[140] However, we are totally in the dark with regard to the street leading towards the ancient gate and thence to Piraeus. Excavation[141] in front of the Agricultural School established that the Sacred Way was always in use and the medieval levels of the street have been identified. The terrain clearly favored the preservation of the Sacred Way, which provided access to the Daphni Monastery and Eleusis, and thence to Thebes and the Peloponnese.

Returning to the ancient Agora, we may note that the street running along the Post-Herulian wall must have terminated high up at the entrance to the Acropolis, but whether the latter communicated with the walled city, and how, are questions that we have yet to answer.[142]

We still await the publication of the extensive settlement that grew up over the ancient Athenian Agora in the period under investigation, and our knowledge of its urban plan and street network is sorely lacking. In section MυMυ where there are ruins of houses from two periods (ninth–tenth and twelfth centuries), the existence of two parallel streets running from north to south has been confirmed.[143] Another street that survived as an extension of Asteroskopeiou Street[144] ran south of South Stoa I. Nothing has survived from the Middle Byzantine houses that formed it, except a row of sixteen storage *siroi* that ran along the southern edge of the ancient street opposite the southwestern fountain.[145] There is no evidence to attest that the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora was located at the intersection of two medieval streets,[146] unless we accept that the street that passed from the Hypapante Gate (probably in the same position as the ancient Street of the Tripods) carried on to the west.

Various sources provide further information about the streets in the ancient Agora, especially the excavation notebooks of the American School. The modern Hodos Eponymon-Patousa, which no longer exists today, followed an ancient street along an oblique course that terminated south of Asteroskopeiou Street. The medieval street followed the same course. Another street in section Σ of the excavation ran parallel to the aforementioned street towards the Post-Herulian wall of the Stoa of Attalos and was perhaps the same one which, running southwards, merged with the Panathenaic Way. Yet another street with houses on either side was discovered in section ΛΛ, perhaps the same one that was discovered in the adjacent section MM.

The medieval remains found after 1980 in the part of the Agora site located north of the cutting for the electric train have been fully published[147] and, consequently, we possess a complete picture of a Middle Byzantine street that began at the Panathenaic Way and continued along the course of the ancient street[148] that passed between the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa of the Herms in a northward direction. According to the excavators, the street was in use from the fifth century B.C. until the fifteenth century and its course was investigated as far as Astingos Street.[149] Opposite the little, single-aisled chapel, another small street began to be revealed at an angle to the aforementioned street,[150] and there was yet another parallel street to the northeast. Further eastwards, in section BH, another street was brought to light, parallel to the central one and underneath the modern Astingos Street.

The publication of this systematic excavation has provided us with a very good picture of the surface of the streets running through a densely built area on the north side of the Agora in Middle Byzantine Athens. The street shows signs of slight variations in its width and successive layers of well-laid gravel under which small drain-off cesspits were discovered. And in two cases, water from the interior courtyards of two houses was channeled into cesspits through closed conduits.[151]

Water supply in medieval Athens

The shortage of water that was a feature of life in Athens during the classical period seems to have been shared by the medieval city too. Archaeological investigation indicates the constant exploitation of the few natural resources, as well as the constant effort invested in the collection and storage of rainwater in cisterns and a variety of other rainwater receptacles.

As is the case still today, there were several springs, mainly during the winter months. Already from the ancient period, the aforementioned Kallirrhoe spring in the Ilissos valley fed two large open reservoirs cut into the live rock[152] and seems to have provided enough water to serve the industrial installations of the Middle Byzantine period, including probably soap makers and tanneries. No fountain with a reservoir for drinking water has been discovered. The Ilissos riverbed had changed over the course of the medieval period,[153] and it is clear that it was a torrent[154] with rushing waters during the winter making it useless for all intents and purposes.

There were other natural springs known from antiquity around the Acropolis. The Klepsydra, located in a natural cave on the north side of the Acropolis rock,[155] had been transformed by the late third century with the introduction of stairs, vaulted constructions and a flat area from which one could draw water that collected lower down. The Klepsydra played an important role when the Acropolis was under siege, until the time when the large reservoir of the Propylaia was constructed.[156] Consequently, it was probably in the eighth century that a secondary reservoir, at a lower level and built up against the Post-Herulian wall,[157] began to be fed by the Klepsydra. The spring was later transformed into a chapel known by the name of the Hagioi Apostoloi sta marmara ('Holy Apostles at the Marbles')[158] and still later, during the Frankish occupation, it was incorporated in the fortifications of the Acropolis. The Mycenaean spring in the Aglauros Cave[159] did not function in the Middle Byzantine period.

The south slope of the Acropolis is watered by still another spring, that in the Asklepieion, which was transformed into the holy water shrine of a three-aisled Early Christian basilica, consecrated to the Hagioi Anargyroi, Sts Kosmas and Damianos.[160]

The aforementioned Eridanos River also became a winter torrent, and its bed seems to have followed approximately the course of today's Mitropoleos Street.[161] One section ran underground and reemerged in the area of the Kerameikos, near the Pompeion. We mention it here in the context of water resources since in this location, too, we find industrial installations, this time for ceramics,[162] which required a bountiful supply of water.

It has been established that the Hadrianic aqueduct, an important technical achievement in antiquity,[163] did not function in the Middle Byzantine period[164] since a significant part of it was covered with earth,[165] especially the section closest to the city. The aqueduct's great vaulted reservoir at the foot of Mt Lykabettos, with a capacity of approximately 500 cubic meters, was at some point converted to a church,[166] and it was later allowed to deteriorate and was finally demolished. Part of its impressive façade stood until 1778.[167] In all likelihood, the Hadrianic reservoir had no connection with the water supply of the medieval city.

A result of the Hadrianic aqueduct's obsolescence was that there were no large public cisterns, and neither were there fountains to provide for the needs of the city's inhabitants, as existed in Constantinople or Thessalonica. The known reservoirs of Athens were, therefore, essential for both the citadel's defense and the collection of rainwater.

We know that there were at least eleven water reservoirs on the Acropolis, most of which are not preserved today. They were usually rectangular, covered by barrel vaulting and carved out of the live rock, which was plastered with hydraulic mortar. Unfortunately, they cannot be dated because the documentation made before they were destroyed was so basic. In most cases all we have is a rough sketch plan.[168] Consequently, we do not know whether the reservoirs – with the exception of those on the east side of the Parthenon – were constructed in our period or whether they were still in use during that time.

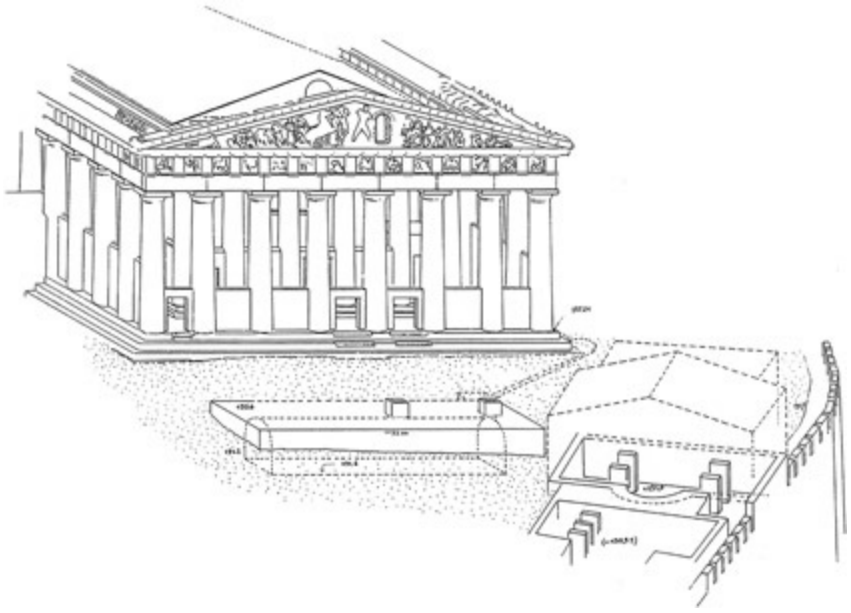

Figure 16 Acropolis. The Parthenon, the great medieval cistern and the unidentified Byzantine building. Reconstructive drawing, M. Korres.

The Propylaia cistern located in the re-entrant angle between the central building and the Pinakotheke is believed to be Justinianic.[169] Measuring 16 × 12 meters, it collected rainwater from the Acropolis via a system of sloping surfaces and channels[170] dating to the pre-classical period. A system of arches and vaults[171] was supported by three piers and four pilasters on top of which was a flat roof. The cistern was in use[172] until the Greek War of Independence and was demolished in 1885.[173] There were another two small cisterns built up against the east side of the large one. On the south side of the Propylaia's main building was yet another cistern, whose inner dimensions measured 1.80 × 1.30 meters.

A large vaulted cistern (Fig. 16) collected water from the Parthenon and was built in front of its west side,[174] measuring 23 meters in length and 6.5 meters in width. It had been destroyed before Kavvadias's excavations, and we have no information about its design. Most likely we should not identify with this lost large cistern a wall with a blind arcade that could be considered its aboveground section and appears in some old illustrations.[175] The wall in question is much later in date.

Research carried out by Korres[176] has shown how the system collected rainwater from the roof of the large church. Channels set around the perimeter at the level of the cornice funneled rainwater into relatively small reservoirs on either side of the sanctuary's three-sided apse,[177] which dates to the twelfth century. The southern reservoir was open-air while the northern one had a vaulted roof. From there, via channels cut in the marble floor of the side ptera, the rainwater reached the southwest corner of the church and thence the large cistern.

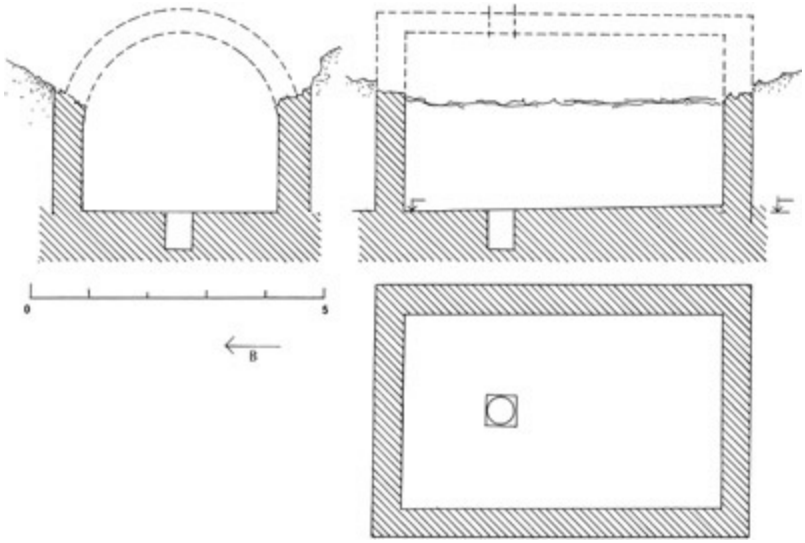

Figure 17 Acropolis. Plan and two sections of a cistern, west of the Erechtheion.

It has been conjectured that another water reservoir was constructed beneath the raised *bema* of the Parthenon.[178] In the fill of the so-called 'Byzantine building' to the west of the church and almost in contact with the south wall there was a small cistern,[179] measuring 1.50 × 2.0 meters.

In a photograph[180] from 1870, parts of a water reservoir in front of the Erechtheion are visible.[181] The section aboveground was partially destroyed; it faced eastwards and was covered with a barrel vault and brick construction. Still another small reservoir (Fig. 17) (appr. 3.30 × 5.50 m), which has lost only its barrel vaulting, is preserved near the north wall of the Acropolis.

We do not know where the water came from that fed the two large cisterns on the south slope of the Acropolis,[182] behind the retaining wall of the Stoa of

Eumenes and situated at its approximate center. The larger of the two[183] (Fig. 18) is preserved in fine condition with only the east-facing front of the section that rises aboveground showing signs of damage. Its internal dimensions are 10 × 6.30 meters, with a maximum height of 7.30 meters and capacity of at least 300 cubic meters. Up to a height of 4.25 meters, the interior has hard hydraulic mortar render on all sides and its floor is paved with clay tiles.[184] The construction technique of the barrel vaulting is of interest, consisting of inclined rings of brick set at a 30-degree angle without the use of centering, from west to east,[185] leaving a small opening at the center for drawing out water. Despite its good state of preservation, the cistern is not easy to date because, on the one hand, similar, precisely dated monuments do not exist in Greece and, on the other hand, the mode of construction and materials used are common from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. If we accept that these great storehouses of water played a role in the city's defense in time of siege, their dating would depend on the limits of the fortifications on the south side of the city, in every chronological period.

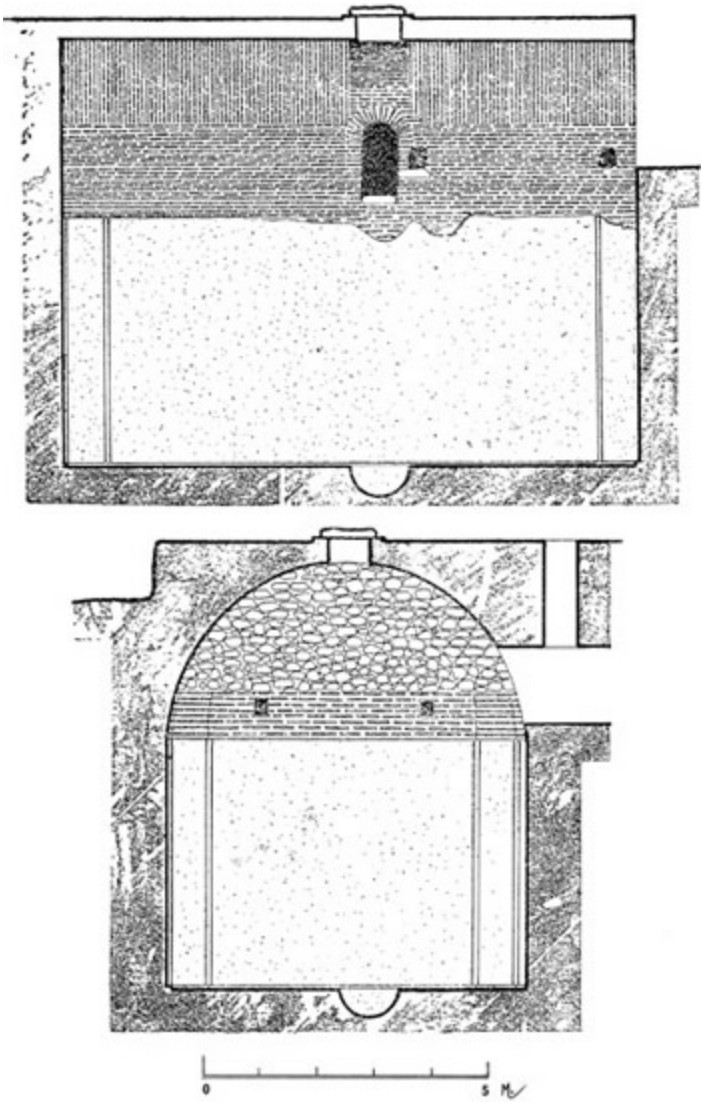

Figure 18 The Byzantine cistern in the vicinity of the Asklepieion. Two sections. (M. Philippa and N. Platon, 1964.)

However, on the south slope there are also other small cisterns, such as those of the Asklepieion[186] and the so-called 'little cistern' slightly further to the south.[187] Two cisterns for the collection of rainwater were found (and destroyed) in front of the western *parodos* of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus,[188] another at the level of the *diazoma* and still another measuring 10 meters in length and 1.5 meters in depth constructed in the *skene*. It is likely that these were connected with industrial activities[189] that went on the *cavea* of the Odeon in the medieval period, a subject to which we will return later. But

finally, we should mention another cistern, this one found in the orchestra of the Theatre of Dionysos.[190]

The two cisterns visible still today just before the ascent to the Odeon are much older and were clearly not in use during the Middle Byzantine period, because houses were built over the fill that had engulfed them.[191]

Cisterns, the very large ceramic vessels or egg-shaped chambers identified as *pithoi*, and wells constituted the private means of supplying water in medieval Athens. These have been discovered in excavations in the context of the remains of houses, making it nearly certain that Athenians in the period under examination had found these solutions to their immediate problems of water quality and its effects on their health. Unfortunately, the study of these finds is hampered by the general weakness of their chronology due to the manner in which they were excavated and published. It should be noted that storage jars built into the pavement and masonry *pithos*-shaped chambers are a regular feature in Middle Byzantine Athens, even though we do not know whether they were used for the collection of rainwater. Moreover, there has never been a systematic study of this type of pottery.

Certainly many of the hundreds of impermeable *pithoi* discovered in Athens were used for the collection of water from either wells or roofs. It remains unknown how rainwater was channeled into these closed containers, except perhaps in the case of one *pithos*, found in a house near the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, in which channels for receiving rainwater are discernable. In the Agora and elsewhere have been discovered wells, sometimes deep, which were clearly in use during the Middle Byzantine period. The wells were the subject of systematic archaeological study as the result of which it was discovered that many went back to antiquity in origin and retained the familiar clay rings in their lower parts (as in the case, for example, of at least three found in section Δ), above which were found sections in masonry and above that Byzantine extension of the well walls to accommodate changes in the adjacent ground level. Many of the wells were sealed during the tenth to twelfth centuries, and many also preserve, at different levels, either intact or broken vessels that had been used for drawing water. It is also worth mentioning in this context one reservoir (4.20 × 4.20 m) discovered in section

H and another with a vaulted roof found in section KK near the Theseion, and also wells in the so-called industrial area west of the Acropolis.

The publication of Middle Byzantine finds in sections BE, BZ and BH in the area of the Stoa Poikile, a representative section of the Middle Byzantine Agora, sheds further light on the subject of water supply.[192] Two circular reservoirs were discovered, measuring 1.75 and 2.00 meters and approximately 1.30 meters deep, although it is unknown whether they were covered or not. In the same area a large number of the standard *pithoi*, both ceramic and masonry,[193] and wells were found, one of which (J.3.4) was found with its circular marble wellhead, dating to the Hellenistic period and here in secondary use. It is of great interest that one well, located in the medieval street that ran more or less under the modern Astingos Street, was in fact a public well (K.1.2). The fact that three drain-off cesspits[194] were embedded in the road that ran between the houses shows that there may have been sanitation problems.

Excavators in the former area of the Makrygianni barracks[195] investigated thirty-seven wells dating from antiquity, five of which had been filled in during the Middle Byzantine period. Material discovered inside two wells and one bell-shaped cistern suggests that they were in use in that period. In addition, an unusual double well of uncertain date was found to the west of the Asklepieion.[196]

No public baths dating to our period have been located in Athens. The Roman bath on Amalias Avenue[197] returned to use in the Middle Byzantine period, but not as a bath. It may have been used instead as a warehouse for goods, or perhaps as a shop. The obsolescence of the Hadrianic aqueduct would clearly have limited the operation of the city's baths or, if they indeed existed, bathhouses might also have resorted to water from reservoirs or rainwater cisterns. The complaints lodged by Michael Choniates[198] against the bathing conditions of Kea, where he had taken refuge after 1205, suggest that the situation in Athens was clearly superior. It is not known whether the baths included in the property surrendered to the Latin archbishop of Athens[199] in 1208 were located within the city.

Points of reference in the medieval city

The most significant connection between the medieval city of Athens and the modern city is their shared ancient architectural heritage: the ruined buildings from Graeco-Roman antiquity that both then as now were visible in the city and its environs. These buildings may also have served in the past as reference points for the city's inhabitants, even though they were as yet completely unknown elsewhere in the empire and further afield.

Indeed, interest in the physical remains from antiquity arose only later,[200] while the myth of the golden city of Athens was preserved primarily in ancient written sources. The complete indifference of the Byzantines in our period concerning whatever may have survived from the period before Constantine the Great has been noted by modern scholars, and not only in the case of Athens.[201] This same indifference has been observed with regard to the conservation of ancient monuments too.[202]

Thanks to archaeology and our knowledge of ancient architectural forms, it is possible today to make reconstructions of monuments and entire ancient built environments, as well as estimations of what has been irrevocably lost. However, in addition to disasters known to us through our surviving written sources, there were many others before the tenth to twelfth century about which we do not possess written evidence. The Athenian environment had already been seriously changed before our period. Entire architectural features, such as the inner colonnade of the Library of Hadrian and of the Stoa of Eumenes[203] had disappeared, almost without trace, and the same occurred at the Olympieion[204] and in the interior of the so-called Theseion.[205] In just a few instances Athenian collective memory associated individuals with monuments, as in the case of the Olympieion, for instance, which was known as 'Hadrian's Palace',[206] or the choregic monument of Lysikrates, remembered as the 'Lantern of Demosthenes'.[207]

The attitude of Michael Choniates is typical of the disposition of Byzantine intellectuals towards antiquities. In his letters he refers to various Athenian monuments[208] by name without ever describing any of them. As Spyridon

Lambros[209] observed, 'he does not have anything in particular in mind' when he makes these references. He writes not a word about the art and grandeur of the Parthenon, except for calling it 'very beautiful' (Περικαλλές), 'virginal' (Παρθενικόν) or a 'very beautiful palace' (Περικαλλές ἀνάκτορον)[210] which was 'delivered from the tyranny of the pseudo-virgin Athena'.[211] In other words, he expressed himself 'only in general expressions of theological enthusiasm'.[212] And when he mentions the Acropolis, the Heliaea, the Long Walls, the Peripatos, the Stoa, the Lantern of Demosthenes,[213] he does not delve into the exact details of these monuments' location in the city where he resided, but refers instead to the ancient texts he had read. Even the ancient inscriptions that were accessible at that time (such as on the Arch of Hadrian, in the Roman Agora and on the Post-Herulian entrance to the Acropolis) did not attract his attention.

Some of the monuments that visitors to Athens from the fifteenth century onwards would have seen no longer survive today but were clearly still standing in the tenth to twelfth centuries. On his sojourn in Athens in 1436, Cyriac of Ancona copied inscriptions (now no longer extant) from statue bases in the Library of Hadrian[214] and the Olympieion,[215] and others from the Philopappos[216] monument. His antiquarian activity is testimony to the inscriptions' preservation at that time in better, if not perfect, condition in comparison with today.[217] The roughly contemporary text known as the Vienna Anonymous,[218] *The Theaters and Schools of Athens* (dated 1466), cannot be trusted on account of its interjection of famous names from antiquity and misunderstandings about the buildings that survived. The writings by Niccolò da Martoni (1395)[219] and Urbano Bolzanio (1466)[220] likewise have little material to offer the present study, and the same can be said of the first systematic census of antiquities, conducted in the second Venetian period,[221] but limited to the obvious monuments.

The last seriously destructive acts against the city's antiquities[222] are not of direct relevance to the current inquiry.

What follows is an annotated catalogue of the ancient monuments that were visible in the period that concerns us here. Comments about the

condition in which they were preserved in the tenth to twelfth centuries are provided, along with references to discussion in other chapters of this study, where relevant.

The monuments of the Athenian Acropolis, prominent and visible from everywhere in the city, have been systematically studied on account of their supreme artistic and archaeological value. However, their medieval history presents significant gaps, including in our knowledge of their condition during that time. Thanks to studies by Michaelis,[223] Deichmann,[224] Travlos[225] and others,[226] information about the successive forms of the Christian Parthenon have multiplied and have made it possible to create convincing reconstructions of what the building looked like in the Middle Byzantine period. In the twelfth century, the Church oversaw the repair of the Parthenon as the cathedral of Athens and an important pilgrimage site. This project and the adjustments made to the monument's interior at this time will be discussed later in the context of the city's Middle Byzantine churches.

The general appearance of the Parthenon had not changed in any fundamental way since its consecration as a Christian church in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries. As is well known, after the great fire of the third or fourth century, the peristyle remained unroofed, and later the intercolumniations were filled in with walls, in order to create an ambulatory. A large part of the sculpture decoration was destroyed, the main entrance was opened on the western end, and substantial alterations were made to the eastern end by the creation of a large sanctuary apse. Over the course of the tenth to twelfth centuries, small changes to the exterior were also made: the stairwell (still extant) in the *opisthonaos* that ascended like a watchtower[227] or bell tower[228] above the roof was erected, as well as another structure[229] with an unknown function that was built above the west pediment. Consequently, the common claim that the Great Temple was 'untouched' from antiquity until the explosion in 1687 is not at all true.

We know almost nothing about the condition of the Erechtheion in the medieval period. Travlos conjectured that the monument retained until the Ottoman period[230] the shape of a three-aisled basilica with a wooden roof that it had acquired in the Early Christian period and that, like the Parthenon, it

was dedicated to the Mother of God.[231] With the exception of the sanctuary apse that was built in the position of the main entrance, the Erechtheion retained its exterior form, perhaps unchanged from antiquity to the Middle Byzantine period. Because it housed the governor's harem, foreign visitors in the latter part of Ottoman rule were not allowed to visit or even draw the Erechtheion. We do not know, for example, when the intercolumniation on the northern *prostasis* was walled in, as it is depicted in the water-color made by Atkins in 1801. If indeed the origin of an ornate architrave of an icon screen was the Erechtheion,[232] one could reasonably assume that either a repair was made, or some new decoration added to the monument in the twelfth century and, consequently, that the building continued to serve as a church until that time.

The ancient form of the temple of Athena Nike, except for the likely replacement of its original wooden roof and the destruction of its pedimental sculptures, does not seem to have been modified.[233] Various cuttings in the stylobate and on the walls of the *cella* point to the probable existence of doors[234] and perhaps a wooden floor in the interior, although these features cannot be dated. Recent research has shown that in the late Middle Byzantine period[235] the building was surrounded by a wall that followed the outline of the Nike tower and closed two of the three intercolumniations of the façade. On its east side the wall formed a small open-air courtyard with rainwater receptacles. About how the Nike temple was used in the medieval period, we are left completely in the dark.

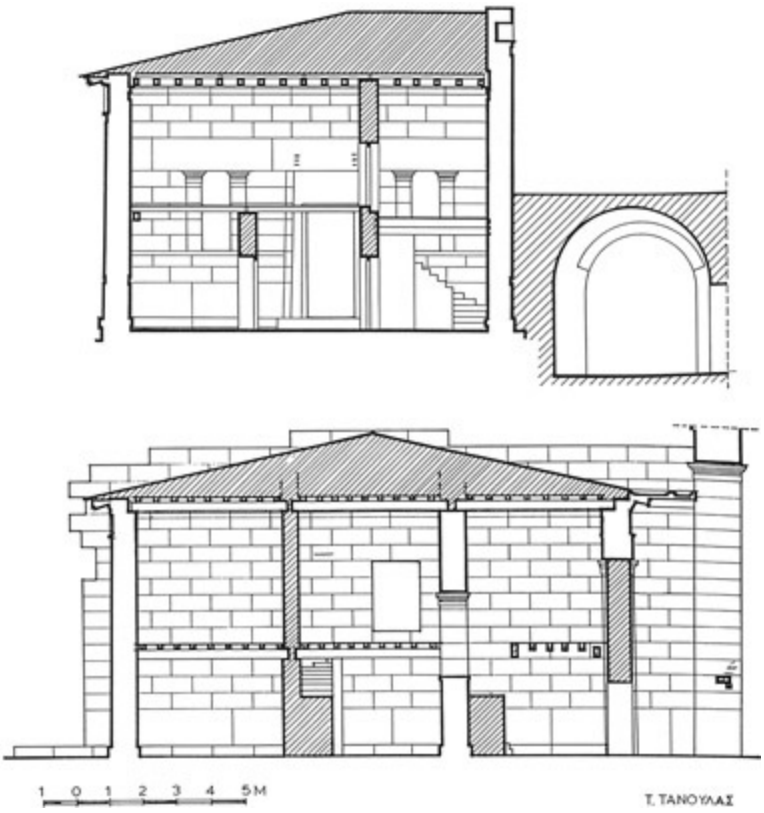

Figure 19 Propylaia. The Pinakotheke converted to the bishop's residence in the medieval period, east–west section (with the Justinianic cistern to the right) and north–south section. Reconstructive drawing, T. Tanoulas.

The Propylaia from the late third century to the modern period has been the subject of systematic study by T. Tanoulas,[236] who also drew up the plans for its reconstruction at various phases based on the written sources, direct archaeological evidence and a significant number of depictions from the seventeenth century onwards.

Study of the surviving archaeological traces, together with our scant pre-1436 textual evidence,[237] has led to the conclusion that in the Middle Byzantine period the Propylaia was still preserved in very good condition, with the ancient character of the monumental entrance to the Acropolis unmodified.[238] Certain changes of a functional nature[239] were limited to the north wing, the Pinakotheke. Its intercolumniations were filled in with a wall, a floor divided the Pinakotheke into two levels (Fig. 19), internal partitions were constructed, and stairs were fitted to allow access to the upper floor.[240]

Changes were not made in the south wing of the Propylaia, but it is believed that a chapel dedicated to the Archangels[241] (a few traces of which still survive) had already been constructed there by our period. In the north re-entrant angle located east of the Pinakotheke and on top of a large cistern, a single-aisled chapel was built in the twelfth century,[242] the remains of which were recorded[243] in 1864 before their demolition.

Everyone entering the Acropolis did so via the large hypostyle area of the main Propylaia building, which explains the great amount of graffitti on the columns and walls.[244] The most reasonable view is that, for reasons of security, only the middle of the entrance's five apertures remained open during the Middle Byzantine period and that the other four had been walled in.[245] It remains unknown when the walls were constructed between the columns in both the hypostyle area and the western Doric *prostasis* as attested in older depictions.

On the outside, the Temple of Hephaistos and Athena, better known as the 'Theseion', was preserved in very fine condition during the Middle Byzantine period, except for the addition of a sanctuary apse and the loss of its pedimental sculptures. Damage to the east pediment occurred much later.[246] By contrast, in the interior the *cella* was completely destroyed, including its pavement, the original wooden roof was replaced and the pair of columns in the *pronaos* removed.[247] Many archaeological problems resulted, and will be treated elsewhere.

The Theseion, situated on the Agoraios Kolonos hill, was the dominant feature of the new Middle Byzantine neighborhood of the Agora in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The temple had been consecrated as a church in the Early Christian(?) period[248] and in medieval times was used as the *katholikon* of the monastery of Hagios Georgios, known to us from the correspondence of Michael Choniates[249] and the papal letter[250] of 1209. We cannot exclude the possibility that for a certain period during the so-called Dark Ages it was completely abandoned.[251] There are a large number of graves in its floor pavement[252] and others around the building already from the twelfth century,[253] while in the pre-revolutionary period the space was

given over to burials of foreigners.[254]

We have already mentioned that eighty-eight of the Olympieion's gigantic columns as well as its entire upper structure[255] were pilfered or destroyed, certainly already before the mid-seventeenth century and possibly even before the period under investigation here. The little structure of vague date that survived until 1870 atop the epistyle of two columns probably belonged to the city's system of defense and did not serve as a stylite's perch.[256] In and around the temple area, traces of a settlement were found,[257] but what remained was demolished without sufficient documentation in the course of the excavations in 1886.

Figure 20 Roman Agora. View from the southwest.

The Temple of Artemis Agrotera by the Ilissos River[258] survived in good condition until its total demolition in 1778, when the Haseki wall was constructed. We depend entirely on the drawings by Stuart and Revett and a very few *spolia*. According to Travlos, the church into which the temple was converted (known as the Panagia stin Petra/'Virgin on the Rock', with a low

blind dome in the narthex and a substantial eastward extension) was post-Byzantine.[259] The traces of an apse[260] and the graves around the monument made it possible for the same scholar to conjecture the preexistence of a single-aisled Early Christian basilica.[261] It is unknown whether such a structure had survived until the Middle Byzantine period.

The Gate of Athena Archegetis at the west entrance into the Roman Agora (Fig. 20) stands still today in excellent condition and has been known in modern times as the Pazaroporta. It was an obvious reference point in Middle Byzantine Athens because it occupied a central position in the walled section of the city and stood a very short distance from at least three Byzantine churches (Fig. 21). Unfortunately here, too, excavations from 1862 onwards obliterated the Middle Byzantine and modern levels[262] as well as the remains of the extensive Byzantine settlement built inside the large Roman complex. Consequently, it is not possible to verify the statement[263] that this area was used as an agora from antiquity to the mid-nineteenth century. In the Middle Byzantine period the gate would have looked more or less the same as today. The single-aisled Soteira church that was once built up against the south side of the gate dated to the Ottoman period.[264]

Figure 21 Roman Agora. The Archegetis Gate and the churches of the Tachiarchs and Profitis Ilias. Drawing by Chr. Hansen, 1835. By kind permission of the Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

The medieval history of the Horologion of Andronikus of Kyrrhestes, perhaps better known as the Tower of the Winds,[265] is also shrouded in

silence. Thanks to its superb construction, the building, including its roof, is exceptionally well preserved. In the mid-fifteenth century, the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library[266] mentions a church in Athens built completely of marble, and this has led to the idea that he was referring to the Tower of the Winds, which had been converted to a church. However, we do not know whether it was in fact this building and what use it fulfilled three centuries earlier, and our ignorance is intensified by the fact that there are no remains of a sanctuary apse. Moreover, its conversion to a baptistery[267] belonging to an Early Christian basilica of the neighboring Agoranomeion is nothing more than conjecture. The three marble arches of the so-called Agoranomeion[268] were clearly visible in the Middle Byzantine period[269] because of the high level of their foundations, but the existence of a basilica is very doubtful.

On the south slope of the Acropolis, one of the most prominent physical features was the *skene* wall of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, which had been incorporated into the Post-Herulian wall and then later into the Rizokastro. In the Middle Byzantine period, the *cavea* of the Odeon was partly filled in and other sections were occupied by workshops and houses, while some of the openings in the façade were walled in and the ground level around the façade had risen considerably. In addition, the long vestibule along the façade had been demolished and filled in,[270] and the marble revetment robbed. At the end of the fourteenth century, Niccolò da Martoni took the Odeon for an arched bridge.[271] Later it acquired the name known from the written sources, namely 'Theatre of Bacchus',[272] since the Theatre of Dionysos was invisible at this time, covered over by layers of fill. Judging by the earliest depictions of the Acropolis,[273] the blind arcade in the retaining wall of the Stoa of Eumenes was visible in the medieval period, at least a long stretch of it, although relieved of both its revetment and its entire superstructure. Still further to the east, in an area scattered with antiquities,[274] the much older basilica of the Asklepieion[275] is thought to have survived, the same one mentioned in the Paris Codex of 1063, 'Athenian… St Menas in the ramparts of the Acropolis'.[276] Higher up, at the base of the Acropolis fortification, a Roman choregic monument consisting of two columns[277] stands perfectly preserved until the present day.

Also intact[278] was the façade of the choregic monument of Thrasyllos.

In the Athenian Agora, copious amounts of ancient *spolia* were preserved in the Post-Herulian wall and Middle Byzantine houses, but obvious sections of buildings seem to have been few. The northern corner of the Stoa of Attalos survived to its full height, as attested in depictions from the early nineteenth century,[279] and a smaller section of its eastern wall[280] was incorporated into the Post-Herulian wall and was probably visible in the Middle Byzantine period. At least one of the six giants that adorned the entrance to the Late Antique Gymnasium ('Palace of the Giants')[281] remained on its pedestal and was probably incorporated into the walls of houses in the settlement dating to the eleventh to twelfth centuries.[282]

We have already discussed the Philopappos monument in the context of the inscriptions Cyriac of Ancona copied there. We possess no other information about the monument from this period. Copies of Cyriac's sketches (in the Vatican codex, Barb. lat. 4424) show the monument's façade in good condition as late as the mid-fifteenth century. However, they do not provide clues to the state of the back of the monument, leaving unanswered the question of when it was destroyed. This question is also connected with the erection of the stairwell in the Parthenon's *opisthonaos* which, according to Korres, was constructed of marble derived mainly from the Philopappos monument.

The existence of Byzantine wall paintings on the attic of the commemorative Arch of Hadrian has inspired various hypotheses: the arch had been absorbed into a church that was already demolished by the late sixteenth century,[283] or it had served as the portal to the monastery of Hagios Nikolaos at the Olympieion.[284] Both notions seem baseless. Not a trace of the conjectured church has been found, and in any case its size would necessarily have been tremendous judging by the considerable height above ground level at which the surviving wall paintings were located. And it is not reasonable that a monastery portal stand at a distance of 110 meters from the *katholikon*. Consequently, all that is certain about the appearance of the Arch of Hadrian in the medieval period is that the marble transverse wall was preserved to the height of its attic, which is documented in old depictions of the arch[285] but

disappeared after Greek independence. It is unknown when the two pairs of Corinthian columns on the monument's two façades were removed.

In addition to the remains of the basilica and the church of the Megale Panagia,[286] the interior of the Library of Hadrian also preserved – under a large amount of fill – many Byzantine ruins that were destroyed during the construction of the Ottoman voivod's residence in the eighteenth century and, subsequently, in the excavations conducted by Koumanoudis in 1885 to 1886. These Byzantine remains were tremendously important given that the Library stood at the heart of the walled city and was in continuous use. Part of the façade[287] as well as the north and east walls of the complex were saved thanks to their incorporation into the Post-Herulian wall and were obviously visible in the Middle Byzantine period, but we possess no information about the destruction of the façade's southern section, or the entire south side, which has never been investigated.

Indications concerning the façade's condition in the tenth to twelfth centuries can be gleaned from the well-known drawing[288] attributed to Jacques Carrey (1672), but without certainty, of course, since we do not know when the library's propylon lost one of its four columns and fell into dereliction. In any case, the buildings that filled in the propylon's intercolumniation – perhaps belonging to some long-ago demolished monastery – can be dated[289] to the eleventh or twelfth century, as also the nearby church, known as the 'Asomatos sta Skalia'.[290] In other words, these structures did exist in our period. With regard to the east side of the Library, where we find the building with the book cupboards,[291] it is possible to conjecture that much more of its full height would have been visible because the deposits would have been lesser in quantity, and consequently the ground level considerably lower, in the tenth to twelfth centuries than it is today on Aiolou Street.

The choregic monument of Lysikrates was always in excellent condition and was known to Athenians as the 'Lantern of Demosthenes'.[292] In contrast, the Panathenaic Stadium, once it had been robbed of its marble and its embankment, would have been unrecognizable and resembled, instead, a

small valley[293] north of Ardettos Hill. But the bridge over the Ilissos had survived, at least as it is in the condition familiar to us from later illustrations of it.[294]

We have already mentioned the monumental façade of the reservoir of the Hadrianic aqueduct at the foot of Mt Lykabettos. We do not know whether in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was preserved in better condition than it was depicted by Stuart and Revett[295] or others[296] in the eighteenth century. In any case, the right part of its architrave was preserved, possibly lying on the ground, in 1436 when Cyriac[297] copied the Latin inscription carved on it.

Isolated fragments from other ancient monuments that can still be seen today were obviously visible in the medieval city as well. The columns with Ionic capitals from a courtyard(?) in front of the Byzantine church of Hagia Aikaterine,[298] the colonette of Misaraliotou Street[299] and the column that has given its name to the Post-Byzantine church of Hagios Ioannes[300] have not been associated with their original structures, but were still preserved in situ in the Middle Byzantine period.

We have already commented on the condition in which the Valerianic wall was preserved in medieval times. Its appellation as the 'Royal wall' is probably[301] owed to the recollection that Justinian had strengthened it. Although it most likely ceased to play a defensive role, the Valerianic wall continued to function as the city's visible boundary and, as we see in the *Praktikon*,[302] it encompassed ancient buildings near the Upper Gate. Mention of these buildings attests that they, too, were recognized points of reference in medieval Athens.

Residential areas of Athens

Introduction: Information from the written sources

The division of the inhabited area of medieval Athens into residential units is

not only helpful for the organization of our study, but also reflects more or less the distinct units of remains that have come to light through excavation.

As has been already observed,[303] the evidence concerned with medieval Athens drawn from excavation has barely been exploited by scholars. Excavation is an irreversible process that disassociates finds from the material that accompanied them[304] (and which future investigative methods might have been able to utilize), it can only happen once and it exposes the finds to deterioration. The possibility of exploiting scientifically finds that are primarily immovable is nullified if they are not published[305] and is seriously diminished if the finds are not interpreted, or when the publication is deficient, considerably delayed or made by someone other than the excavators themselves. Publications of immovable finds without plans[306] or without plans that are clearly related to a topographical grid are very difficult to make sense of. Such publications are not helpful to synthetic studies and are usually limited to descriptions and the recording of information that is of little use.

Especially in the case of medieval Athens, various factors have led to today's situation in which we are unable to reconstruct – possibly in not even a single area of the city – the form taken by the medieval city's urban fabric.[307]

A. The so-called rescue excavations carried out so that a modern building can be constructed are usually small in extent and fragmentary, in other words they do not lead to the discovery of a building or complex in its totality. Excavations carried out in streets (for the installation of public utilities) have the same result.
B. Both rescue and systematic excavations are usually conducted by 'classical' archaeologists who, on the one hand, are not particularly interested in the medieval finds and don't bother to comment on them or interpret them and, on the other hand, are in a rush to get to the lower levels with antiquities from classical or prehistoric periods.
C. For the same reasons the excavators prepare reports[308] that are insufficient or vague. In most of these reports, the finds are described as 'Byzantine' remains of buildings, which includes material

belonging to any time between the reign of Constantine the Great and the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Rarely is specific evidence on which to base more precise dating mentioned, such as potsherds or coins, which were either not discovered or not investigated. The recycling of building materials over the course of centuries also complicates the dating of finds. Built into the surface of the ground floor of houses there is plenty of relevant study material in the form of *pithoi* and masonry *siroi* – chambers or pits made of stones, taking the shape of a *pithos* – a feature of Athenian houses familiar to all who have excavated here. Usually these, too, are identified vaguely as Byzantine and only on rare occasions have they been classified, studied and dated by Byzantine pottery specialists.[309] Other storage vessels were commonly constructed in the form of *pithoi*[310] set into the earth. When for some reason these fell out of use, they became repositories for all sorts of refuse.[311]

D. In complete contrast with the excellent construction of the churches dating to our period, the habitations are characterized in the main by their mediocre to poor construction and cheap materials. Structural elements, which might bear witness to some sort of development, either do not exist or have never been studied, and this complicates even further their dating.

E. Systematic excavations have much better results and provide valuable information, provided they are published.[312] But those carried out in the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century were catastrophic for the medieval archaeology of Athens. In the discussion that follows, it will be made clear that excavators demolished large complexes of ruins and razed to the ground fully preserved Byzantine churches in order to excavate the underlying levels with antique remains or to free the area around classical monuments. And to add insult to injury, these purges were done without any, or just the most negligible, documentation of finds.

Unfortunately, the aforementioned *Praktikon*[313] sheds little light on the

residential areas of Middle Byzantine Athens, which is only to be expected since it is a catalogue of productive areas of cultivation with the names of those who worked them, and not a list of buildings. It is valuable for the place-names and village toponyms it records, even though only six of a total of forty have been recognized as directly related to the city itself.

Six private estates were located in the vicinity of the Tzykanisterion,[314] in other words closely connected with the polo field inside the 'Royal' wall. From the names of the churches recorded at its boundaries, it is believed[315] that the properties, and the Tzykanisterion too, were located at the city's northern edge.

Six fields were located in the place known as 'Elaphou',[316] also within the boundaries of the 'Royal' wall. Their close connection to the monastery of Hagios Dionysios on the Areopagus and the church of Hagia Marina situates the fields northwest of the Acropolis. The rocky terrain in this area is also identified in the *Praktikon* as third class land.[317] However, the church of Hagios Isauros, although mentioned in this context, has not been found, nor any traces of a settlement. At the aforementioned[318] Upper Gate,[319] located in all likelihood in the area of the ancient Dipylon Gate, there was a forest that had been recorded in the land register,[320] and it is possible that the use of it had been granted to the Portos Monastery, about which – once again – nothing is known. In the same area, a few remains of Middle Byzantine buildings have been found near the ancient Pompeion, to which we will return later.

A field is noted in the vicinity of Konchylarioi, a toponym derived from the word for shell (*konchyle*).[321] It is believed that somewhere nearby they processed the shells that were used in the production of porphyry dye for fabric. And because a great number of shells were found in the levels dug in the HerOdeon, the hypothesis[322] that the porphyry-workers' houses and workshops were located between the Acropolis and the Hill of the Muses has been expressed. The area was investigated, but the only recognizable Middle Byzantine dwellings consist in the remains of two(?) houses located over the fillings of the cisterns south of the HerOdeon.

The manuscript of the *Praktikon* has a small gap where it mentions 'a field in the vicinity of Ba…'.[323] It was located near the 'Royal' wall and shared a border with the habitations of the *asekretis* Pastophilos. This piece of information would present some interest if we knew where to place it, as it would be an indication of where the noblemen or officials of Athens lived at that time.

Two toponyms mentioned in the *Praktikon* that remain unchanged from antiquity are the Koile (χωρίον ἡ Κοίλη)[324] and the Kerameikos (χωρίον Κεραμεικῷ).[325] The ancient Koile, to the west of the Hill of the Muses, has been excavated and preserves the cuttings from the foundations of houses, but not from our period.[326] No relevant information exists. The name Kerameikos referred to an extensive area in classical antiquity,[327] but we do not know whether the same was true in the medieval period. Archaeological finds dating to medieval times have come to light north of the Agoraios Kolonos.

Residential areas in Athens

The area of medieval Athens given over to habitations is divided into nine units, of which four are on the Acropolis and inside the boundaries of the Post-Herulian wall (the Acropolis, Plaka and the city center, the Library of Hadrian and Monastiraki, the Roman Agora) and the other five areas found outside the wall in the city's Middle Byzantine extension (the Athenian Agora, the Areopagus and Theseion; the area around Syntagma Square, the National Garden and the Zappeion; the south slope of the Acropolis; the Olympieion; and the Kerameikos). We will first investigate the structural remains of the dwellings and then the remains of industrial buildings and workshops, even though in most cases they are intermingled.

Settlement on the Acropolis

Purely from the point of view of defense, we should probably consider that

the Acropolis in our period had a cluster of houses that served the citadel guards,[328] most likely those described by Michael Choniates as ‘kastrinoi’ and deemed essential[329] to the city’s safety: ‘the loss of the garrison of our city is a loss of everything’. But there is no written testimony of what existed at that time or whether there was a settlement on the Acropolis in the so-called Dark Ages.[330]

Unfortunately, the archaeological record is almost nonexistent. The demolition of all medieval structures on the Acropolis began as early as 1834 at the initiative of Kyriakos Pittakis, and the great excavation of 1885–1890 removed the remaining deposits down to the live bedrock across the entire Acropolis surface.[331]

Documentation of what was found by Kawerau and Kavvadias is limited to a single plan[332] on a scale of 1:500 in which the light brown color denotes ‘later and modern walls’. In fact not only walls are marked but other medieval and modern remnants of foundations and walls for which neither additional details nor dating is offered. In other words, many of these might even be the walls of the Ottoman dwellings that are known to have covered the Acropolis[333] until the Greek War of Independence.

Somewhat more detailed are the drawings of finds from the excavation by Doerpfeld and Kawerau, which Bundgaard[334] published in 1974 together with a transcription of their notes. Once again, the data supplied is insufficient, but they do note the citadel’s water cisterns,[335] still extant at that time, and a Byzantine building worthy of note (Fig. 22) to the west of the Parthenon and almost in contact with the south wall.[336] The building’s surviving substructure consisted of four massive piers made of porous stone interspersed with pieces of marble and small stones founded on ancient stone chippings, and a semicircular, westward-facing apse with a diameter of 5.30 meters. After the monument’s destruction, a cistern[337] was created in the fill, although we do not know when. The massive stone piers in the building’s substructure and the absence of bricks suggest an early medieval date for their construction. Korres accepts the view that during the twelfth century a relatively large building with a pitched roof[338] was erected between the aforementioned

building and the Parthenon. However, the traces of other two- or even three-story buildings of undetermined function that are still discernable[339] on the columns of the west side of the great temple are considered later by Korres, who dates them to the thirteenth century (Fig. 23).

Figure 22 Acropolis. Unidentified Byzantine building, west of the Parthenon. View from southwest. Photo, J. Bundgaard.

Figure 23 Acropolis. Part of a pseudo-sarcophagus (?) marble slab.

Settlement in Plaka and the modern city center

As we have mentioned above, rescue excavations in the area known today as Plaka have been relatively few. In all cases, what has come to light are the ground floors of Byzantine houses whose upper structures remain a mystery

and whose date can only be estimated, and never with precision.

During the excavation for the Kanellopoulos Museum extension on 5 Theorias Street, in addition to remains of the Rizokastro, part of a Byzantine dwelling[340] was also found with well-made north and east walls rising to 1.50 meters, as well as upright stone piers and a finely preserved large storage *pithos* in situ (Fig. 24).

At 7–9 Kekropos Street, a large ruined residence[341] from Late Antiquity was rebuilt or underwent drastic repairs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as attested by the pottery found there. On its ground floor stood large *pithoi*. In the excavation at 11 Erechtheos Street, nothing survived but a wall that incorporated dressed porous stone in secondary use.[342] Byzantine houses were established in the fill in the well-known peristyle west of the church of Hagia Aikaterine,[343] 1.25 meters above its Late Roman stylobate.[344] The wooden roof(?) beams of the houses were supported on the columns, and fragments of *pithoi* from the ground floor were also discovered. Associated with the same peristyle should also be included the remains noted in three excavations at 6 Galanou Street,[345] 15 Lysikratous Street[346] and under the pavement of Lysikratous Street.[347]

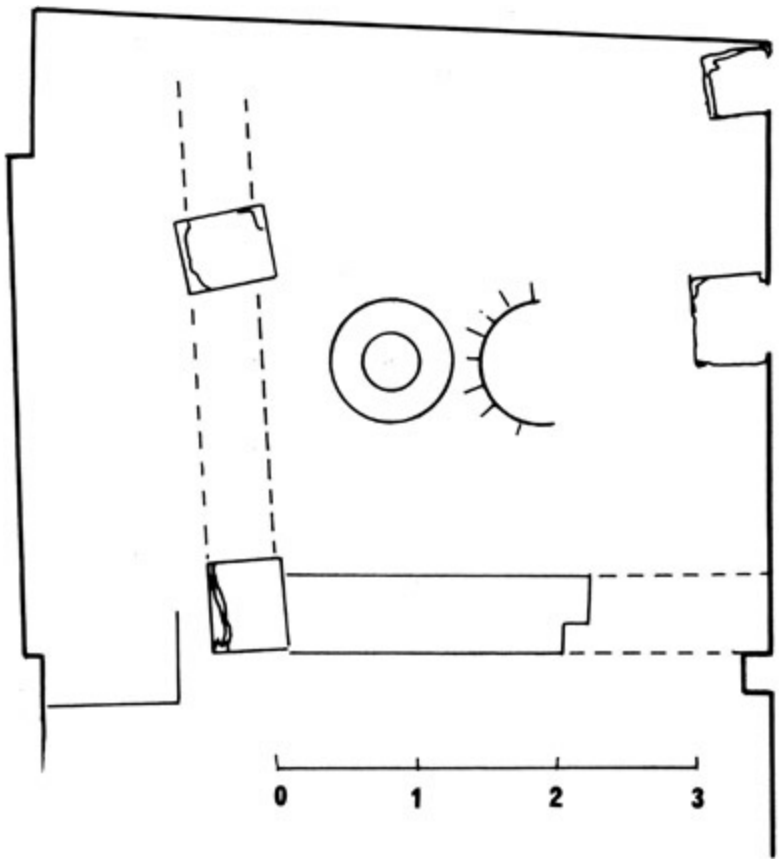

Figure 24 The remains of a Byzantine house in the basement of the Kanellopoulos Museum. Sketch plan.

Poor-quality remains of houses located near the Post-Herulian wall were discovered in excavations in a plot at Kyrrhestou Street and 4 Flessa Street,[348] as well as at 18 Diogenes Street.[349] In the Helliniki Hetaireia building at 28 Tripodon Street,[350] one may visit a large retaining wall of unknown date that is partly constructed of reused materials, as well as two *pithoi* from the tenth to twelfth century, preserved in situ. In a neighboring building[351] (32 Tripodon Street) was uncovered a retaining wall similar to that mentioned above, as well as the remains of Byzantine houses with *pithoi* and masonry *siroi*, the term used for stone-lined pits, often flat-floored, but sometimes *pithos*-shaped. On 22 Panos Street a habitation described as Late Byzantine with five rooms and masonry *siroi* was excavated.[352]

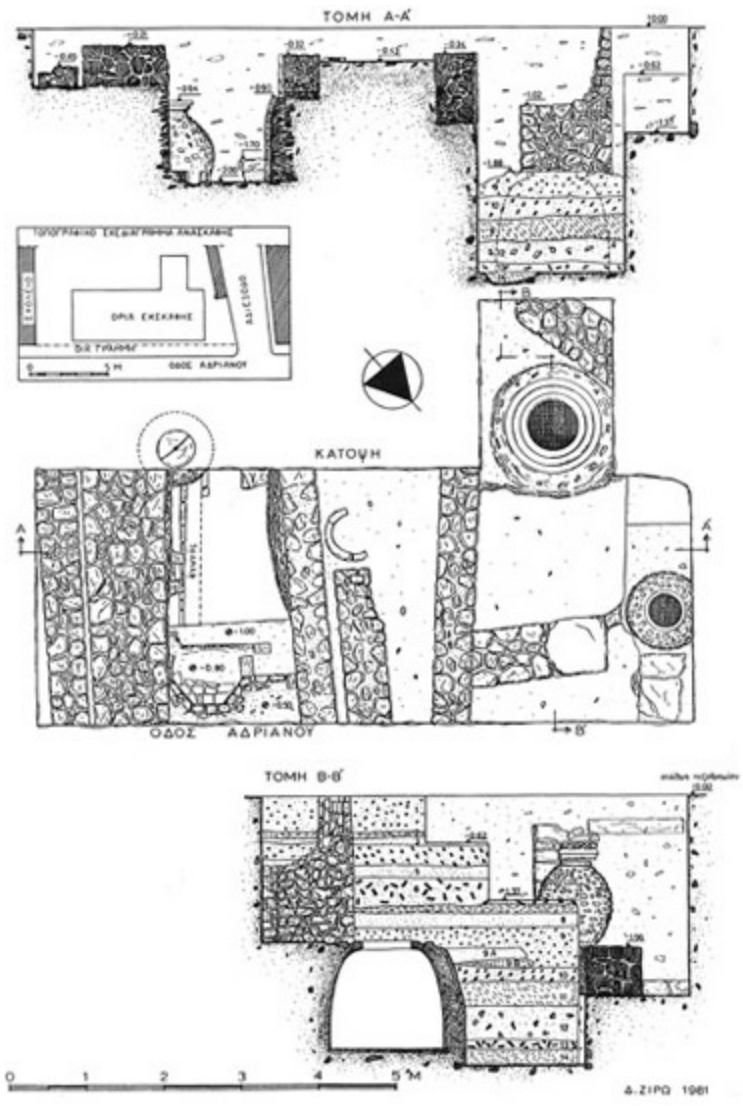

Figure 25 Remains of Byzantine buildings in the 104 Adrianou Street plot. Plan, two sections and block plan. Drawing by D. Giraud.

In the courtyard of the school at 104 Adrianou Street (Fig. 25) was excavated a Byzantine house[353] with a large bell-shaped masonry *pithos* of which only drawings were published. Unfortunately, the plan of the house remains unclear. Further to the east,[354] in a large plot on the same street (nos. 111–113), ceramic and masonry jars attest the existence of a habitation here in the medieval period, although the architectural remains are in such poor condition that it is not possible to distinguish rooms. At a short distance from this dwelling (117 Adrianou Street), excavation brought to light the circular

hall of a Roman bath,[355] over which was constructed a Byzantine house incorporating preexisting walls and others made of fieldstones. It is again our misfortune that the house plan is not discernable. By contrast, much further to the west on the same street (no. 67),[356] ruins were discovered standing to a height of 2.50 meters and whose construction is exceptionally high quality by the usual standards of residential construction: the walls were built with upright blocks of dressed stone surrounded by rubble masonry, while the orthostats and lintels are of stone. Unfortunately, even though the layout of both the house and an adjacent space (separated by a street)[357] was clear, no plans were published. Coins and *pithoi* point only vaguely to a date of construction.

At 88 Adrianou Street,[358] at the northeast corner of the Roman building believed to be the Pantheon,[359] yet another *pithos* bears witness to the existence of a Byzantine house built up against the Post-Herulian wall, while over the vestibule of the Pantheon the remains of another Middle Byzantine house[360] with two *siroi* were discovered. The absence of plans makes it difficult to establish a relationship between all these house remains and the Post-Herulian wall, bearing in mind its partial demolition before the end of the twelfth century.

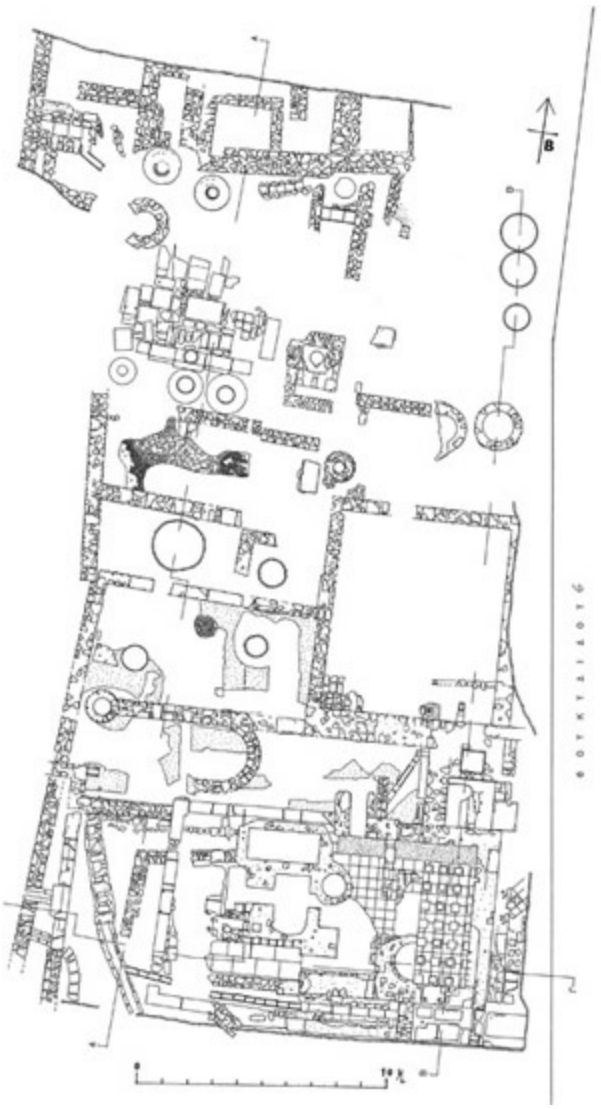

Figure 26 Remains of Middle Byzantine houses in the 6 Thoukididou Street plot. (Plan P. Vasilopoulos).

Finds from the area of Athens's modern cathedral located outside the Post-Herulian wall add little significant material to the present investigation.

Behind the archiepiscopal offices, on 6 Thoukydidou Street,[361] the excavators established that storage *siroi* (at least thirteen) (Fig. 26) and wells from the Middle Byzantine period had destroyed the pavements of the older, Late Antique buildings on the same site. East of the cathedral,[362] a dense cluster of *siroi* and remains of an industrial area were found in the course of digging the ventilation shaft for the metro. South of the cathedral the old excavations of K. Zisiou in Hagias Filotheis Street showed the positions of two

Post-Byzantine(?) churches that survived until the War of Independence.[363]

Excavation at 34 Mitropoleos Street[364] confirmed the existence of a house(?) with three rooms, also built over other Late Antique buildings, as well as a pear-shaped *siros*. Another excavation carried out north of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos church[365] revealed a possibly Early Christian room, and a wall considered to be contemporary with the church, i.e. twelfth century, on account of its construction using dressed porous stone arranged vertically on a *crepidoma* of the same materials and filled in with fired brick. In the same area were found six masonry and three ceramic *pithoi*, as well as an wine press. It is very likely that the wall belonged to one of the buildings in the Gorgoepekoos complex, as it is known in its latest Post-Byzantine phase from the drawing by Barskij.[366] We possess only a brief reference to the Byzantine ruins beneath the cathedral.[367]

In the area to the west, further remains of medieval settlement were recognized in streets around Hermou Street.

In a plot at 10–12 Hagias Theklas Street,[368] *siroi* dating in all likelihood to our period were found over the ruins of Late Roman and Early Byzantine houses. Excavation on another property at the corner of Ivis and Navarchou Apostoli Streets[369] brought to light a Byzantine building reusing ancient *spolia* and with two construction phases, in which were found storage *pithoi* and a well. It is conjectured that this was the site of yet another demolished Athenian church, known as Sotera tou Dikaiou.[370] Evidence of a Middle Byzantine presence at 7–9 Kekropos Street[371] takes the form of low walls, *siroi* and pieces of glazed Byzantine pots. Trenches in the paving of Hagiou Filippou Street,[372] between Hermou and Astingos and in close proximity to excavations in section MM in the Agora excavations, revealed parts of buildings – unclear if residential – with masonry using large rectangular stones arranged vertically in a manner typical of the Middle Byzantine period. In the same street, adjacent to Avissynias Square,[373] three masonry *pithoi* were sunk down into the Roman levels, where mosaic pavements were preserved.

At 11 Pittaki Street[374] at least eight stone *pithoi* were found, but not the

walls of the dwelling to which they belonged. The glazed Byzantine pots found in the same excavation testify that this discovery, too, belongs to the Middle Byzantine period. In the same street, at the corner where it intersects Hagias Theklas Street, similar finds were unearthed, but were classified as Post-Byzantine.[375]

Walls and masonry *pithoi* belonging to Byzantine buildings dating to various periods were noted in two plots on Miaouli Street (nos. 9 and 15) near Monastiraki,[376] although we lack sufficient data to identify them more specifically. Unfortunately, the same is true of the excavation[377] at 1 Romvis Street where three bell-shaped *siroi* were found. Further to the west, in the course of the excavation of a ventilation shaft for the metro,[378] walls and a large number of *pithoi* came to light that were interpreted as belonging to auxiliary rooms of a monastery whose *katholikon* was the church of the Hagioi Asomatoi.

Scattered finds further to the north towards the modern city center bear witness to the extension of medieval settlement into this area too. On 35 Voulis Street[379] more storage jars were found and also a coin of Nikephoros III Botaneiatis (1078–1081), providing a rough date for the finds, which are otherwise of limited interest. On Nikis Street[380] a vaulted Roman tomb was discovered that had been used in the Byzantine period. Probably unjustifiably given the distances involved, the tomb has been associated with the monastery of Soteira Lykodemou. Along the same street, at no. 27,[381] the remains of two building phases of a church were noted in the ruins of a rampart and in the deposit filling an ancient ditch.[382] In a trench dug for sewer installations at the corner of Voulis Street and Ipiti Street more Byzantine *pithoi* came to light, but no further details were recorded.[383]

The excavation at 4 Sarri Street is shrouded in the same vagueness.[384] We will discuss the Byzantine church of Hagioi Theodoroi elsewhere.[385] At 11–13 Hagiou Markou Street,[386] a relatively well-preserved underground Roman or Early Christian grave chamber came to light, with arcosolia in its sidewalls. It was interpreted as a *martyrion* on account of the existence at one time of a modern chapel in the same place.[387] Unfortunately, the publication of this

important monument was inadequate. Nothing but a simple mention was made of a Byzantine masonry *siros* found at 7 Miltiadou Street.[388]

Settlement in the area of Monastiraki and the Library of Hadrian

The finds from excavations in the area of Monastiraki are no different from those discovered in the previously discussed area – in any case, there are no physical boundaries separating the two areas. I will describe the Monastiraki area together with that around the Library of Hadrian, even though a certain amount has already been said about that ancient monument in the context of the medieval city.[389]

Exhaustive excavation was carried out in present-day Monastiraki Square – a major node in the life of the city, at least in later years[390] – as part of the extension of the station and metropolitan railway network from 1992 to 2000. Unfortunately, the results were published in extremely summary reports[391] in which only brief mention was made of the Middle Byzantine built environment that included at least two Byzantine churches.[392] At various points they discovered *pithoi* and *siroi*, walls incorporating *spolia*, movable finds that confirmed the dating and a layer of destruction at the end of the twelfth century that can be related to the fire set by Leo Sgouros just before the arrival of the Franks. The Middle Byzantine levels were removed so that the underlying Early Christian, Roman and ancient Greek monumental remains could be investigated.[393]

We have already discussed the Library's incorporation into the Post-Herulian fortifications, its two gates, the probable existence of a street linking them and the peculiar history of the western gate[394] in the medieval period. Ottoman building activity, followed by the demolition of the Byzantine church of the Hagioi Asomatoi and all the Ottoman constructions after the Greek War of Independence,[395] profoundly limited the possibility of archaeological investigation on the west side of the complex. In the interior, the erection and subsequent demolition of barracks,[396] the rubble fill, the misuse of the marketplace resulting in fire damage[397] and, above all,

Koumanoudis's excavation and destruction (1885) led to the eradication of all the medieval ruins except the most exiguous remnants.[398] The investigations conducted by Travlos in 1950 were aimed at studying the large central building and the Megale Panagia.[399] Conse quently, the scientific profit gained from the relatively recent excavations of what was once an extensive medieval settlement is only slight.[400]

As part of a preparatory study for the partial restoration of the Library's four-columned propylon, investigations were made that led to the discovery of a later drain[401] as well as graves and ossuaries associated with the church of the Hagioi Asomatoi.[402] In a southward extension of the church (a narthex?), a large arcosolium[403] was created at the propylon's north end by the removal of orthostats and the clumsy carving of the marble elements that remained over them. At the west wall of the complex, which was strengthened by the Post-Herulian wall, were noted traces bearing witness to the existence at some point – the precise date is unknown, but probably not in the tenth to twelfth centuries[404] – of buildings that occupied the width of the interior peristyle.

The continuation of the Post-Herulian wall (about which we have already spoken) was identified in the courtyard in front of the Library façade, a street roughly following today's Areos Street and extending southward was investigated,[405] and it was found that the deposits reached as high as almost a meter above ground level.[406] The Byzantine layers were dated to the tenth to twelfth centuries on the basis of pottery finds.[407] A cistern in the courtyard, probably dating to the Ottoman period, had two Byzantine walls constructed of good-quality masonry[408] as well as *pithoi* and *siroi*. Later in the course of excavation, an installation for dyeing cloth was discovered in the courtyard,[409] perhaps dating to the Middle Byzantine period. A row of stone basins, a water reservoir and other utilitarian elements were also preserved. We will return to this industrial installation later. In the Library interior, areas that had never been excavated or that were covered by later constructions were also the subject of investigation. On the northern stylobate of the inner peristyle were preserved the remains of a small cross-in-square church,[410] although only the

foundations and a meager remnant of the walls.

Additional excavations in the Library's inner peristyle[411] revealed remains of buildings from the Middle Byzantine settlement that were similar to those also found in the tetraconch atrium: large and small storage *pithoi* and walls[412] that do not constitute distinct rooms. In addition, there were graves in the narthex and around the tetraconch[413] that were used in the Middle Byzantine period as well.

Unfortunately, all of this relatively recently discovered material was simply not enough either to confirm the existence of the east–west-oriented street[414] or provide information about the fabric of the medieval settlement.

Settlement in the Roman Agora

Even though the area of the Roman Agora[415] has been the focus of repeated excavation since 1862, a significant part of it has still not been investigated. The complex's present form differs greatly from what we would have found there in the medieval and other periods on account of the re-erection[416] of a considerable number of columns, either in part or in their entirety.[417] Clearly many of the deposits were removed, as can be understood from the two vaulted Post-Byzantine graves at the southern edge of the area that were obviously once subterranean but are now above ground level.

Here, as in the neighboring Library of Hadrian,[418] the classical archaeologists indiscriminately demolished the remains of the medieval settlement together with the more recent houses that covered the area, leaving us with little information, only one good plan and a few photographs.[419] Two of the three Byzantine churches in the same area, the Taxiarchs and Profitis Ilias, were also destroyed for the same reasons,[420] as well as the small Post-Byzantine Soteira church,[421] possibly in order to clear the area around the Gate of Athena Archegetis.

We have already mentioned the great importance of the complex that lay within the city's Post-Herulian defenses and occupied approximately eleven stremmata. The boundaries of the Roman Agora that are still visible today on

three sides remained so throughout the Middle Byzantine period too: the east is marked by the Horologion of Andronikos and the so-called Agoranomeion, the west by the four-columned propylon of Athena Archegetis, and the south by the high retaining wall. We do not know when the stoa and north perimeter wall[422] were demolished, nor whether the small square existed in front of the third Byzantine church[423] in the Middle Byzantine period. The square appears in later plans[424] in front of the Ottoman mosque that was erected over the ruins of the church. In addition, it is not known how the fountain worked in the medieval period (Fig. 27).[425] Still today a seasonal water supply from the flank of the Acropolis feeds this fountain. Traces of hydraulic mortar and brickwork bear witness to the fact that some additions were made to the fountain in the tenth to twelfth centuries. Given that the level around the entire area would have risen, we must conjecture the existence of stairs allowing access to the water. The fact that the annual market known as the 'Staropazaro' was held in this location in the late Ottoman period does not provide any certain proof that the area was used for the same purpose in the period under investigation here.[426]

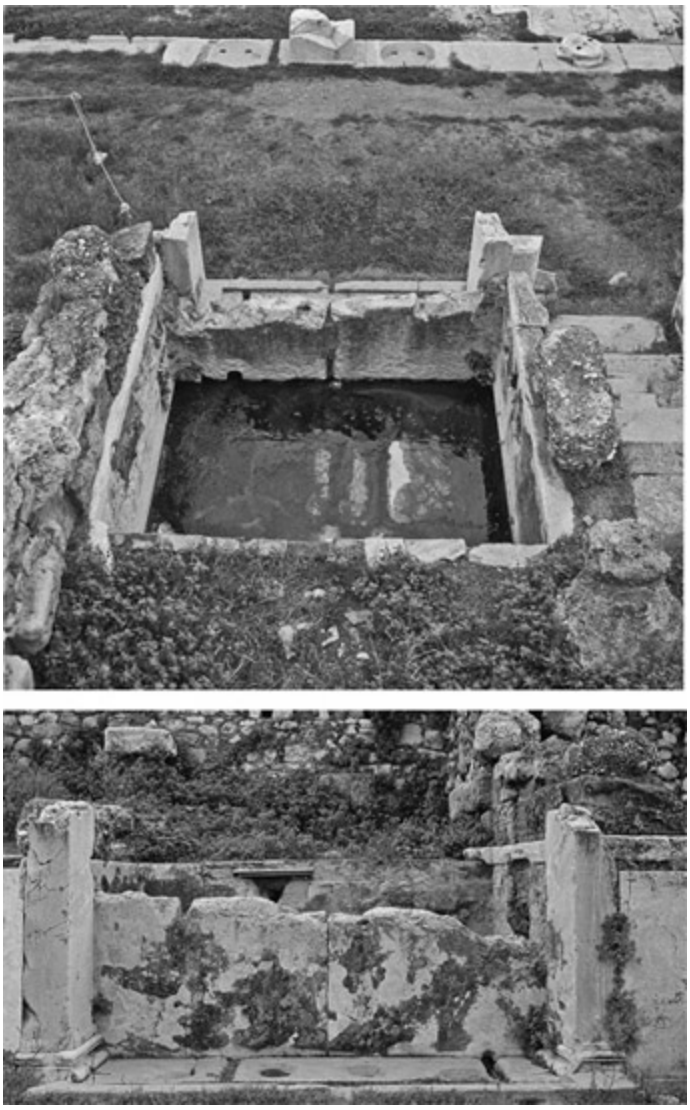

Figure 27 Roman Agora. The fountain and its reservoir. Views from above and in front.

From the earlier excavations of Koumanoudis we learn that ‘a lot of earth had to be disposed of as well as later walls, irregular and having nothing to do with the main building. They had to be demolished and they were demolished.’ We also learn that they razed to the ground an Ottoman bathhouse[427] and a small tekke located a short distance from the west gate.[428] There is no documentation of the medieval finds. Twenty years later Alexandros Philadelpheus[429] presumed, on the basis of the quantity of Byzantine sculpted work discovered, that ‘a large Christian church was built [at the site] which disappeared under the Turks’ and he referred to the

existence of a very thick Byzantine wall which ran parallel to what was known then as Panos Street, 'which we excavated down to the ancient level'[430] and to the west of the fountain. To Philadelpheus we owe the excavation of the two vaulted graves or ossuaries that are preserved still today very near the Library's southern retaining wall at a level slightly higher than the ancient level, just a short distance to the west of the fountain. The entrances to the structures are eastward-facing and contiguous, and preserved in relatively good condition. They probably do not belong to our period, to judge from their manner of construction from small, tapering, carved arch-stones typical of buildings from the Ottoman period.

Perhaps to these older excavations should be attributed the discovery of a wall that rests above the orthostat and five courses of the ancient retaining wall on the south side of the enclosure (Fig. 28). The wall is constructed of large, upright, well-cut stones arranged in close proximity to each other and resting on other stones arranged horizontally, so as to create three 'T's and one cross. Rubble masonry fills the spaces between the large, cut stones. The style of masonry is typical of the Middle Byzantine period,[431] and the wall may have belonged to a church or some other important structure that has not been investigated.

Figure 28 Roman Agora. Byzantine wall with upright stone blocks.

Most of our information about the medieval Roman Agora comes from excavations carried out in 1930 and 1931 that were published by Phoebos Stavropoulos[432] and supplemented by a publication by Orlandos thirty years later.[433] Here too the medieval remains of the settlement were destroyed in order to expose the Roman complex, but many Byzantine movable finds were preserved and we have a plan drawn by Travlos[434] that gives us a general impression of the area and the excavation, filling in the unclear presentation by Stavropoulos (Fig. 29).

The Byzantine finds are located at a depth of two or more meters and include what we would expect: poor-quality walls rising to a low height and both ceramic and masonry *pithoi*. The space between any standing columns was filled with rubble masonry[435] to form walls and rooms. Still uninvestigated are four columns set at regular intervals that were re-erected in a line parallel to the western stoa[436] of the Roman peristyle. This was done in the Byzantine period, judging by the fact that they were reused at the same level where the Byzantine finds were discovered. Obviously the Middle Byzantine walls were quarried for stone in later periods, while the *pithoi* and *siroi* fell out of use, with the result that 'the quantity of *pithoi* discovered… lying on the ground and buried in it is remarkable.'[437] Nothing was found in the area that was excavated in 1930 to 1931 to suggest it had been used as an open space for a weekly or even annual market, although the excavation was not finished since the area was occupied by modest dwellings, a bakery, the Fethiye Mosque as well as two streets, Epameinonda and Panos. Later the streets were closed, and the area beneath them excavated. Of great significance for the industrial development of medieval Athens was the discovery of a pottery workshop[438] with a kiln, a well,[439] refuse repositories and other finds that will be discussed later.

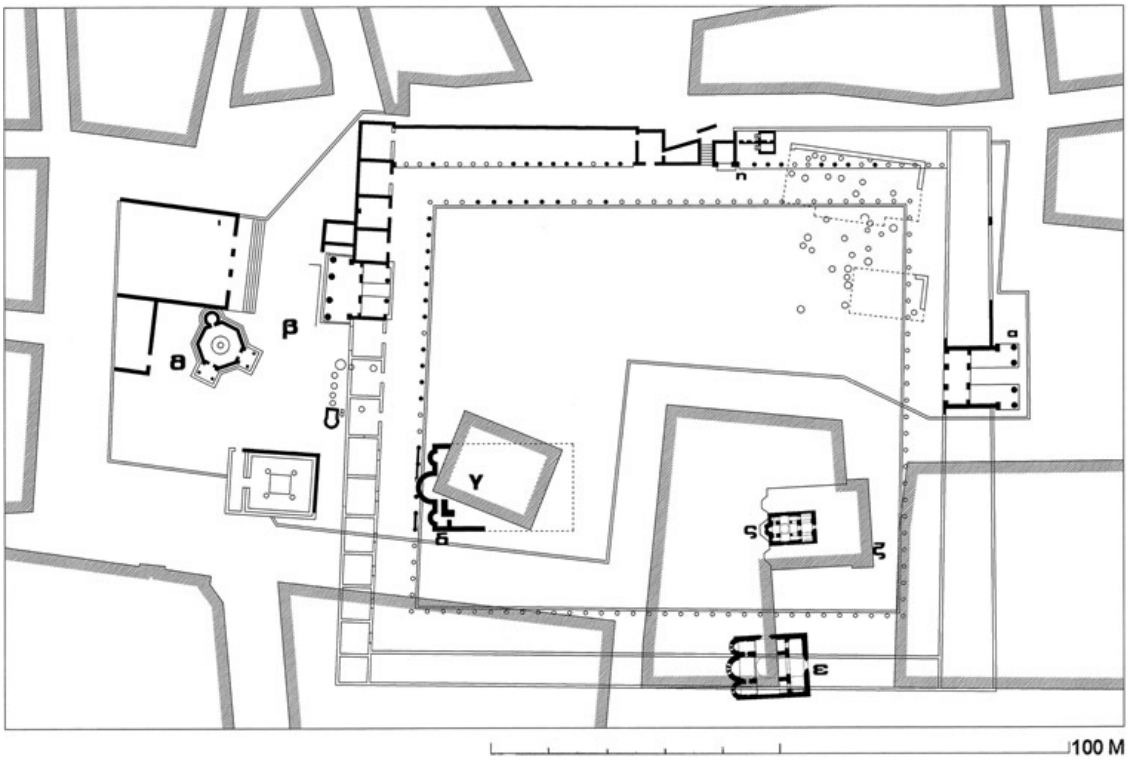

Figure 29 Roman Agora. Reconstructive plan based on a drawing by J. Travlos. α. The Archegetis Gate, β. The Eastern propylon, γ. Fethiye Mosque, δ. Ruins of a church beneath the mosque, ε. Church of Profitis Ilias, στ. Church of the Taxiarchs; ζ. Panagia Gregorousa, η. Fountain, θ. Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes, ι. Agoranomion.

No effort was made during the 1930–1931 excavation to record the stratigraphy, perhaps because the Byzantine levels were so disturbed: Byzantine pots were found on the Roman pavement, for example.[440] Independent of their position and the depth in the deposits, the coins that came to light were dated to between the sixth and late twelfth centuries.[441]

The publication by Orlandos[442] attempted to fill the gaps left by the inadequate previous study of the excavation, briefly repeating some of what was known, but also providing detailed lists of the portable Byzantine finds, both marble sculpture and architectural elements, as well as pottery.

In the mid-1960s there were further interventions, best described as presentational work although it did involve actual excavation in specific places. In 1965 all the deposits[443] that had remained unexplored in 1931 were excavated and the later 'Turkish ruins' were removed. No mention was made

of Byzantine remains in these deposits. In 1966 part of a Byzantine building with two built-in piers was discovered and preserved. It was built directly on top of the Roman pavement, but the chronology of the building remains undetermined. In addition, various sections of buildings were discovered in the southwest corner of the complex[444] and classified as Byzantine and Post-Byzantine, but without detailed description. What remains of these are a *siros* and an assortment of Roman, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine potsherds.

The consequence of this sad history is that we can neither retrieve the shape of the urban fabric in the Roman Agora, nor can we know the function of all the buildings whose remains were brought to light in the course of successive excavations. The conditions around the demolished churches dedicated to the Taxiarchs and Prophitis Ilias prohibit us from knowing whether they were the *katholika* of monasteries within the city, or served as parish churches for the inhabitants of the settlements inside the Library and the Roman Agora – and when they were in use.

The Athenian Agora and the Areopagus

Systematic excavation at the site of the ancient Athenian Agora has revealed ruins of an extensive residential area in Middle Byzantine Athens, perhaps the richest remains in the entire city.

After the Greek War of Independence, the few houses in this area[445] had fallen into ruin, but a new neighborhood that came to be known as Vlassarou sprang up, with one- and two-story houses as well as two important churches, Hagioi Apostoloi (Holy Apostles) and Hagios Filippos (St Philip), which became parish churches. The new neighborhood had an irregular overall plan that left the Stoa of Attalos (already the subject of study from 1859)[446] freestanding on the east and was served by three main streets.[447]

The creation in 1890–1891 of the Athens-Piraeus railway, which cut through the northern section of the site, was responsible for the tremendous destruction of archaeological levels from both the ancient and medieval periods. Various architectural elements emerged from the cutting, some of

which ended up in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum.[448]

After the expropriation of the modern neighborhood,[449] systematic excavations of the Athenian Agora began in 1931 by the American School of Classical Studies and continued for almost eighty years. After the Second World War the excavation was extended northwards, across the railway tracks and Adrianou Street. The Agora excavation represents a triumph of classical archaeology with the discovery, study and interpretation of nearly all the public buildings of the ancient city.[450]

The same cannot be said for the archaeology of the medieval levels. The abundant but aesthetically unimpressive remnants of the Middle Byzantine settlement were uncovered, documented with plans and photographs, correlated to pottery and coin evidence, described in the excavations notebooks[451] and subsequently removed as excavation continued into underlying Hellenistic, classical and prehistorical levels. Brief notices about the medieval material were given from time to time in the annual reports of the School's work in *Hesperia*, and Travlos included the briefest of mentions of the Byzantine finds up to 1960 in his *Poleodomike*.[452] Alison Frantz published a short illustrated guide of the Athenian Agora in the medieval period.[453] A complete publication exists only for finds from the area north of Adrianou Street[454] from 1980 onwards.

The manner in which the American School of Classical Studies conducts its excavation in the Agora has created the conditions in which it will be possible in the future for the Byzantine material to receive the scholarly attention it merits. The entire area between the Agoraios Kolonos, Areopagus and Post-Herulian wall, bordered on the north by Astingos and Hagiou Filippou Streets, has been divided into sections (Fig. 30)[455] that are identified by letters in the Greek alphabet. After the demolition of the modern houses and the sifting of the material incorporated into them, excavation is carried out in sections with constant reference to the stratigraphy (Fig. 31). Notebooks are kept and catalogues drawn up in which are recorded the portable finds (sculpture, pottery and coins[456]), descriptions of immovable finds (walls, pavements and foundations) as well as the numbers of the negatives of the relevant

photographic material.[457] The notebooks also contain a few architectural drawings.

Architectural documentation includes plans of the existing situation,[458] mainly on a 1:200 scale, independent of the antiquity of the finds. And the photographic documentation is very rich. But it is clear that, with the exception of the section north of the railway line, no systematic study of the Byzantine material has been conducted so far, neither during the period of actual excavation, nor later by the excavators. Even though a considerable period of time has elapsed since their discovery, the Byzantine remains of the Agora can still be studied and utilized for scholarly research on the basis of the above-mentioned documentation. But in order for reconstructive drawings at least of ground plans to be made, an exhaustive and synthetic study of the existing drawings, photographs and notebooks must be conducted, and such a study can only be carried out within the framework of the American School. Alison Frantz had let it be understood that she would undertake this important work,[459] but did not manage to produce it in the end.

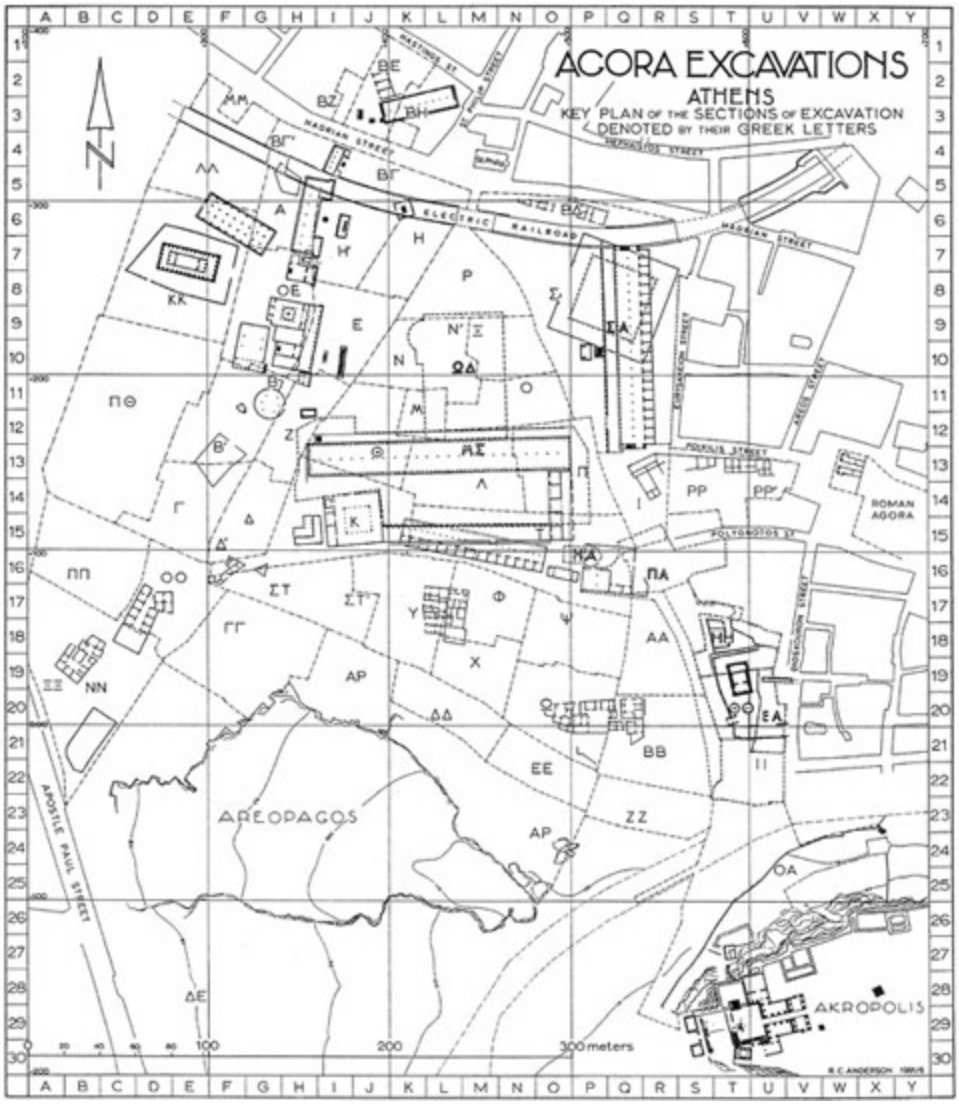

Figure 30 General plan of the Agora area. The sections of the excavation areas are indicated by Greek letters. (ASCSA.)

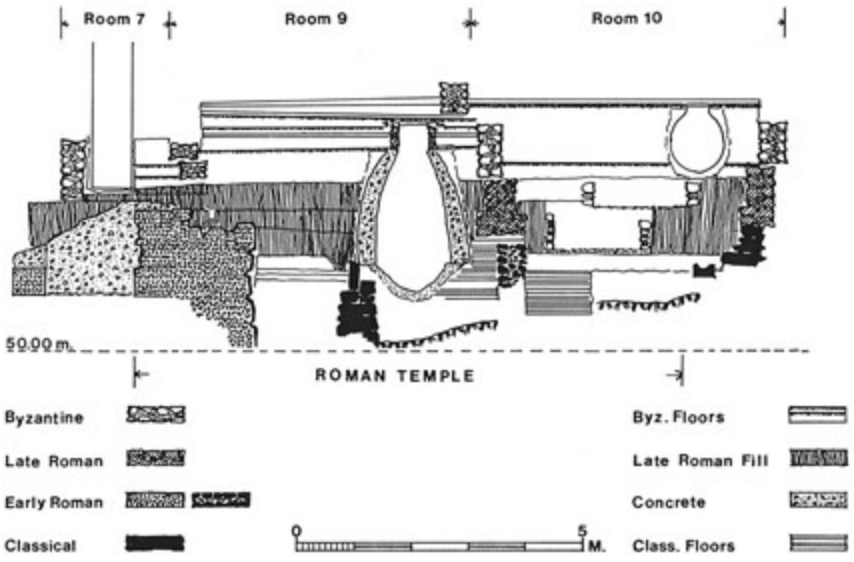

Figure 31 Drawing showing the stratigraphy in section BH of the Agora excavations (1997). North to south section through the Roman temple. (T. L. Shear.)

Most unfortunately, the most important finds, such as those from sections H, H' and MM were discovered early on, in the period between 1931 and 1938, at a time when the pace had quickened in the search for the Agora's classical monuments. It is cause for some puzzlement why the Greek and non-Greek Byzantinists of that period did not show interest in the Byzantine remains at a time when the subject of the 'Byzantine house' had begun to spark lively discussion in scholarly research.[460]

There are specific reasons why the remains of Middle Byzantine houses in the Agora are so poor and offer little toward the understanding of their architecture and the same reasons apply to the problems we face with contemporary finds in other parts of the city. Basically the houses consisted of rubble masonry built with clay mortar at the ground floor walls, on top of which, it seems, walls of unbaked bricks were constructed. After the houses were abandoned by their inhabitants and the brick structure came apart, the lower part of the walls were quarried for stone, and all that remained more or less intact were features beneath the ground floor pavement level such as wells, *pithoi* and water reservoirs. The plundering of stones took place when new homes were constructed in the Ottoman period and in the nineteenth century, periods when we also find disturbances in the stratigraphy due to the

creation of cesspits and the installation of drainage systems. We have already mentioned the serious destruction caused by the opening of the railway line.

Consequently, it has been possible to recognize only a very few full house plans in the extensive Middle Byzantine neighborhoods that once existed in the Agora, even until the present day. In 1960 Travlos acknowledged that a complete ground plan could be produced for only one dwelling[461] in the Agora, that in the area of the Eleusinion.[462] As noted earlier, only the study of the sections in the northern excavated area have enriched our knowledge of the typology of the dwellings over the course of the last twenty years.

In the present study I will make an attempt to offer the best general overview of the Agora as is possible at this time, based on the existing publications as well as the information scattered throughout the excavation notebooks and the photographs generously placed at my disposal by the American School of Classical Studies.[463] The dating of the finds cannot be exact because 1) many of the remains of dwellings have more than one construction phase, 2) the Byzantine coins and potsherds provide only a terminus post quem and their correlation to pavements and walls requires extensive study of the notebooks, and 3) the *pithoi* and masonry storage containers serve to verify that the construction is Byzantine, but can be dated more specifically only with great difficulty,[464] and many were in all likelihood used continuously over a long period of time, even after the dwelling to which they originally belonged was rebuilt.

The oldest reference to Byzantine buildings in the Agora was made after the excavation, in 1933,[465] of sections H and H', whose northern border is the railway line. Together the sections constitute a trapezoidal area covering 2.5 stremmata. At that time, section H was separated from section P by Eponymon Street, which was shown to follow the cutting of a Byzantine street.[466] In relation to the classical antiquities that are visible today, sections H and H' extend east of the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroos.[467]

Figure 32 Agora. The Middle Byzantine building complex in sections H and H'. View from the north. Phot. ASCSA 4–265.

In the northern area of the two sections, an extensive complex was discovered (Fig. 32),[468] dated by coin finds to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[469] The railway cut across the entire length of the complex, which measured at least 30 meters from north to south and 48 meters from east to west. T. L. Shear[470] in his brief description provided some information about the monument: it had at least 28 rooms and one open-air courtyard. The foundations are preserved as well as parts of the ground-floor walls. The foundations were constructed of field-stones and pebbles mixed with clay in narrow trenches,[471] and the rooms had floors of packed earth. It was clearly a modest building, and its rooms were interpreted by the excavator as shops or humble dwellings.[472] Beneath the Middle Byzantine complex were discovered walls of an earlier building, and beneath this the foundation of a Late Antique building,[473] of unknown function, with an interior peristyle courtyard.

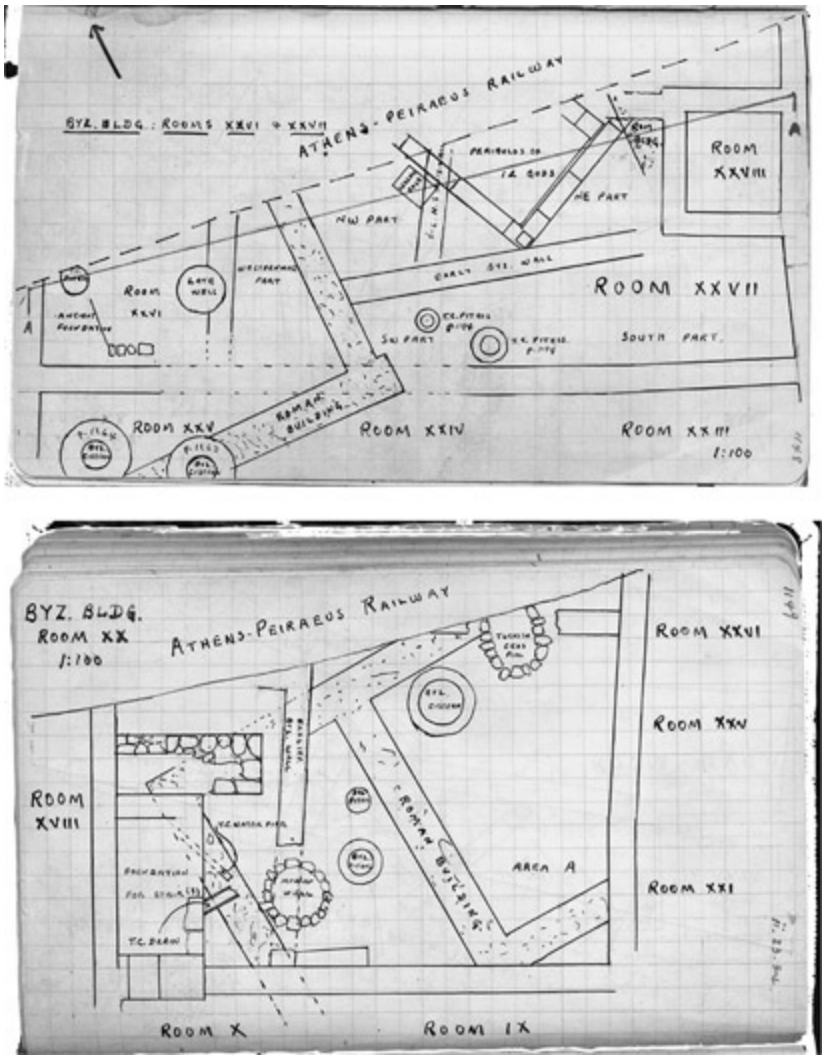

Figure 33 Agora. Two sketch plans showing the relationship between eleven rooms in the Byzantine complex with walls of the underlying Roman buildings and the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, beneath them. Diaries ASCSA HVI 1148 and 1149.

A cursory investigation of the excavation notebooks (Fig. 33) and photographs can tell us more about this medieval building, which was dismantled after it was documented.[474] In one general drawing[475] the twenty-eight rooms are marked with Latin numerals to facilitate both systematic excavation and stratigraphical study of the pavement in each of the rooms. The open-air area (labeled Room XVIII) was irregular in shape, measuring roughly 11 × 12 meters, and was not located at the center of the complex, but on its southwest side.[476] Only three rooms had direct access to the open area.

In the light of this, the view[477] that the complex should be identified as an *aule* – an open-air courtyard used jointly by shops arranged along its perimeter – known from Byzantine texts,[478] is not well founded.

In addition, the arrangement of the four-sided rooms poses problems, since they make up a closed unit without passages[479] and without light wells or air vents. Generally speaking, the rooms were irregular in shape. Only in two cases have parts of the doorjambs survived to show that the rooms intercommunicated, and it is conjectured that the entrance was on the north side, which was destroyed by the cutting for the railway line. Large numbers[480] of *pithoi* or masonry storage *siroi* of various shapes and sizes[481] were sunken into the pavements, except for in the open-air space, where a layer of ash was found.[482] There were also wells and traces of a stone staircase leading to an upper story.[483]

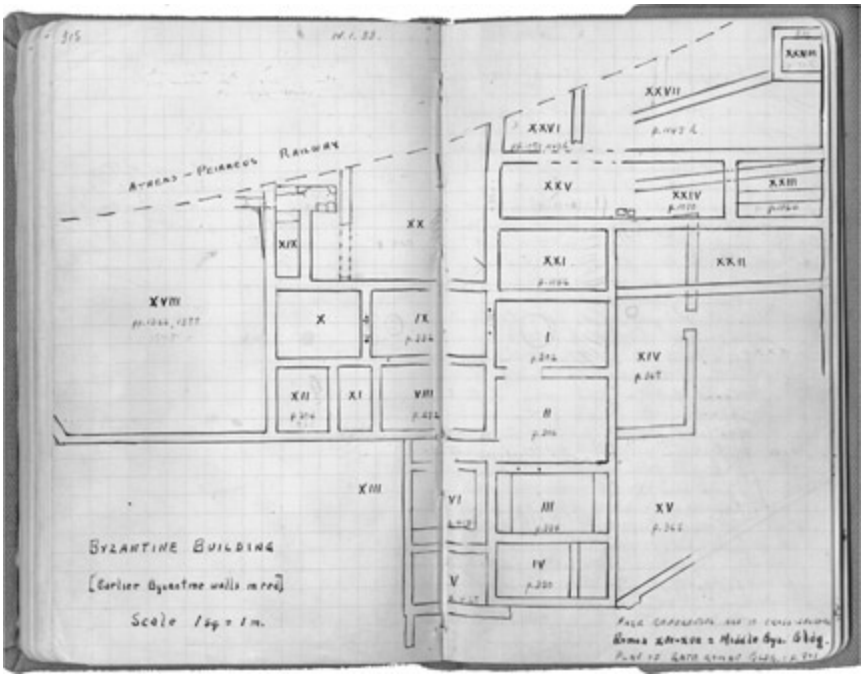

Figure 34 Agora. The Byzantine complex in sections H and H'. Sketch plan. Diaries ASCSA H II, 315–316.

T. L. Shear's four sketches provide more information about the large, cheaply constructed complex (Fig. 34).[484] The final conclusions recorded in the

notebooks[485] were summarized in the campaign report for 1935.

In sections H and H', excavation brought to light remains of other noteworthy structures dated by an abundance of coins and pottery to the Middle Byzantine period: a cistern measuring 4.0 × 4.20 meters,[486] various unrelated rooms with consecutive pavement layers bearing witness to long-term use,[487] a building dubbed the 'south Byzantine building',[488] and two vaulted rooms of uncertain date.[489]

Zone P was located in the triangular area between what were then known as Eponymon and Areiou Pagou streets, and to the east of the two sections that were investigated. Today this zone lies between the north entrance of the Agora and the façade of the Palace of the Giants, covering an area of approximately 17 stremmata. Here they found a densely built Middle Byzantine settlement, 'a large number of Byzantine houses, whose walls in some cases reached down below the ground level of the Classical period'.[490] The medieval street that corresponded to the modern Eponymon-Patousa Street had houses on both sides in both sections H and P. The excavation was conducted in 1936[491] and the Byzantine remains were preserved for one year afterwards.

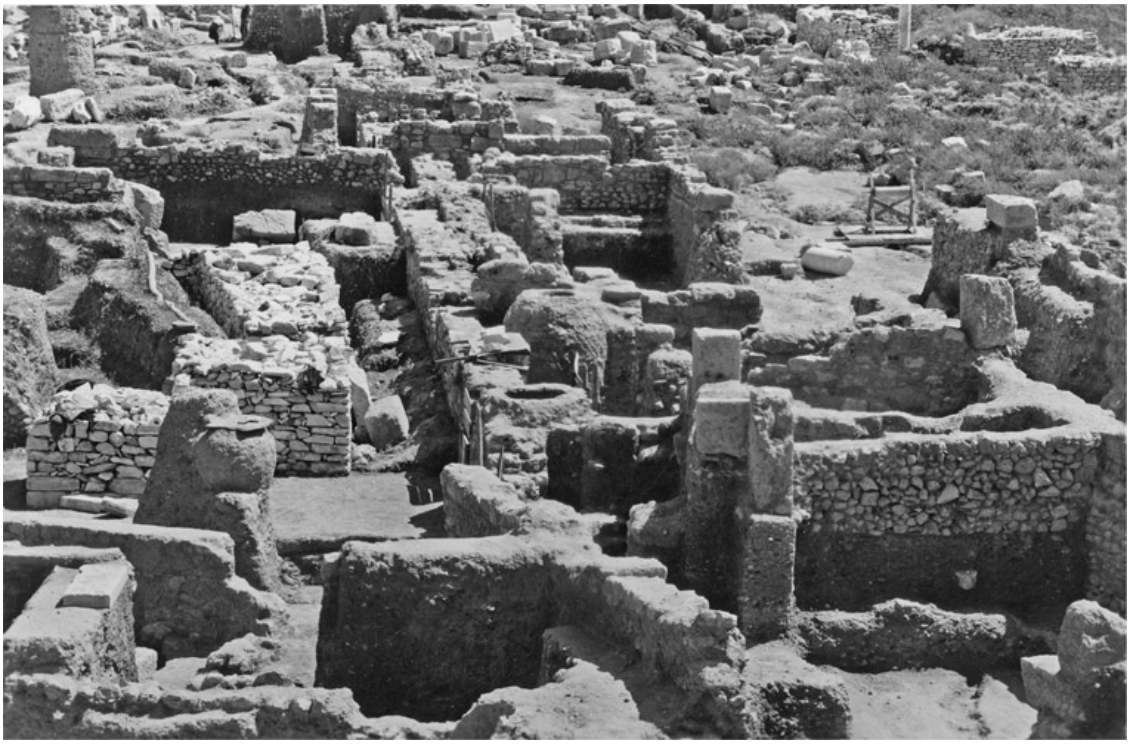

Figure 35 Agora. Walls forming rooms west of the Stoa of Attalos (section Σ). Phot. ASCSA B-64.

The excavators had divided the area into eight subsections, identifying and naming at least eight houses (A to E).[492] But they were not able to draw up full plans of all of the houses, and in the case of only one did they manage to identify and label seven rooms.[493] Many of the coins and potsherds (some with incised representations) found here help to date the finds to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The large quantity of *pithoi*, both ceramic and masonry, found set into the ground-floor pavements attest the buildings' domestic function.[494] Part of one side of the street (the continuation of Eponymon Street) formed a retaining wall that was well constructed of large, irregularly cut stones, set vertically and surrounded by brick.[495]

Immediately to the east and along the entire length of the Stoa of Attalos are the remains of section Σ (Fig. 35).[496] The Post-Herulian wall ran along the top of the back wall of the stoa[497] and formed a clear boundary for the extensive settlement, which had rows of houses arranged along both sides of a street.[498] Lamentably, there is very little information in the excavation publications about the medieval remains in section Σ,[499] even though they were abundant. The notebooks reveal a situation similar to that in section P, with *pithoi* (some even with their covers intact) set into the pavements in the rooms,[500] wells[501] and significant quantities of pottery. Although the levels were disturbed and, consequently, the numismatic evidence somewhat unclear, the dating of the remains to the Middle Byzantine period is certain.

Figure 36 Agora. House D in section II. Partial view of the ruins. Phot. ASCSA XIII, 46.

Likewise, there is little information available about the medieval finds in section E.[502] This section extends southwards from zones H and H' and eastwards from the Metroon and the monument of the Eponymous Heroes. It has a surface area of 2.3 stremmata and was excavated already in 1931–1932. The notebooks and photographs suggest that the Middle Byzantine settlement covered this area too, as suggested by the characteristically large numbers of both ceramic and masonry storage *pithoi*.[503] Particularly noteworthy are 1) a small vaulted cistern,[504] 2) a well-built wall with four rectangular ashlar blocks arranged vertically and separated with rubble masonry[505] and 3) two groups of three shallow basins about which the excavators provided only partial information, but which apparently belonged to a small industrial workshop,[506] perhaps a dyer's shop, by comparison with similar finds near the Temple of Olympian Zeus.[507]

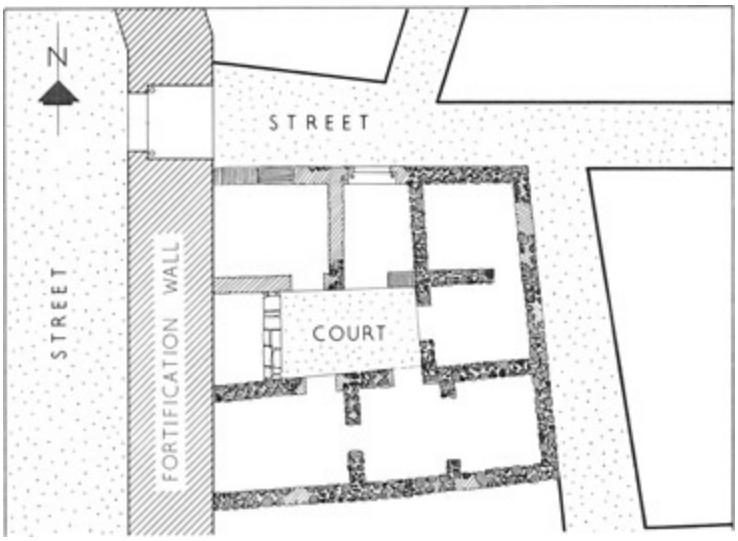

Figure 37 Agora. House D in section II in the vicinity of the ancient Eleusinion. Drawing by J. Travlos. (A. Frantz).

Figure 38 Agora. Byzantine houses at the south end of section NN. Phot. ASCSA XVII.31.

At the southeast edge of the Agora, in the area of the ancient Eleusinion, excavation in sections HH, ΘΘ and II stretched 30–40 meters inside the area walled by the Post-Herulian wall. The modern church of the Hypapante[508] once stood here as well as one of the gates in the enclosure wall, which took its name from the church's dedication. Excavation in these three sections of the Agora brought to light remains of many houses from the Middle

Byzantine period for which no information was ever published. It appears from the notebooks that the remains of at least five buildings were distinguished,[509] identified by letters A to D, while the fifth was labeled a storehouse.[510] Of all these buildings, sufficient remnants have survived of only one, Building D (Fig. 38), in order to permit the reconstruction of its ground plan, even though the building had been partially destroyed in the construction of the Hypapante church.[511]

And indeed, Building D is, according to Travlos,[512] the only Byzantine habitation found in the Agora whose entire layout is discernable (Fig. 37).[513] It was constructed against the wall and in direct association with the gate;[514] its entrance was from the street that, it has been suggested, followed in the medieval period the course of Tripodon Street, as noted above. Occupying approximately 120 square meters, the dwelling was composed of small rooms situated around an open-air courtyard, and the evidence points to a twelfth-century date.[515] We will return later to the Building D house type and Travlos's views on this type.

A street of varying widths separated houses B and D,[516] and another oriented north–south follows along the exterior of the wall in the direction of the Acropolis. In house C the walls are partly constructed[517] of ashlar masonry and brick. In the vicinity of the Eleusinion it was observed that the floor pavements had been repeatedly raised, as evidenced by the elongation of the mouths of the *pithoi* set into the pavements.[518]

In sections NN' and Ξ, over the ruins of the Odeon of Agrippa and the Late Roman palace complex, scattered remains of buildings were noted[519] (Fig. 38), which were dated by coins and pottery to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. At least one of the Giants that formed the entrance to the later Gymnasium[520] remained in situ, but we lack excavation data concerning the evidence for the Middle Byzantine period.[521] From the photographs it appears the street that runs today between sections N, Ξ and P did not exist at the time of the excavation.

In section B near the Tholos,[522] the medieval finds were also quite poor. But the discovery of the ruins of a sixth-century house, also in use in the seventh

century,[523] constitutes significant evidence for the history of the city and the Agora, before the creation of the Middle Byzantine settlements.

In section KK, which includes the ancient Temple of Hephaistos, excavation continued down to the live rock. The only Byzantine remains mentioned are graves. To the northeast of the temple, a vaulted cistern with a reinforced arch[524] was discovered in an excellent state of preservation. It may predate the period under consideration and was certainly in long-term use.

Still further to the north, in section ΛΛ, the Byzantine settlement spread out over an area of more than two stremmata, but not even summary accounts were published about it. Visible in the photographs[525] are medieval ruins, a street and houses on either side of it (Fig. 39). The finds must have been significant given their intimate connection[526] with the neighboring section MM.

The medieval remains in this northwest corner of the Agora were, in fact, very important. And they were not limited to the area excavated by the Americans, but also extend into the surrounding areas, which were excavated when the opportunity arose thanks to modern construction projects.

Figure 39 Agora. Two houses and a road between them, in section ΛΛ. Phot. ASCSA, 7348.

It is noted in the brief excavation report[527] that:

> These strata are so clearly marked and the plans of the houses are so well preserved that this settlement will be of value for the study of the history of the area in Byzantine times. Pottery and coins are abundantly present in the various strata and help vividly to reconstitute this interesting page of Byzantine history.

The same report mentions remains of older phases from the ninth and tenth centuries and that, after a fire, these were replaced by a group of large houses, arranged along two parallel streets from north to south and dated to c. 1100.[528] After a second fire, the houses were rebuilt and finally abandoned sometime in the thirteenth century.

The notebooks contain descriptions of habitations[529] and abundant information about *pithoi* and masonry *siroi* that were usually sunken into the pavements in the rooms and were sometimes of considerable size.[530] These storage containers for both dried goods and liquids will be discussed below.

Also mentioned in the notebooks for section MM we find a gravel-paved street,[531] an ossuary,[532] and an industrial area[533] with four open basins, two round with a 1.05-meter diameter and two square, the sides each measuring 1.15 meters in length. The ground level of both streets and indoor pavements has risen considerably, a fact that may be associated with destructions and reoccupations of the buildings.[534] Cesspits and water runoff systems were also noted.[535]

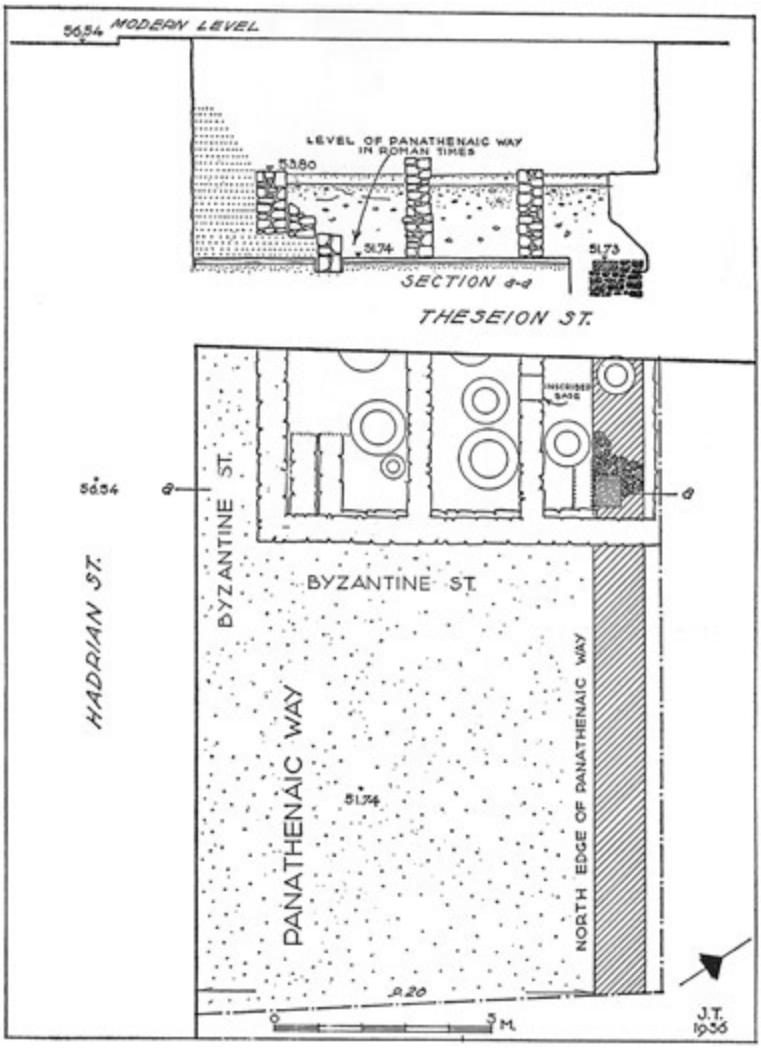

Figure 40 Remains of a Byzantine house over the ancient Panathenaic Way, at 7 Adrianou Street. Plan and section. Drawing by J. Travlos, 1959. (E. Vanderpool.)

Directly connected to section MM of the Agora are the finds from a plot on

Hagiou Filippou Street, between Hermou and Astingos Streets, that was excavated in 1967[536] and has already been mentioned above. At the corner of Adrianou and Thiseiou Streets (Fig. 40) and to the north of the garden located there today, an excavation was undertaken and the material was adequately published.[537] The remains of Byzantine houses with *pithoi* and *siroi* on the fill along the ancient Panathenaic Way were brought to light. A Byzantine street[538] that followed the course of the ancient street ran between two of these houses. The finds were related to others discovered in 1956 at 7 Adrianou Street,[539] the plot located at the opposite corner of Adrianou and Thiseiou. The picture presented by the finds was the same: walls, pavements and storage jars from Byzantine houses, parts of a Byzantine street and the occupation of a section along the width of the Panathenaic Way. The excavators[540] confirm that here, too, there were three phases of buildings and that the level of both the street and the interior pavements rose, as is clear from the elongation of the storage vessel mouths. The north–south-oriented street ran to the east of the Byzantine house and was the same street that was discovered in section MM in the Agora.[541]

As I noted in the introductory comments about the Byzantine settlement in the Athenian Agora, the work conducted in the sections located north of the railway line, notably BE, BZ and BH, were more systematic in their treatment of the Middle Byzantine finds, devoting close study to them rather than just mere documentation. After 1980, excavations began in an extensive area covering approximately 3.50 stremmata between Astingos and Adrianou Streets, and work continues to the present day. A series of publications, primarily in *Hesperia*, provide us for the first time with a substantial, if not complete,[542] picture of the medieval built environment of Athens and its domestic architecture.

The existence of a Middle Byzantine settlement reaching as far as the northern boundary of section BE became known already in 1958, in the course of a rescue excavation at 11 Astingos Street.[543] This excavation brought to light walls, a storage vessel and the north–south-oriented street that was later identified elsewhere too. In addition, Byzantine buildings had previously been

identified on Hagiou Filippou Street, at the area's eastern end.[544]

The American School excavations conducted over the three-year period of 1980–1982[545] revealed at least three dwellings in section BZ that had courtyards, wells, a large number of storage vessels and *siroi*. The finds belong to successive phases, and an intervening catastrophe was attested in the mid-eleventh century. The published plans give approximate dates for the walls and pavements[546] and provide full data for the stratigraphy[547] from antiquity until the twelfth century. Noteworthy is the use of ancient material from the underlying classical monuments, the occasional use of older walls as foundations, the reuse of ancient wells by raising their sides[548] and the discovery of the north–south-oriented street that followed the ancient course and terminated at the Panathenaic Way. Although the excavation produced a large number of coins, the exact dating of the building phases was not possible. The walls of the houses in this group were cheaply constructed using small-sized rubble, with the exception of the south wall of room Z,[549] built with stone ashlars set vertically and the intervening spaces filled with small stones.

The excavation carried out during the next five years, 1989–1993, widened the investigated area to the south, over the covered Eridanos River[550] and into sections BZ and BE, revealing more of the Middle Byzantine settlement. Detailed study of the Middle Byzantine levels[551] followed the publication of three summary excavation reports (Fig. 41).[552]

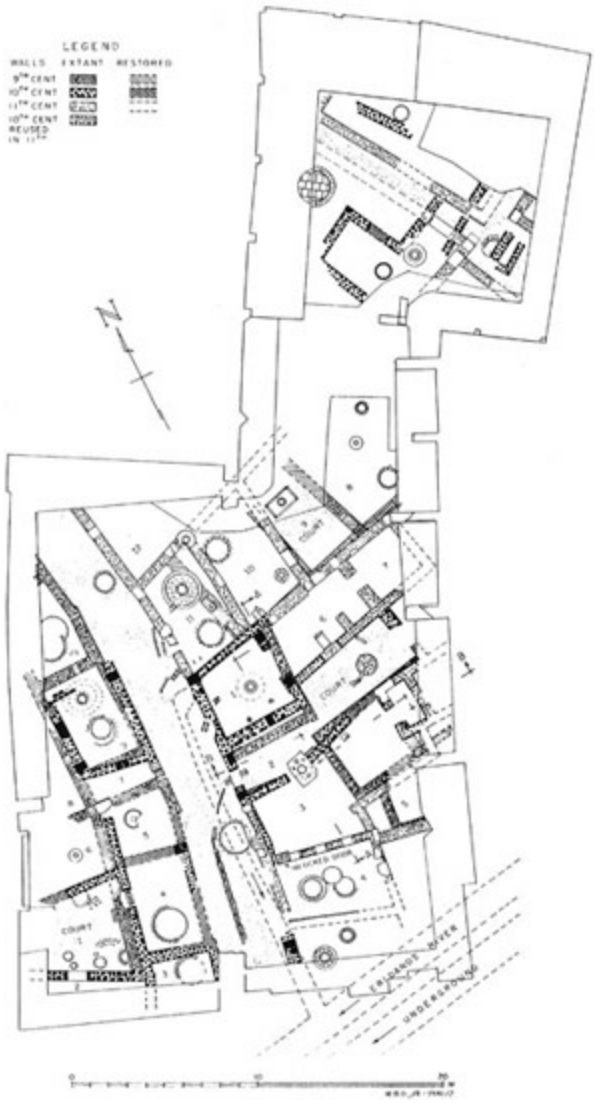

Figure 41 Agora. Excavations in sections BE and BZ (1982). Remains of three houses. Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. (T. L. Shear.)

The habitations on either side of the known central street, with its north–south orientation, were found and studied afresh. They were all dated to between c. 900 and the thirteenth century, and almost all the questions about the fully developed ground plan of these houses were answered. Ceramic and masonry *pithoi*[553] were discovered under the pavements of nearly all the rooms, which were numbered and systematically investigated. By comparing the ground plans[554] of the second and third phases of two houses located west of the street, one understands that most of the walls from the previous phase

were preserved, whereas, by contrast, in the third phase rooms were constructed in the open-air courtyards, an indication of population growth. Heaps of broken roof tiles[555] also provide proof that the houses were either partially or fully covered by tiled wooden roofs. The ancient well J.3.4 was in use for centuries and preserved its Hellenistic wellhead in situ.[556] The coins associated with pavements and walls permit an approximate date for the three phases of these habitations.

On the east side of the road,[557] later foundations totally destroyed a section where there were Middle Byzantine levels. At the north corner near Astingos Street stand the ruins of a house with two long rooms with a courtyard to their east.[558] Here an arrangement between the courtyard and one of the rooms was discovered that is unique to this day: two large, equal-sized apertures with a pier between them,[559] making it possible to suggest the existence of two arches on the house's ground-floor façade, perhaps in order to facilitate the storage of goods in the large *pithoi* preserved sunken into the room's pavement. An ancient well[560] in reuse[561] was in all probability intended for public use and preserved not only interesting details relating to its construction, but also pottery, both broken and intact,[562] from various periods when the well was in use.

In the course of the excavation, the remains of two ecclesiastical monuments came to light. The first was a small single-aisled chapel of unknown dedication,[563] for which two building phases were identified. Low segments of Late Antique walls were found in reuse, and there were graves beneath the chapel pavement. The second monument was the church of Hagios Nikolaos,[564] with four building phases and in close proximity to the Byzantine church of Hagios Filippos. I will discuss these two monuments later.

An area of roughly 16 meters along the central street between sections BZ and BE was excavated, as well as the plots on either side of the street, between 1998 and 2001. Once again, brief excavation reports[565] preceded the detailed publication in *Hesperia*,[566] where excellent plans were made available.[567] Here, too, the urban fabric is densely woven, and walls belonging to two

houses were identified. A large dwelling with a trapezoidal ground plan and four rooms seems not to have been revealed in full.[568] The openings by which the rooms communicated are clearly visible, and various *pithoi* and a *siros* with a nearly 2-meter diameter were found under the floor pavements. The remains of a staircase confirm that there was at least one upper story. A street almost 2 meters wide runs along the south of the building and intersects with the main street.

To the right side of this dwelling was revealed the ground floor of what might have been two relatively large houses with irregular ground plans. One had direct access to the main street,[569] a small interior courtyard with a well and a stone built staircase. The second had an oblong room with large storage jars and a cistern. This room was connected by a Γ-shaped courtyard to the house with the aforementioned double arch, known from the previous period of excavations.

Investigation of these habitations confirmed what one knows about the construction of houses from this period: packed-earth pavements on the ground floor, rubble joined by simple clay mortar, and *pithoi*, *siroi* and cesspits located under the pavements. Some walls had two building phases, but construction for the entire section of these dwellings began in the tenth century[570] or the early eleventh, and it was inhabited until the thirteenth.

The summary of results from the period between 2002 and 2007[571] included the reinvestigation of old finds and presentation[572] of a new part of section BH, located along the course of Astingos Street and above the ancient stoa that is believed to be the Stoa Poikile. The walls that were discovered date mainly to the tenth century, but it is unfortunate that no ground plan was produced, not of even a single house. Only very few *pithoi* were found on the west side, but more on the east. Novel finds included an oven and the burial under one room's pavement of a ceramic pot containing a fetus. The latter posed difficulties of interpretation for the excavators.[573]

The medieval remains in the other sections of the Athenian Agora were relatively limited, or at least little is revealed about them in the publications. An ancient street along South Stoa I was preserved, with only slight deviations, into the Middle Byzantine period and also into the modern period,

known now by the name Asteroskopeiou Street in the Vlassarou neighborhood. At the boundaries of sections Στ, Υ, Φ and Ψ, there were Middle Byzantine dwellings of which only the ceramic *pithoi* and *siroi* that had been sunk into the pavements survive. At the west end of the area, in section Στ(?) opposite the Southwest Fountain House,[574] a row of sixteen *pithoi* (fifteen masonry and one ceramic) were discovered. These were interpreted as belonging to a shop[575] that was supplied from the street leading to the Piraeus Gate.[576] The layer revealing signs of destruction in the thirteenth century was attributed to the attack on the city by Leo Sgouros.

Further to the west, Middle Byzantine houses have also been found in section Δ. In addition to walls, the excavation notebooks mention a small vaulted cistern[577] and a very hard pavement, perhaps of an oil or wine press,[578] a well-constructed wall with large, upright ashlars of conglomerate stone,[579] ancient wells – one of which had the well-known ancient ceramic rings in its lower section and contained unbroken water jugs from various periods[580] – and even fragments of white marble with Middle Byzantine sculpture.[581]

From the photographs published by the American School one may conclude that other remains of Middle Byzantine houses existed in the Agora, but information about them was not published. A complex of Byzantine walls[582] was found in section Π to the north of the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi, as well as a vaulted grave[583] whose vault was constructed of brick and wedge-shaped stones. A short distance to the south, in section ΠΑ[584] to the east and section Τ to the north of the same church,[585] there were also groups of ruins from our period, including an unknown number of dwellings.

Beyond the main area of the Agora, in section ΙΙΙ, located northwest of the Areopagus, more medieval remains were found and two distinct houses were identified by the excavators as A and B. Finally, in the medieval levels above the so-called 'industrial district' of ancient Athens, in the small valley between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Muses, excavation revealed a Byzantine settlement[586] in which elements from the underlying ancient levels were widely reused as building material. South of the settlement there was an

enclosure wall, and above the so-called 'porous stone room' was found a kiln for the production of pottery and ceramic tiles that was in use during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The kiln inspired the untenable view[587] that the district was the site of continuous industrial activity from the ancient period. The ancient wells, some of which would have been reused in later periods, bore interesting finds. However, no information was provided about the type or construction of the houses belonging to this settlement. Associated with it are the finds from the excavation[588] conducted at 18–20 Vasilis Street that brought four *siroi* to light.

South slope of the Acropolis

After the assault of the Heruli, a wide band of settlement located to the south of the Acropolis underwent a new period of development, even flourishing in the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries, with the construction of large and luxurious residences followed by the general decline of the transitional period.[589] In the Middle Byzantine period we find a new cluster of buildings in the form of small houses and industrial workshops built on top of the older ruins. But later, in the Frankish and the early Ottoman periods, the area was once again fully deserted.

The entire area of the south slope of the Acropolis was embraced by the Valerianic fortifications. But it was the extension of the Post-Herulian wall, built after A.D. 267 on the south side of the Acropolis,[590] and later the Rizokastro that set the boundaries for two zones defined mainly by differences in the natural sloping of the terrain. In the upper zone, where the ancient ruins are the dominant feature, the medieval remains that exist to be studied are very limited, either because houses were not built on the steep terrain near the Acropolis wall, or because they were cleared, without prior documentation, by archaeologists interested only in classical archaeology. In the lower zone, rescue excavations were conducted in Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and further to the south, while there were systematic excavations in the area of the Makrygianni barracks, with noteworthy results.

The *cavea* of the Theatre of Dionysos had been quarried for centuries and had been filled with earth to the extent that its form was unrecognizable in the modern times. Excavations began in 1838, but serious work began forty years later.

It appears from the notes of work in progress published by A. Roussopoulos[591] that if there was a medieval settlement in the Theatre of Dionysos, no care was taken to preserve or even investigate it. Fortunately, the plans drawn by Ernst Ziller[592] preserve a few interesting elements and help us to interpret some of Roussopoulos's notes. The latter do not include outright descriptions of medieval finds, but only passing mention: 'I observe from the adjacent barbarian walls',[593] 'part of a sizeable round column, diameter 0.50 and around it poor-quality, barbarian buildings',[594] 'Byzantine and Frankish and Turkish… and poorly-built, except for the large ancient stones with which they are mixed, for the most part, and the… later houses and wells, made of either ceramic or stone, found inside; the worst [quality] buildings made in the manner of today's poor were on both sides of… the stairs of the theatre. These were demolished.'[595] From the summary description, we can only indirectly identify the ruins of the Rizokastro, which ran on the orchestra and between the retaining walls of the *parodoi.*[596] Needless to say, whatever was not considered to belong to the ancient theatre was demolished. Not even part of the Phaidros *bema* escaped destruction.[597]

From Ziller's ground plan it appears that a relatively large cistern survived at the southwest corner of the orchestra,[598] four rooms were attached to the south wall of the stage[599] and there were at least six wells. The existence of *pithoi* and *siroi* provide the only indication that these finds[600] (and most of whatever else was not included on the plan) belonged to the Middle Byzantine period.

In 1951 Travlos noted that at the eastern *parodos* of the theatre there were various walls, many *pithoi* and three graves (one vaulted) built on top of the remains of a single-aisled Early Christian basilica,[601] all dating from the Byzantine period.[602] In this case, too, the publication is insufficient.

The reasonably well-documented excavation of a house was undertaken in

the context of restoration work on the theatre's eastern retaining wall in 1987.[603] Various indications, particularly from pottery,[604] suggest that the residence was in use in the twelfth century and was destroyed in the construction of the Rizokastro. Under the pavement was found a masonry *siros* and a second one somewhat further to the west.[605] The construction of the house was reasonably careful, with flat stones and bricks used for the walls and cut conglomerate stone for the doorjambs of one door. While at least two rooms were identified, once again we lack a complete ground plan of the house.

Siroi, pithoi, a channel (of unknown date) cut into the live rock[606] and a 'little cistern' of Byzantine date were noted in the course of work[607] undertaken in the 1960s between the west side of the theatre and the Stoa of Eumenes.

In the area of the neighboring Odeon of Perikles, excavation[608] brought to light the foundations of the Byzantine church of Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos[609] (to which we will return), vaulted ossuaries of unknown date[610] and masonry storage jars[611] from the Middle Byzantine period. The foundation of the later Rizokastro crosses the ancient monument along its entire width.

Further to the west, in the Asklepieion, the ancient stoa was transformed in the Early Christian period into a large three-aisled basilica,[612] which (as has been noted)[613] was still functioning in medieval times. In the same area a large Byzantine cistern[614] is preserved in very good condition, as well as a double well,[615] that is to say, two wells that are linked by an underground channel. Fragments of Middle Byzantine glass vessels found together with sixth-century bronze coins complicate the chronology.

Koumanoudis, the general secretary of the Archaeological Society, began excavating west of the Asklepieion, along the length of the Stoa of Eumenes, in 1876–1877, and these investigations were, as usual, devastating for the medieval finds. The published excavation reports include the following brief and indefinite descriptions:[616] 'various lines of walls, of limestone… constructed in a loose and irregular manner… [which] after detailed

investigation we demolished',[617] and 'I pass over the ceramic and masonry *pithoi* that we found in various places, and a large, empty cistern and several ceramic water pipes.'[618] In front of the Asklepieion, Koumanoudis excavated the remains of three churches 'in all probability very ancient, built sequentially on the same axis, and ruined centuries ago… and then demolished by us.'[619] In the same report, we find a defense[620] in which he 'clearly and extensively' justifies the destruction of all the later finds – even though he recognized the necessity of documenting them – for reasons of time and money.

The supplementary study of the Stoa of Eumenes by Versakis[621] some 36 years later added nothing to our knowledge of the monument's medieval past. The archaeological site underwent another five decades of neglect until its recent reconfiguration and the new, partial excavation. From the more recent work, very little material of relevance to the present study emerged, except for two *siroi*[622] found roughly halfway along the Stoa, a well[623] and another ancient well with fill from the Byzantine period.[624]

From the *cavea* of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, which had also been partially filled with deposit, the Middle Byzantine settlement spread in the direction of the neighborhood that had grown up outside the monument, to the south. Associated with the houses inside the Odeon were a small church and one or more dyers' workshops. Our unique source of information is Pittakis's report[625] of the excavations, which began in 1848 and removed all trace of building phases post-dating the Roman period. The report was published without plans and briefly describes a few of the finds, including two stone cisterns,[626] at least twenty *pithoi* for gathering rainwater,[627] a stone pavement at the height of the *diazoma*,[628] where another eighteen *pithoi* were found, as well as two small houses preserved to a height of 2.80 meters and a wine press or cistern and the remains of four small houses at a higher level. Roughly seventy *pithoi* or *siroi* were destroyed. The extensive industrial complex inside the Odeon will be discussed later. Versakis's investigations[629] half a century later were concerned solely with the architecture of the Roman Odeon.

Reconfiguration of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and the area in front of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus (1955–1959) included large-scale excavations that brought to light ancient Greek, Roman, Late Antique and Middle Byzantine monuments.[630] The first excavation reports were made by the excavator Yannis Miliadis,[631] and in addition to this we now possess a detailed picture of both the excavations and the finds by Maria Brouskari, published in 2002.[632] Here she includes plans by Travlos, in addition to many of his unpublished sketches. While the general topographical plan of the area[633] is informative, it was made after the clearing of the Middle Byzantine levels. However, some of these levels are shown in separate plans. We possess only indirect information about the unchecked destruction wrought in the area in 1860 when the street was made.[634]

The archaeological remains from this entire area are in such a poor state of preservation because the area was inhabited at the end of the Ottoman period and preexisting monuments were quarried for their building materials. Despite this, the evidence seems to point to the existence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of three or four dense clusters of buildings. All medieval remains were cleared so that the excavation of underlying levels could proceed.

In terms of architecture, the most impressive discovery was a large Late Roman residence,[635] dubbed the 'House of Proclus' and preserved in the deposit beneath the reconfigured Dionysiou Areopagiou Street. The building 'was continuously inhabited, at least partially modified, into the Byzantine period (eleventh and twelfth centuries), as is confirmed by the remains, the deposits, the many masonry *pithoi* and the existence even of a Byzantine kiln'.[636] It is a great loss that we do not possess a single plan or photograph of these remains from before they were demolished. A second cluster of fragmentary medieval walls was excavated on the corner of the extension of Erechtheiou Street, on Dionysiou Areopagitou.[637] The walls belonged to Byzantine houses that were constructed, on the one hand, over the ruins of the Roman house identified as Q and, on the other, over the disused eastern Roman cistern (Fig. 42). In the former, a relatively large room was identified,

measuring 6.80 meters wide with an undetermined length, and another long and narrow room measuring 12.80 meters × 3.30 meters[638] in which three *siroi* were found. A cross-section sketch[639] provides us with an adequate representation of the excavation, including levels of the pavements (Roman and Byzantine) and the manner in which a *pithos* was set between the levels.[640] But it does not show thresholds, or traces of the staircase that must have led to an upper story.

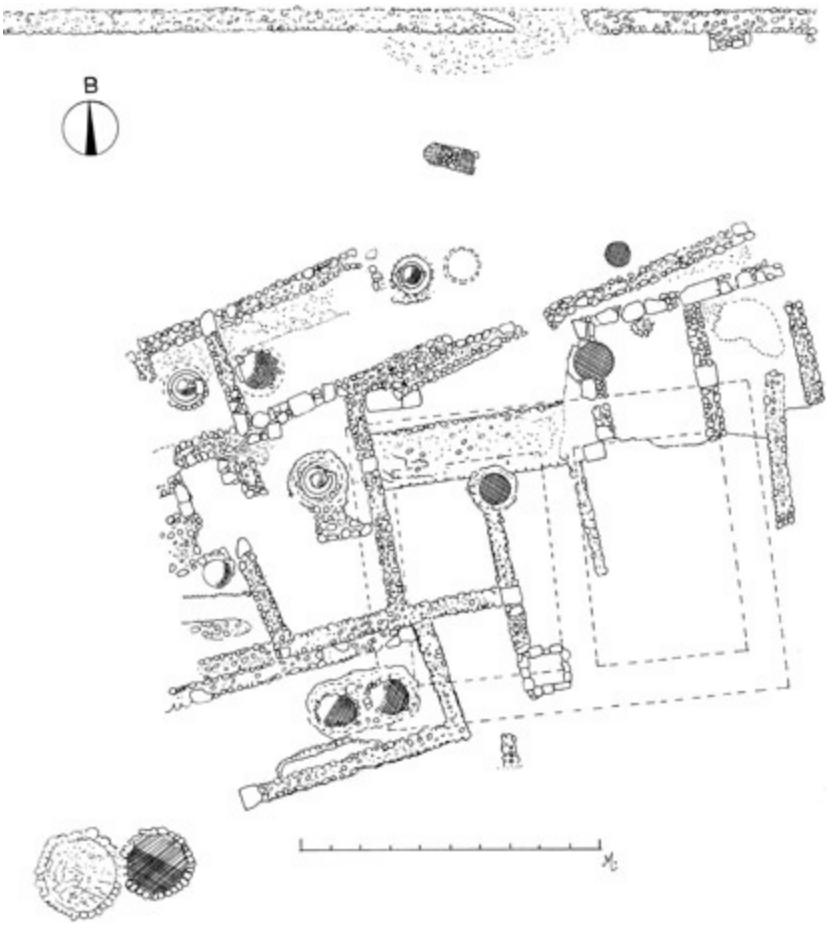

Figure 42 South slope of the Acropolis. Dionysiou Areopagitou Street. Plan of Group Δ of the Byzantine walls. Drawing by C. Kazamiakes. (A. Charitonidou.)

The dwelling built over the eastern Roman cistern[641] had relatively small rooms arranged in four rows from north to south; some of the walls rested on the exterior walls and on the two interior walls of the cistern. Here, too, the room was identified as the ground-floor of a house whose earthen floor level

was defined by the mouths of the *pithoi* and *siroi* (seven total). Between the three rooms of the second row, on the south, there were doors(?) and possibly the foundations of stairs. If the walls rose as high as the first floor of the main building, the arrangement of the rooms suggests that one of them was an interior courtyard to provide light and ventilation; but it is no longer possible to determine whether this was the case. The two rooms on the north, beyond the outline of the cistern walls, may have belonged to a separate small house.

The third group (Δ) (Fig. 43) was built over and to the west of the so-called Roman cistern.[642] Here the Byzantine foundations did not follow the course of the underlying Roman walls, but bear witness to the absence of a plan, probably due to various building phases and maybe even various buildings. Here, too, the structure takes the form of a long and narrow building, at least 8.50 meters in length, with two *siroi*. The masonry *siroi* and especially the pottery[643] prove that the foundations belong to the Middle Byzantine buildings, but, nevertheless, every attempt to represent the buildings has been in vain. With regard to their construction, all of the house foundations just referred to (found in excavations from 1955 to 1959) were made of random rubble, without limestone mortar and with relatively little use of *spolia*.

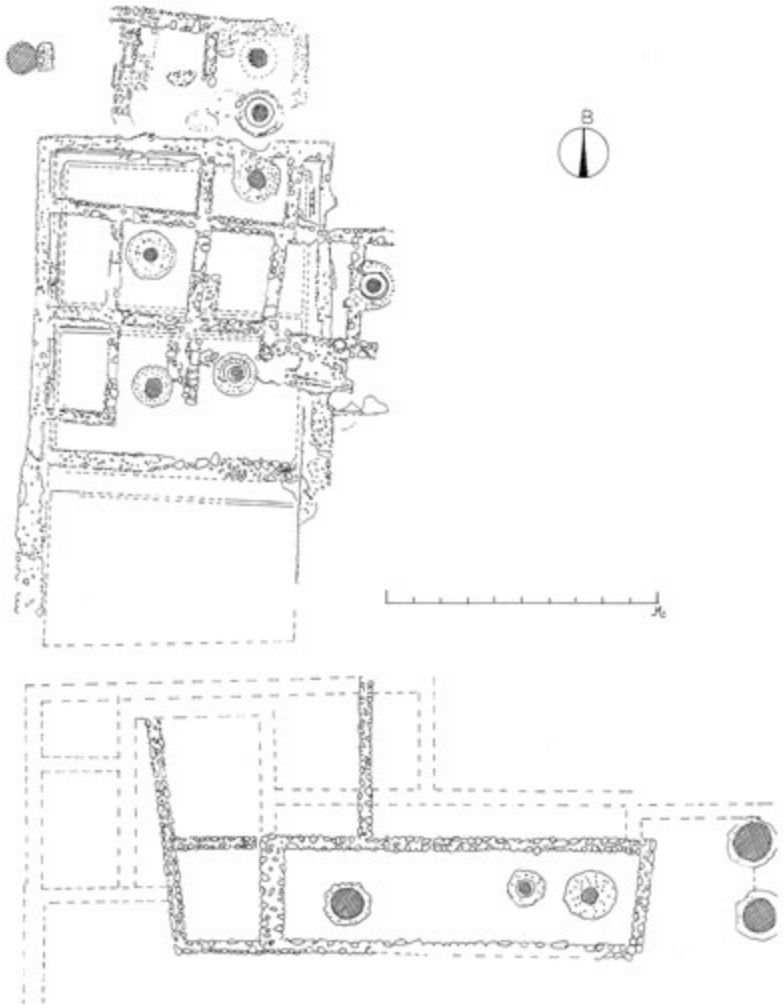

Figure 43 South slope of the Acropolis. Dionysiou Areopagitou Street. Walls of Byzantine houses in Group B. Drawing by C. Kazamiakes. (A. Charitonidou.)

At the westernmost corner of the excavated area were discovered the foundations of four rooms of a Byzantine house,[644] but no further information was provided by the excavator or other colleagues.

Rescue excavations at plots in the eastern part of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street revealed roughly the same impression as that derived from the above-mentioned investigations by Miliadis. At the corner of Areopagitou and Makri Streets,[645] the remains of a Late Roman or Early Christian building came to light, distinguished by a large apsidal hall on the east side[646] and two large rectangular rooms, one of which certainly did not belong to the same building.[647] The construction of two large medieval *siroi* destroyed part of the

pavement of the western room. East of the *siroi* beneath the adjacent plot, two vaulted spaces were discovered, measuring 2.0 meters and 2.50 meters in width, and well-constructed of stone with intervening layers of brick. South of these rooms was located a circular cistern. It is a pity that here, too, the sections of wall were not dated and neither did the work result in an intelligible plan of a medieval house.

Still further east, in a lot located at Areopagitou 3, excavation conducted in 2005 revealed once again a cluster of foundations, two or three masonry *siroi*, traces from the foundations of others, and a well with evidence from various periods of use. In the underlying layers were preserved the ruins of an Early Christian bath.[648] The excavation was not published.

Another site, located on a plot[649] between 35 Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and 16 Kallisperi Street (Fig. 44), proved rich in finds, but was published only summarily. Several walls and rooms in the southern section of the excavation were characterized somewhat vaguely as Early Christian or Byzantine, but the existence of a large number of *pithoi* and *siroi* (at least 22 were counted) confirms that Byzantine habitation at the site covered a large section of the excavated plot. Based on the general ground plan that was published,[650] one may conclude that the rooms of one or two houses were small, except for one measuring 3 × 4 meters and another with a highly elongated shape, measuring approximately 8.20 × 3.0 meters. The classification of some rooms and walls as Early Christian or Byzantine does little to aid the reconstruction of the houses to which they once belonged.[651]

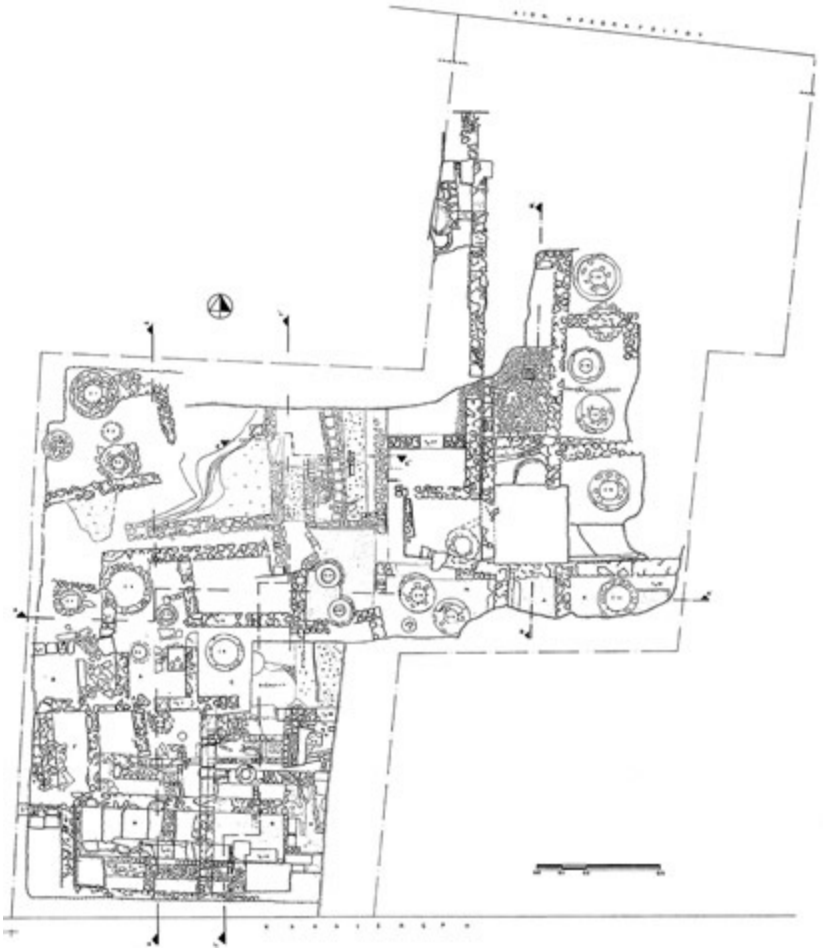

Figure 44 Excavation at the 35 Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and the Kallisperi plot. Plan. (V. Orphanou.)

Somewhat further to the south, on Makrygianni Street,[652] foundations of yet another large Early Christian building (Fig. 45) were discovered, and with a plan similar to that uncovered at Areopagitou and Makri Streets: it had a square hall, large apse and subsidiary rooms off to the sides. Various short walls and at least and *siroi* in random positions suggest that later Byzantine habitations were built on top of the ruins of this building. Contemporary with these later buildings perhaps is a kiln that was fitted into a corner of the Late Roman ruin. The graves found carved into the live rock should be dated earlier.

The Middle Byzantine remains that came to light in the surrounding area during the sporadic rescue excavations have been disappointingly poor, and

briefly published. At 3 Makri Street,[653] a small square building from the Roman(?) period was apparently reused to house a single *siros*.[654] Coins and *siroi* found at the site between Tziraion Street and Syngrou Avenue attest the presence there of Byzantine habitation (Fig. 46).[655] Two sites on Rovertou Galli Street[656] produced unclear indications of some sort of Byzantine installation, while at the corner of Lebesi and Porinou Streets[657] buildings were found constructed over the remains of an Early Christian building with an apse.

The large block between Dionysiou Areopagitou, Mitsaion, Hatzichristou and Makrygianni Streets has been systematically investigated over the past twenty-five years and has revealed remains of buildings and installations that attest the habitation of the area south of the Acropolis during various historical periods.

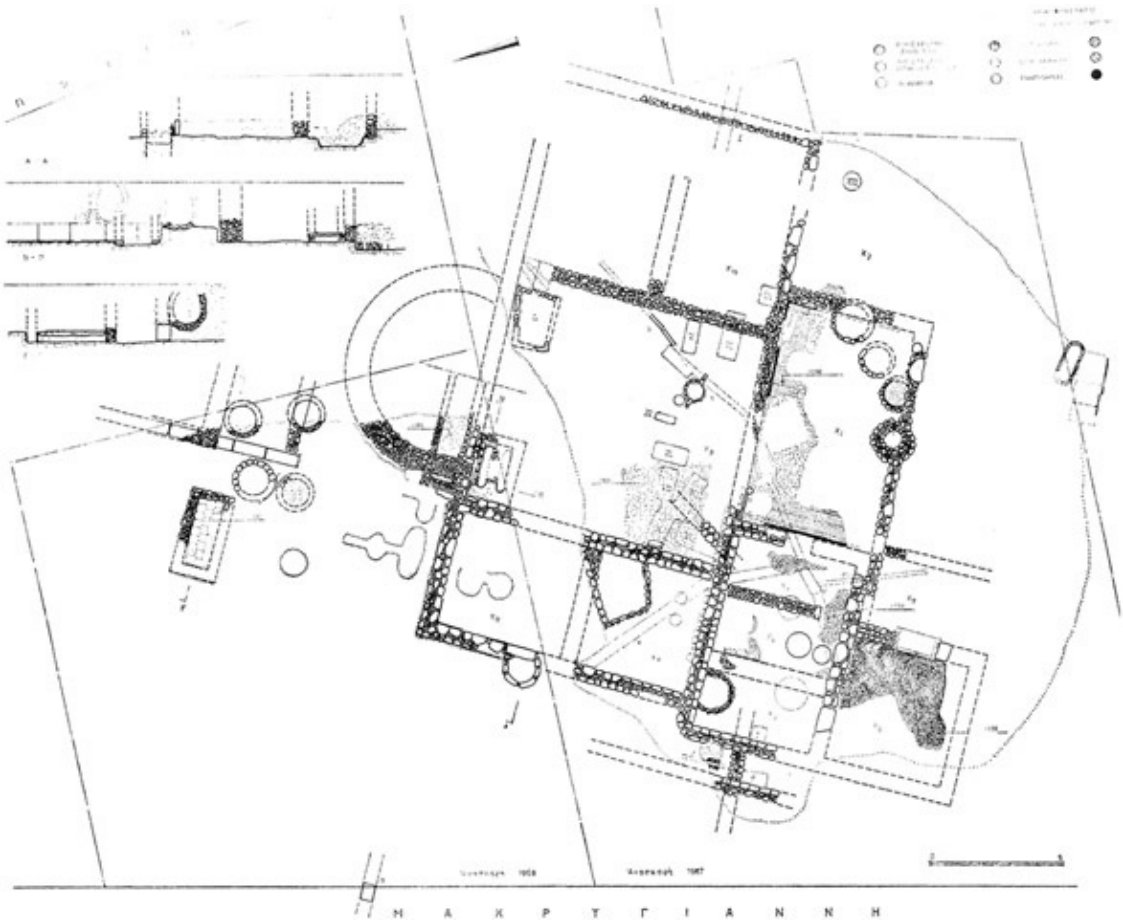

Figure 45 Excavation (1969) at 19–21 Makrygianni Street. Byzantine walls and ceramic jars over the

remains of a large house of the Late Roman period. Plan. (O. Alexandri.)

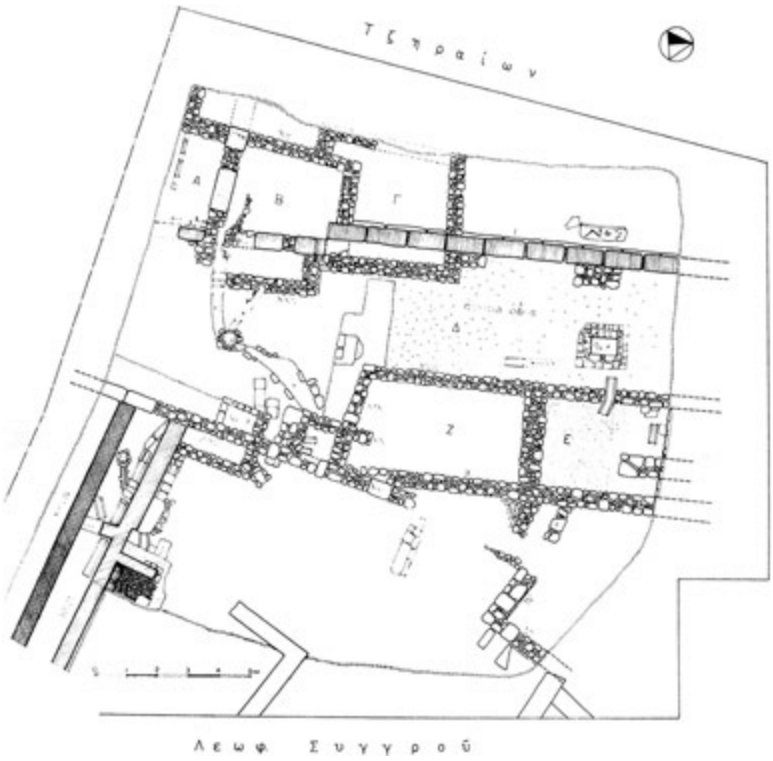

Figure 46 Excavation at the 10 Syngrou and Tziraion Street plot. Remains of Byzantine buildings. (O. Alexandri.)

Excavations were undertaken in three phases: investigative trenches[658] (1980 and 1983–1984), construction of the metro station (1993–1996) and creation of the foundations for the new Acropolis Museum (1993–2003?). The results of work from these three phases have not been fully published, although general information about them has been presented,[659] and brief reports or special issues have been presented, but more or less irrelevant to the present study. The Middle Byzantine finds were not ignored, but they were removed in order to investigate lower levels.[660]

From the trial trenches made by the First and Third Ephorates of Classical Antiquities,[661] and the University of Athens,[662] no Middle Byzantine remains were mentioned except for four masonry *siroi* found in the northwestern trench. From the excavations conducted by Petros Kalligas in the eastern and northern sections of the block, and extending into Makrygianni Street and east

of Diakou Street,[663] a picture emerged similar to that in other plots: the ancient street plan was preserved and in the Late Roman or Early Christian period large residences,[664] as well as a bath,[665] were built over the remains from classical antiquity. These structures remained in use until roughly the mid-seventh century. In the Middle Byzantine period, a new settlement appeared with houses, industrial installations and a cemetery on the east side. One published plan shows the layout with all the finds plotted together,[666] while a second plan distinguishes the main building phases by color.[667] All the evidence taken together with the brief reports[668] suggests that there was only the scantest trace of Middle Byzantine habitation in this area and relatively few storage *siroi*.[669] Our interest focuses, on the one hand, on an organized cemetery with at least three vaulted graves used as ossuaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and, on the other, on a Middle Byzantine workshop at the north end of the excavation, extending partially into Makrygianni Street. Seven cone-shaped, waterproof plastered basins for holding liquids and a large water cistern were found set into the pavement in three rows. It has been conjectured that the ossuaries were associated with an adjacent church,[670] while the industrial installation would have been a fabric dyer's workshop, a workshop for whitening wool,[671] or a tannery.[672] Also of interest are a small hoard of bronze coins from the sixth century and a lead seal,[673] which should facilitate future historical research into this area.[674]

Figure 47 The Middle Byzantine building remains found in the Makrygianni plot, during the excavation for the foundations of the Acropolis Museum. (St. Eleutheratou, N. Saraga.)

The area in which the Acropolis Museum was built was systematically investigated and provides us with another assemblage of monuments that were classified as listed, except for the Middle Byzantine remains, which were removed.[675] The excavation extended to the south, southwest and west of the building known by the name of the engineer Weiler, and it was divided into five areas.[676] The main discovery was the foundation of a relatively large building,[677] dated to the seventh century, which took the form of a vaulted basilica with an associated bath and cistern. The entire assemblage is of considerable architectural interest and will be discussed below. On top of the accumulated deposit and over almost the entire excavated area were found walls from later buildings, some of which belonged to the Middle Byzantine period. We are fortunate that before these were removed, they were carefully drawn,[678] even if they were not the subject of special study (Fig. 47).

The Middle Byzantine walls were poorly constructed, sometimes on top of earlier walls (as was the case with the east wall of the basilica), or at least following their orientation. They formed small rooms, containing *siroi* and *pithoi*, but in only one instance are we provided with the ground plan of an entire residence recognizable as such, the so-called 'House of the Potter' (Fig. 48).[679] In area I, five rooms were found and nine masonry *siroi*, some of which were cylindrical in shape and without waterproofing.[680] In area II, a medieval workshop was discovered, situated on top of the ruins of a Late Antique house.[681] In the ruins of the basilica appeared, at first, an ironworks, followed in the eighth century by a pottery workshop[682] in which was discovered the remains of pottery wheels, kilns and posts from makeshift wooden sheds, perhaps used for drying the pots before they were fired.[683] A similar workshop stood to the southwest of the problematic circular room, as suggested by the deposit found there of broken and defective Middle Byzantine pots. Yet another workshop, this one with small cisterns and a kiln, was located in the southeast corner of the excavation,[684] but was not identified as Middle Byzantine.[685] In Area 4 there were further indications of the existence of a medieval pottery workshop.[686]

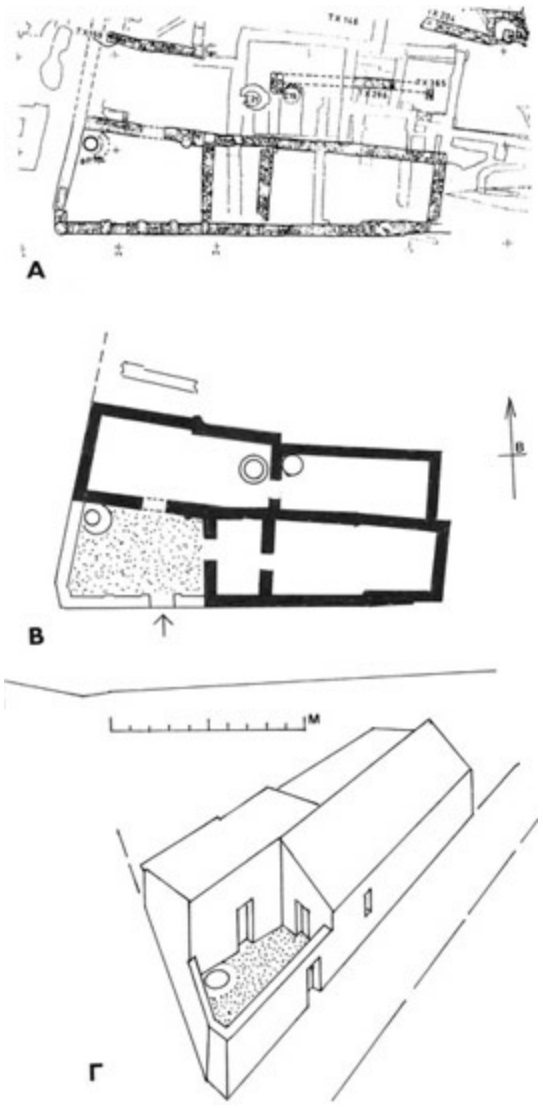

Figure 48 Excavation for the Acropolis Museum. The 'House of the Potter'. A. Plan of the existing remains (First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), B. Reconstructive plan, C. Reconstructive perspective view.

Only exiguous data are preserved about the Byzantine dwelling 'with large storage *siroi* beneath its pavements',[687] found built over the ruins of a small Roman bath on the boundary between two excavations.[688]

We will return later to the industrial installations in the Makrygianni area.

Syntagma Square, the National Garden and the Zappeion

The relatively recent excavations necessitated by the construction of a station and ventilation system for the Athens Metro brought to light remains of Middle Byzantine installations stretching over a large area, from the environs of the Olympieion to Syntagma Square, including the Middle Byzantine monastery of Soteira Lykodemou.[689]

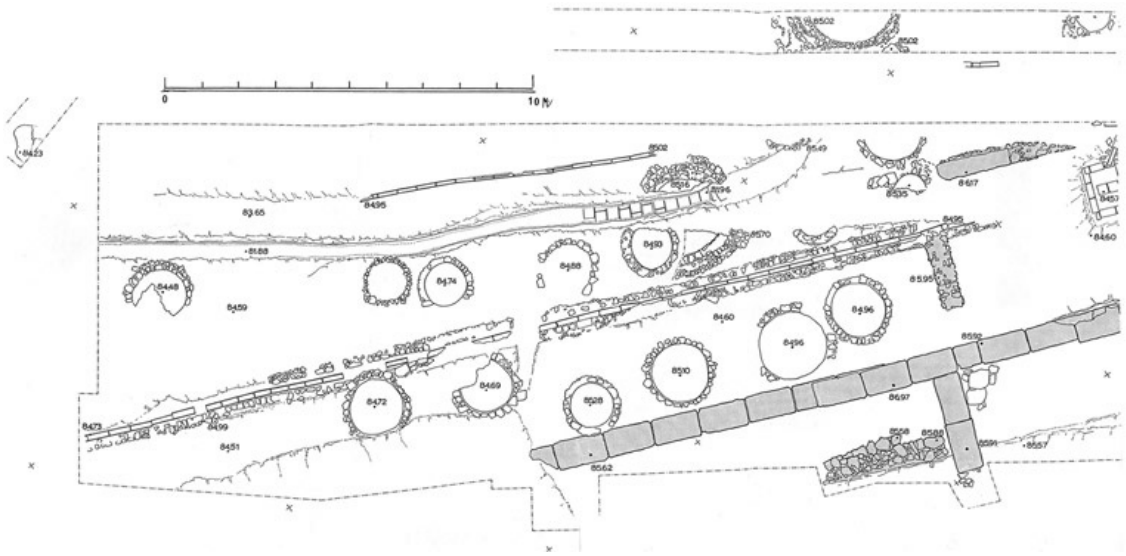

Figure 49 Amalias Avenue. Excavations for the Metropolitan railway. Plan. Middle Byzantine ceramic jars and storage pits. (O. Zachariadou.)

Already, from 1977, significant Byzantine remains were coming to light in plots along Amalias Avenue and its side streets. For example, at Amalias 30,[690] in addition to parts of well-constructed walls, discoveries included fourteen *siroi* or *pithoi*, one vaulted cistern and also some carefully made graves, although it is not clear whether the latter pre- or postdate the habitation in which the *siroi* were found.

The so-called 'Zappeion ventilation shaft', created for the ventilation of the metro, was located just east of Amalias, on the National Garden side, and the excavation stretched more than 65 meters along the street's length. Many sections of walls were encountered in the excavation, as well as a large number of masonry *siroi*. The excavation was very methodical, but publications were summary,[691] aimed at the presentation of the ancient remains. To a certain degree, the passage of the Ottoman aqueduct with its

cisterns and water canals had altered the familiar picture of the Byzantine remains. At the southern end, in any case, we find a very long and narrow building with thirteen large *siroi* arranged in two parallel rows measuring at least 22 meters in length, and which could perhaps be interpreted as a commercial establishment (Fig. 49). The building's eastern wall belongs to a late classical perimeter wall, constructed of huge ashlars, here in reuse.[692]

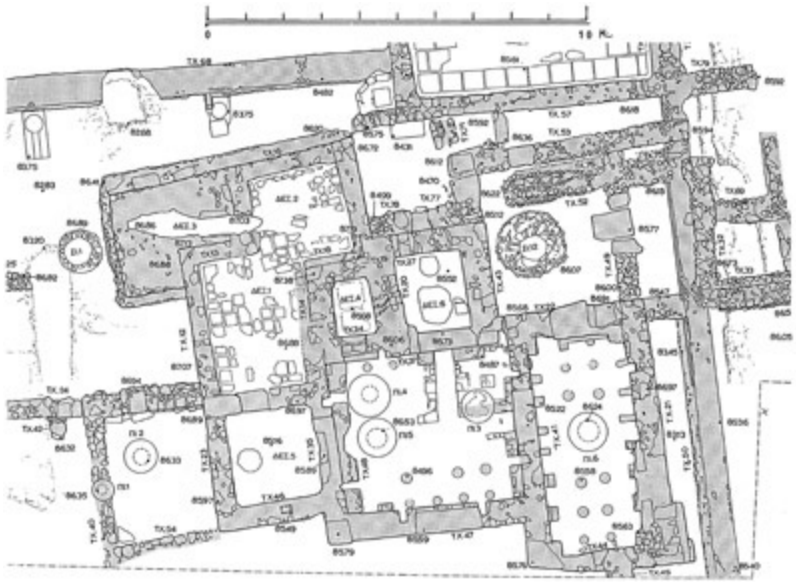

Figure 50 Amalias Avenue. Excavations for the Metropolitan railway. Plan of the Roman bath and the Byzantine additions. (O. Zachariadou.)

Slightly to the north were found the relatively well-preserved remains of a Roman bath[693] dating to the third century, but repaired and reused in the sixth.[694] In the Middle Byzantine period, the bath was again reused, but this time as a dwelling or shop, and nine masonry *siroi* or *pithoi* were set into its pavement.[695] In the entire 'Zappeion ventilation shaft' complex, as many as twenty-nine *siroi* were found (Fig. 50). However, the complete layout of a house or other building did not emerge at this site, and it was not possible to extend the excavation further to the right or left.

A large-scale excavation took place to make way for the new metro station at Syntagma Square. Very few Middle Byzantine finds came to light, and they were limited to the southern section, making somewhat controversial the

assertion that there was ‘continuous use of the space from late Mycenaean to Ottoman times’. As was the case along Amalias, here too the excavation was very carefully conducted. But the publications[696] limited themselves to two or three phrases about the Middle Byzantine finds and provided only a general ground plan. Among the discoveries were seventeen Early Christian vaulted graves, in use as ossuaries until the eleventh or twelfth century, as well as the remains of walls with thirteen masonry *siroi* scattered across roughly a stremma. There is no possibility of reconstructing the houses to which the *siroi* belonged since neither walls nor foundations have survived. They were all destroyed in the course of much later settlement and road building in the surrounding area. Of significance for the history of Athens is the discovery of a gold coin of Justinian II,[697] which bears witness either to its use, or concealment, in the so-called Dark Ages.

Despite the digging and leveling of the terrain that formed part of the construction works for the Parliament parking area and surrounding courtyard, a few remains of medieval life were preserved and brought to light. Once again, the published data about what was found is scant.[698] They discovered the foundations of a large Byzantine building whose function is not known, but which was partly destroyed in the construction of a cistern when the palace was built in 1836. Unfortunately, neither the published plan nor photographs provide more information about this building, and its dating remains problematic. In the same area, in the street running uphill towards the western courtyard, rows of masonry *siroi* and *pithoi* were found. However, once again archaeological discovery did not result in the emergence of a plan of a habitation or any other building.

The Middle Byzantine settlement spread out in the area of the National Garden, as is clear from the excavation report of Koumanoudis, who dug a large Roman complex[699] near bath house J (according to Travlos’s designation[700]), which obviously would have served the inhabitants of the city’s extension during the period of Hadrian. Everything found there was covered over again, and it is not known what is still preserved under the thick vegetation of the National Garden and what has been destroyed. Koumanoudis attributed part of the clearing of the ruins to the ‘street-makers

of the Olympic Committee',[701] also noting 'the removal of quite numerous scattered, poorly made walls and cisterns and built-in *pithoi* [that we found] almost everywhere at different heights and in great number and that we judged to be later'.[702] He counted 27 *pithoi* and added: 'Perhaps the *pithoi* were remains from old workshops of a crude tanner or bleacher, the art of which was common among the old (people).'[703] Among the coins found at that time, one of Constantine VII from the mid-tenth century was identified, and the plan of the Roman complex shows eight *pithoi* or *siroi* inside rooms that had either been preserved into the medieval period, or were rebuilt. In older excavation reports[704] concerning the foundations of the Zappeion, no mention was made of Byzantine buildings. More recent investigation in the area of the National Garden has not produced noteworthy finds.[705]

To the south of the National Garden, in the area of the Olympieion, the old excavation combined with the construction of streets and general reordering did away will all medieval remains. Our information about what was found is vague and very summary: it was simply mentioned that there was an extensive medieval settlement here as well. Roussopoulos[706] noted 'mosaic floors… wretched construction… north of the Olympieion and other walls' which he supposed to have belonged to the Frankish period and reproaches the street-maker,[707] who 'always destroyed these in order to create a level surface'.

Somewhat later, Koumanoudis published the excavation north of the Olympieion in three successive reports. In the first two[708] he does not mention medieval buildings, but includes a ground plan in which are noted various late walls[709] as well as many *pithoi* and *siroi*[710] that may date to our period. In the third report, Koumanoudis[711] notes

> as the excavation proceeded, for several days there appeared at a moderate depth throughout the area… numerous foundations of buildings made from all sorts of stones, large and small, as well as brick and lime mortar mixed together… of irregular construction and with graves interspersed among them… and, finally, some dry wells. The remains of all these buildings, completely devoid of form and meaning, the supervisory committee of the excavation… judged worthy of demolition, and demolished them.[712]

When, sixty years later, Travlos resumed investigation of the area north of the

Olympieion,[713] he dated what remained, without particularly strong arguments, to the Late Byzantine[714] and early Frankish period. In the course of the same investigation, it was established that the remains of the Middle Byzantine settlement had extended to this area as well as into the area of the Early Christian basilica,[715] indicating that the church had been destroyed even earlier than had been previously understood.

Our knowledge of the Middle Byzantine finds is somewhat better from the area immediately to the south of the Olympieion, which was cleared and excavated in the 1960s. The continuation of the Valerianic wall with its gate and later, possibly Justinianic, supporting towers were discovered at this time.[716] During the Middle Byzantine period, a sizeable settlement with houses and workshops grew up along the length of a Roman road that terminated at a gate and was preserved, albeit somewhat reduced in width.[717] Travlos noted[718] that 'the walls of the houses were, unfortunately, very destroyed and for this reason a complete outline of their configuration was not preserved.' But he did produce a topographical map,[719] and also a ground plan of the workshop built probably in the twelfth century right in front of the gate.[720] The workshop had open basins arranged in a row, or in a square, a water reservoir and other installations, and has been interpreted as a dyer's shop or tannery.[721] On the pavement of the classical temple dedicated to Apollo Delphinios[722] was established an olive press installation with storage jars and all the necessary facilities for the production of olive oil, including monoliths.[723] We will return later to these industrial buildings.

Travlos associated with the same settlement a church, of unknown dedication, that was built on top of the remains of a Roman temple[724] of Kronos and Rhea,[725] also discovered during the course of the same excavation. However, the graves found built over the church's ruins make it likely that the church predates the Middle Byzantine period.

At a short distance from the Olympieion is an area closely associated with the bed of the Ilissos River, where modern tampering with the physical context[726] leaves no hope of future archaeological work. Further to the east, beyond the Valerianic wall and on higher ground, a few traces remain from

the classical temple of Artemis Agrotera,[727] which survived until 1778 as the church of the Panagia stin Petra (Virgin on the Rock).[728] During the excavations of A. Skias,[729] there came to light 'many foundations of walls of miserable construction', as well as '*pithoi* and cesspits dug into the earth alongside the south side' which, according to the excavator, belonged to more recent workshops. The topographic drawing does not show these later walls taking the form of any sort of recognizable building. The clusters of stone-built graves found in the same area[730] are probably Late Antique. Recent investigation of the same area has confirmed the destruction of both ancient and medieval remains by more recent construction.

The Kerameikos

We owe our knowledge of the Kerameikos in the Middle Byzantine period to the systematic excavations of the German Archaeological Institute. I have already mentioned the Upper Gate[731] mentioned in the *Praktikon*, believed to have been the exit from the Valerianic circuit wall in the area of the Dipylon Gate and an adjacent grove. If the inscription[732] from the Hagia Triada monastery refers to an older phase of the chapel with the same dedication in the Kerameikos,[733] it may be possible that a small women's monastery existed in the western part of the Kerameikos in the eleventh century.

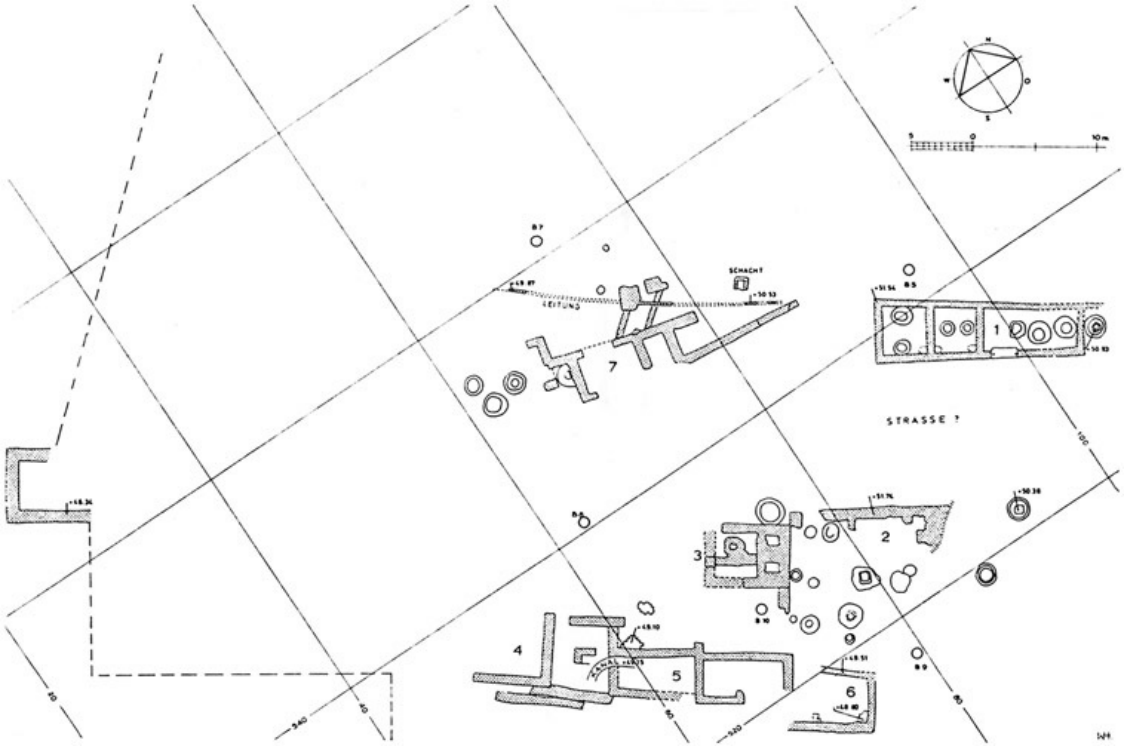

Figure 51 Kerameikos. Remains of Byzantine houses in the vicinity of the Pompeion. Plan. (W. Hoepfner.)

It is not certain that a neighborhood, or isolated houses, existed in the medieval Kerameikos area, given the scarcity of the architectural evidence. The most important of the finds, known already in 1928,[734] were discovered in the east corner of the excavated area around the ancient Pompeion (Fig. 51) and probably communicated with the settlement in the Agora via the Panathenaic Way.[735] They were dated by coins and pottery[736] to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In total, the remains of the ground floor of seven habitations were found and identified by numbers in a general topographical plan.[737] Only one house(?), No. 1, is represented with a detailed plan. Its outline is elongated and slightly oblique, with a length of approximately 15.40 meters at ground level. Its entrance is oriented to the south and contained seven storage *pithoi* or *siroi*.[738] No staircase leading to an upper story was identified. Houses 4, 5 and 6 have just a single room and are aligned in a row, or they possibly belong to the same house, again with access from the south side. They do not have stone thresholds.

One of the storage jars is dated to the ninth century,[739] and there is also a pottery kiln from a later date.[740] We await further exploration in order to understand the relationship of the Middle Byzantine buildings in the Kerameikos area and their inhabitants' industrial activities to the seasonal flow of the Eridanos River, whose bed was located slightly to the north.[741]

Domestic architecture

In producing a standard treatment of domestic architecture – its typology, morphology, decoration and construction – we face insuperable obstacles in the evidence from the Middle Byzantine habitations of Athens. All of the material examined here is the product of excavation and is limited, by and large, to foundations, the ground-floor rooms used for storage and known to the Byzantines[742] as *katogeia*. On the rare occasion, the lower section of the walls also survives. The indigence of our material evidence has been ascribed to the fact that the upper structures were usually constructed of unfired brick,[743] which disintegrated after the houses and settlements were abandoned, becoming part of the shapeless fill. As a result, the form of the walls was lost. This view is obviously correct in the case of the humble, single-story dwellings that could be found amidst larger habitations, but it cannot be generalized to cover all domestic architecture, because the ground-floor walls that supported an upper story must have been reinforced and, in addition, we have evidence[744] to suggest that there were stone houses in medieval Athens, and even examples of careful stone constructions, such as House C and two others in sections Z and Δ, to which we will return later. But this stonework was robbed for reuse in a later period. We know that structures in the Agora, in particular, were used as quarries for buildings constructed in the same area in the Ottoman period. A typical example of this phenomenon is the Post-Byzantine wall in the Agora[745] that was built entirely with thresholds taken from older houses.

Construction using unfired brick in the upper structure makes the existence

of vaulting more or less improbable. What follows is an analysis of the manner in which Middle Byzantine structures were covered, based on what meager evidence is available to us. Also limited is our knowledge of the size of the habitations in Middle Byzantine Athens, since we have so few examples with a full ground plan of their lower floor. And there is not a single example of a surviving upper story. We can only conjecture about the inhabitants of these houses: whether or not they housed extended families and domestic servants as well.[746] It is also unknown whether there was a hearth, and what sort, on the upper, residential story. Only one example has emerged of an oven, located in a courtyard.[747] Also important for our understanding of the city of Athens with its surrounding countryside is the question of whether the houses had stables, or whether these were located outside the city. But in only one instance do we have speculation about the existence of stables.[748]

In the context of the medieval houses of the Agora and elsewhere in Athens, Travlos evokes comparisons with medieval structures in Corinth,[749] even though the structures in the excavated area there are thought to have been primarily commercial and industrial,[750] in contrast to residential, about which we have no substantial evidence. 'The Byzantine house remains a mystery.'[751]

In order to study the typology of Middle Byzantine houses in Athens and to make the most accurate observations about their function, I will limit myself to the discussion of a few houses for which full ground plans have been published, and a few others it is possible to reconstruct with reasonable success when the evidence on the ground is supplemented with data supplied from archaeological plans (Fig. 52).

To this latter category belong three large residences in sections BE and BZ of the Athenian Agora (Fig. 53).[752] The relatively large house in section BZ was freestanding on three sides, had a covered area of approximately 85 square meters and its plan was roughly trapezoidal. The fact that the four rooms of the house contained *pithoi* and *siroi* leads one to conjecture that its open-air courtyard – whose shape and size are unknown to us – stretched northward into the unexcavated area, where a well is likely to exist. An

important detail is that the staircase leading down to the ground-floor *katogi* was located in a closed space, and not in the courtyard. It would appear that the two opposing pilasters in the largest room of the house supported a wooden beam or arch, structures designed to facilitate the support of a wooden floor made of relatively short pieces of wood. We cannot exclude the possibility that the same technique was used for the upper story, which would have been the area for human habitation. The use of a freestanding arch to support a wooden floor for an upper story, or a flat or pitched roof, was a construction technique found widely used later in Attica, in both houses[753] and churches.[754]

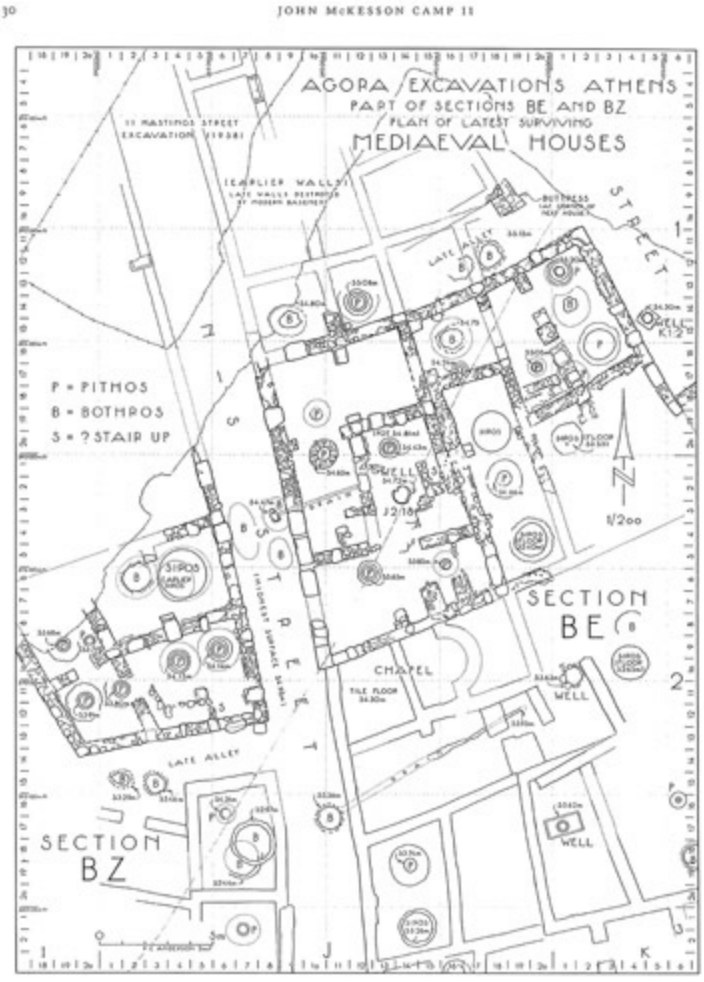

Figure 52 Remains of Byzantine houses in sections BE and BZ, as found. Drawing by R. C. Anderson. (J. Camp.)

Figure 53 Agora. Three Byzantine houses in sections BE and BZ (reconstructive drawing based on the drawing by R. C. Anderson and J. Camp.

Opposite, to the east of the main street, the remains of walls indicate the former existence of another large residence with either four or six rooms.[755] Its courtyard, measuring approximately 3.5 × 5.0 meters, was not directly accessible from the street. In the courtyard were found a well[756] and a *pithos*, used presumably for water drawn from the well. A subterranean channel facilitated the flow of rainwater from the courtyard into a cesspool located under the street. Where the entrance was located is not clear: it could have been opposite the door leading from the first room into the courtyard. Access to the upper, residential quarters was by a stone staircase in the courtyard. And in this instance, we actually possess, in two of the rooms, pairs of pilasters that would have borne the beam or freestanding arch that supported the upper story floor. The function of the massive buttresses(?) in the house's large room on the south side evades us.

Attached to the east side of this house is another with a very large room

(7.0 × 6.0 m) in whose pavement is set a large *siros*.[757] The boundaries of this house are unclear, but there were two long rooms with large *pithoi* and *siroi* and a Γ-shaped courtyard whence one ascended to the upper story by a stone staircase. The double opening from the courtyard into the room has already been noted above. The heavy stone pier situated on the axis between two pilasters confirms that the opening was bridged by two arches.[758] It has not been determined with certainty where the entrance into the courtyard from the street was, nor do we know the location of the door into the second room (9 m long) with its *pithos* and *siroi*. Here too have been found pairs of pilasters which carried the weight of the beams or arches supporting the upper floor.

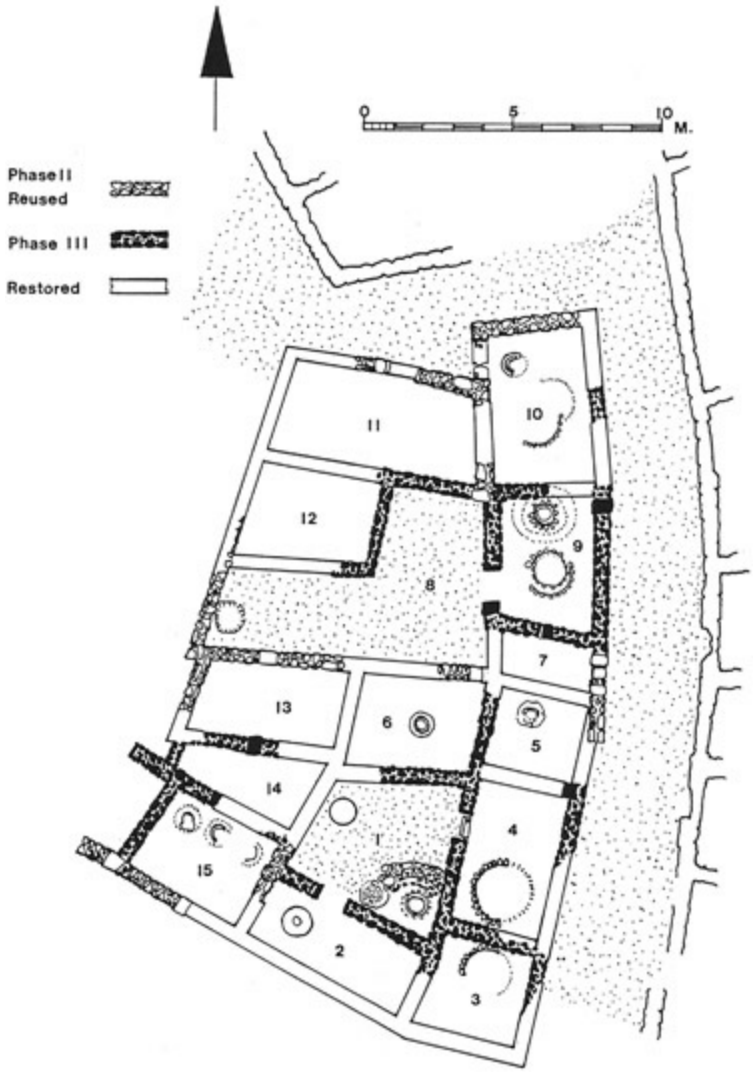

Figure 54 Agora. Two Byzantine houses in section BE. Partly reconstructive plan of the phase III. (T. L.

Shear.)

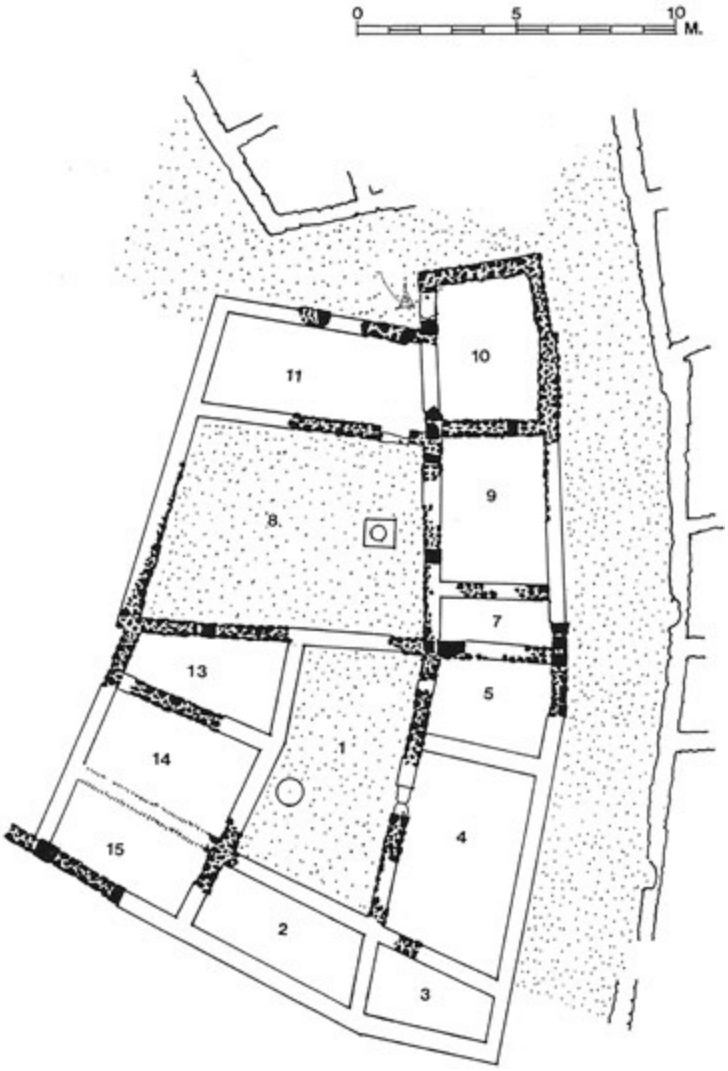

Figure 55 Agora. Two Byzantine houses in section BE. Partly reconstructive plan of the phase II. (T. L. Shear.)

The above observations and reconstructions are based entirely on the plans published in *Hesperia*.[759] These plans do not specify building phases, so one cannot exclude changes to the reconstructive plans. Nonetheless, my observations can contribute to understanding how these buildings might have functioned.

By contrast, the excavators[760] of two houses on the west side of the main street[761] have produced reconstructed ground plans (Fig. 54) that offer an

immediate impression of their architectural type in two of the three building phases.

Both habitations have an irregular plan with the rooms arrayed around courtyards with wells (Fig. 55). The excavators have provided detailed information about the stratigraphy, successive elevation of the pavements and the dating of the three building phases identified in the houses. But they lacked sufficient data from the excavations to shed light on many functional aspects of the houses. They did not find traces of stone staircases leading to an upper story, or determine where the entrance to the house on the south side was located, and the entrance to the house on the north side is in a completely unrelated position, without any connection to the courtyard,[762] which presumably facilitated circulation between the various spaces in the house. In both houses, the courtyard's importance decreased in the third building phase, as evidenced by encroachment and partial occupation by rooms. The only indication of how the spaces were used can be drawn from the existence of *pithoi* set into the pavements of all the rooms, except 13 and 14, and also in the courtyard. The fact that these two rooms in particular have direct access onto the street, and that it is uncertain whether they communicated with the other ground-floor rooms, suggests that they may have been used as stables.

One habitation, known as 'House D', was built up against the Post-Herulian wall in the area of the ancient Eleusinion, and enough data has been preserved for a full reconstruction of its plan to be made.[763] Unusually, the house's layout is very regular, with a courtyard measuring 5.0 × 3.50 meters in the center surrounded by seven rooms and an entrance on the north side. There is no published information about *pithoi* and *siroi*, nor about a stone staircase leading to an upper story, with the result that we cannot say much about the building's function. But it should be noted that it was a relatively large structure, covering a surface area of roughly 145 square meters, it dates to the twelfth century, and it stands inside the part of the city that was encircled by the Post-Herulian wall. The fact that the house is built up against that very wall runs contrary to all security provisions.[764]

It is presumed that the large Middle Byzantine complex discovered in sections H and H' in the Agora, and which I have already had the occasion to

describe,[765] is an example of domestic architecture. It differs, however, from every other Byzantine house both in its size and its type. The existence of storage *pithoi* and *siroi* may indeed be one indication of function, but the compact arrangement of twenty-eight rooms inhibits the flow of movement between the spaces, and the large open-air area can be classified as a courtyard (*aule*) only with difficulty, since it is positioned outside the compositional center of gravity and did not have a separate well of its own. The poor construction of the complex and its packed earth floors exclude the possibility that there was a wealthy residence on the upper floor with a system of passageways and openings, independent of the ground floor. The large Middle Byzantine building has, therefore, its own distinctive features to be resolved, but contributes nothing to the study of the typology of medieval Athenian houses. The fact that it was, in part, built over the fill of a well-known, large public(?) building from the Roman period (with an inner peristyle whose purpose is also unknown) may help us to understand various interconnections in the future and provide a solution to the problem of the medieval building's function.

The 'House of the Potter' (Fig. 48), discovered at the Makrygianni plot,[766] was accessible from the main ancient and medieval street that ran in an east–west direction. The building measures approximately 20 × 10.5 meters, and has four rooms and a courtyard with a well. Only two of the rooms have direct access onto the courtyard, and no sign of a staircase leading to an upper floor has been found. In the back rooms only two storage *pithoi* were discovered. All this evidence points to the likelihood that the 'House of the Potter' did not have an upper story and that the rooms for human habitation were located on the ground floor. The near equal width of the rooms aligned in a parallel makes possible the conjecture that the entire house was covered with a single saddleback roof.

The meager harvest produced by investigation of the dwelling constructed on the east retaining wall of the Theatre of Dionysos[767] can be summed up as follows: it had at least two rooms measuring approximately 3.0 × 3.0 meters, and these rooms intercommunicated through a door 1.4 meters wide. In addition, a cooking hearth was found in the room[768] with the large, stone

cistern in the form of a *pithos*. It was confirmed that the habitation was single-story and roofed with ceramic tiles. Unfortunately, the other medieval walls and various storage *pithoi* that were found cannot be interpreted in such a way as to establish the plan of other rooms in the house and (more importantly) determine whether there was some sort of courtyard. The erection of the Rizokastro in the thirteenth century occurred after the demolition of the house in question and the filling in of the *pithoi* in this area.

In the deposits that accumulated in the easternmost of the Roman cisterns (whose walls were used as foundations) located south of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus was discovered an aggregation of Middle Byzantine walls and storage jars that once belonged to one or two houses. I have already provided information[769] about ten distinct rooms, but their arrangement makes it hard to discern the existence of a central courtyard. Not a single well has come to light. If the short foundations that were attached to two walls are the remains of stairs leading up to an upper story, then we would have here two houses on either side of the wall, which is founded on the dividing wall of the Roman cistern. In any case, what we cannot draw from this example are observations that will enrich our understanding of the typology of Athenian houses.

The long structure with *siroi* which was found immediately to the south[770] preserved the course of the ancient walls in its own foundations, but the evidence is insufficient for reconstructing the ground plan. What is of interest in terms of typology is the narrow space, measuring 12.80 meters in length, and a second one, 8.50 meters in length and with *siroi*, located in the western cluster in the same area.[771]

In the context of the Kerameikos,[772] I have already mentioned House 1, which has a length of 13.50 meters, a short width and houses a row of *pithoi*. Rescue excavations at 8–10 Tziraion Street[773] brought to light three storage spaces arranged lengthwise, one of which was 9.40 meters long, in the context of a building whose function was uncertain. Although its walls were not preserved, we should perhaps include in the same category the rooms housing rows of storage *pithoi* found on Amalias Avenue and in the Agora. Similar long buildings have been discovered in Corinth,[774] where their function was

described as commercial or industrial. And finally, at Minthi,[775] in an agricultural settlement, a building was found measuring 5.10 meters in width and 27 meters in length, and divided into four transverse rooms, but difficult to date.

It can be taken as certain that these structures were storerooms and that their relatively short width made it possible for the space to be covered with a wooden roof. However, their relationship to the long and narrow rooms of undetermined function found in monastic complexes such as at Hosios Loukas,[776] Daphni[777] and Hosios Meletios[778] remains problematic. And numerous questions remain unanswered concerning the organization of daily life in Athenian houses: Were there fireplaces? Special cult spaces (for icons for instance)? How was everyday cooking done? And where were the toilets? Excavations, especially in the Agora, brought to light a large number of pipes, both modern and older, but it is not clear whether they were for water, rainwater drainage or waste removal, and how they functioned in the context of particular houses.

The few Middle Byzantine houses in Athens which can be studied present an overall impression of irregularity with regard to the plan and variety of their architectural solutions, which were responses to necessity, ease of access to building materials or foundations, and a preexisting urban fabric that had evolved dynamically and without a systematic plan. But our discussion of domestic architecture would not be complete without a review of the interpretations ventured following the discovery of the Byzantine house in the area of the Eleusinion.

Figure 56 Agora. House D in section II. General view of the ruins. Phot. ASCSA, XIII, 48.

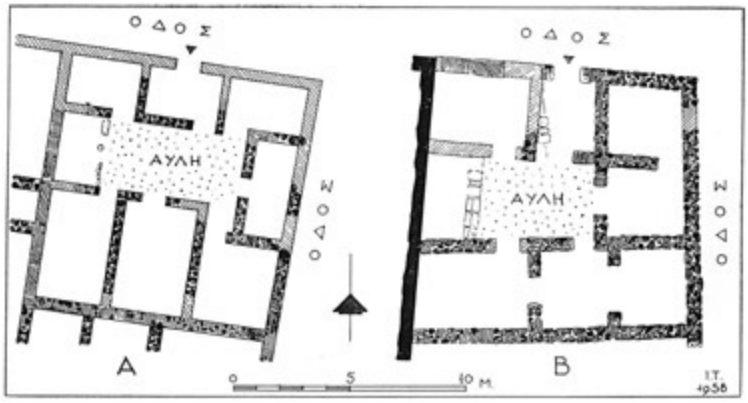

Figure 57 Agora. Plan of a house of the fourth century B.C. compared with the plan of House D of the twelfth century A.D. (J. Travlos.)

The admittedly great similarity in plan (in the overall dimensions, orientation, room size and the existence of a *pastas*) between House D (Fig. 56) and another house on the Areopagus, dating from the fifth century B.C., led Travlos to give serious consideration to the common features and believe that – despite the distance of sixteen centuries that separated them – 'the two houses are offered as unique examples by which we can refine our interpretation of the ground plan of the Athenian house.'[779]

This phrase implies that there existed over time something distinctive about the domestic architectural type that somehow lived on from classical

antiquity. This view was adopted by others as well,[780] even though it was never reinforced with additional examples, from either the ancient or Middle Byzantine period.[781] It is clearly more correct to discuss similar architectural solutions that emerged under similar spatial,[782] domestic and economic conditions. For example, the courtyard responds to the need for privacy in domestic life and the requirements of ventilation and natural light arising in the context of the continuous structural fabric of walled cities where access to rooms and staircases leading to upper stories requires a certain sort of open space. However, the case of the courtyard does not exhibit typological continuity, given that many types were used, both in antiquity and in the Middle Byzantine period, across the wide geographical region all around the Mediterranean.

The small number of houses for which we possess at least a ground plan does not offer us the possibility to make typological comparisons with examples from outside Athens, or from earlier periods, such as Robert Scranton has attempted for the houses found at Corinth. The few Athenian Middle Byzantine houses discussed above resist typologies, and it seems clear that their plans arose from people's efforts to fit around their given circumstances, without significant economic means or a disposition to make a public statement through the architectural form of their habitations.

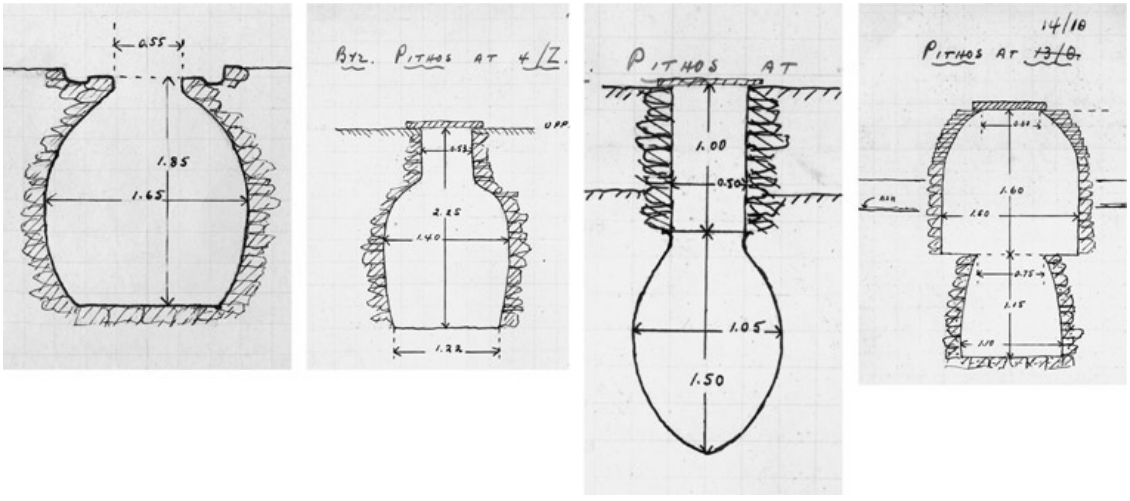

Figure 58 Agora. Four sketches by H. Thompson. Ceramic jars and built-up storage pits. Diaries ASCSA, MM I 145, II 229, 230, III 465.

The different sorts of storage vessels[783] found variously incorporated into the medieval habitations of Athens are intimately linked to their functions and, consequently, deserve special study.

Excavation in all the areas of Byzantine settlement in Athens has brought to light hundreds of subterranean storage vessels (Fig. 58–64); so many, in fact, that excavators have often described them as 'countless'[784] or 'ubiquitous'.[785] Generally speaking, the vessels are either ceramic jars (*pithoi*) or jars made of stones, usually called 'masonry', formed in the shape of a ceramic *pithos*. I will return to the question of how to interpret their truly tremendous quantity, in the introductory remarks about production and the industrial areas of Athens.[786]

The *Life of Hosios Loukas* preserves the medieval name for these vessels as *siros* and also *gouva* 'as the peasants call it', used 'for storing wheat and barley or a type of legume'. Terminological confusion reigns in modern archaeological writing,[787] and the terms *pithos, siros, sterna* and *docheion* have been used indiscriminately. Recently, John Camp proposed a specific nomenclature for three different types: *pithos* for watertight vessels used for storage of liquids: 'a very large ceramic or a roughly egg-shaped chamber built of tiles and field-stones, usually with thick mortar on the inner face'; *siros*[788] for 'lined pits that may or may not have impermeable walls… [with] a flat floor, usually paved with tiles or brick, or plastered'; and *vothros* (usually translated as 'cesspit'): 'a stone-built pit, usually bell-shaped, built with fieldstones and/or tiles, but with unmortared walls and without a paved floor. Their poor construction and permeability suggests that they were useful in dispersing liquid waste'.[789]

Figure 59 Agora. Ceramic jar under the floor of a house in section MM, with its marble cover. Phot. ASCSA X 73.

The *pithoi* and *siroi* were usually sunk into the ground with their mouths just level with the pavement. In the Agora countless *pithoi* were found with intact covers[790] in the form of a marble slab that closed neatly over the mouth.[791] In cases where the pavement level rose with the imposition of a new layer, the mouth was also raised by being simply built up, usually with brick.[792] Masonry *pithoi* or *siroi*, and much less commonly ceramic storage jars, were constructed inside a wide pit lined with small fieldstones combined with broken bricks and tiles. They were plastered on the inside with a strong lime plaster and fitted with an irregular or imperfect corbelling system.[793] The thickness of the vessel's shell could reach up to 40 centimeters. Inside they

were plastered with lime mortar, and with hydraulic mortar[794] for storing liquids. They usually were rounded at the bottom,[795] and before the earth was packed around the jar again, broken pieces of pottery or ceramic tile were placed against the exterior surface to reinforce it against the surrounding earth and insulate the jar's outer shell from any dampness.[796]

Figure 60 Agora. A ceramic jar and a built-up storage pit near the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi.

Figure 61 Excavation at 3 Dionysiou Areopagitou Street. Built-up storage pit.

Figure 62 Roman Agora. Part of a ceramic jar with brick extension over its orifice.

Figure 63 Retaining wall north of the Stoa of Eumenes. Part of a storage pit.

It is not known whether in the case of large ceramic *pithoi* the house was built first and only later the storage jars were installed in the ground. But it is highly likely that they were used for a long period of time, perhaps even centuries, while the house to which they belonged might be reconfigured, or even undergo significant restoration after a catastrophe.[797] It is suggestive that *pithoi* and *siroi* were not mentioned among the furnishings of a house, as can be seen from wills and benefactions,[798] possibly because they were considered part of the property itself. When these subterranean vessels ceased to be used, they became repositories[799] for all kinds of waste, but mainly broken pots and earth.

Figure 64 Agora. House in section H. Foundation wall built of small and rounded water-worn stones. Phot. ASCSA 7.232.

It should be obvious from the above discussion that it is extremely difficult to date masonry *pithoi* and *siroi*.[800] But the chronology of ceramic storage jars is shaky too; the absence of evolving decorative elements and the repetition of general shapes discourage historians of art who might occupy themselves with the subject and devise a chronological system. It should also be noted in this context that excavations in the city of Thebes have also produced enormous numbers of *pithoi* and *siroi*, which have remained unstudied.[801]

The size of the masonry *pithoi* and *siroi* is impressive. We have specimens from the Agora as tall as 2.45 meters[802] or 2.90 meters,[803] Roussopoulos[804] refers to ceramic or masonry *pithoi* as tall as 3 meters in the Theatre of Dionysos area, and some have been found in Thebes that reach a height of 3.50 meters.[805] Their shapes fall mainly into the usual categories, but unusual examples have been discovered as well, often the result of upward extensions made to parts of older vessels,[806] but we also find bell-shaped[807] or pear-shaped varieties.

The tradition of subterranean ceramic *pithoi* can still be seen today in Greek monastic granaries.[808] In these instances, a considerable part of the storage jar is above the pavement.[809] But there are also masonry vessels whose date is simply not known.[810]

Typology presupposes at least the existence of coherent ground plans. But the study of construction methods employed in Middle Byzantine houses in Athens can also be based on information provided by isolated remains, foundations, pavements and walls, partial remnants of houses dated to our period by coins or pottery.

Foundations built on top of older walls, usually from the Roman or Late Antique period, represent a common phenomenon. There are typical examples in the Agora,[811] as well as the house constructed over the eastern Roman cistern located to the south of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus,[812] and others.[813] Naturally, the existence of stable ancient foundations influenced the disposition of the medieval houses built on top of them, but no conclusions have been drawn from this fact, given the few published observations about this phenomenon. The reuse of older material in new foundations is also so common as to be the rule,[814] but, in addition, we find foundations made of small stones and pebbles (Fig. 66), constructed in narrow trenches in the ground. Walls erected on these would obviously have collapsed had they been freestanding.[815] But this was a simple way to limit the penetration of rising damp into the superstructure.

In the stonework in the lower sections of the walls, whose purpose was to protect the unfired bricks from rising damp, but also in higher parts of walls that have survived, we usually find rubble masonry with clay mortar[816] and a usual thickness of 50 to 60 centimeters. The fieldstones chosen were usually small and combined with *spolia* in secondary or tertiary use. While the quality of the binding material largely determined the strength of a wall, clearly the stonemason's skill in selecting and fitting the stones also played an important role. Although they are not mentioned, there were probably also walls built with lime mortar[817] in better-quality and more costly constructions.

The existence of such walls is attested by the surviving ruins, although they cannot be associated with particular buildings. Masonry incorporating heavy, upright ashlars with carefully built spaces between them, as we find in church architecture, has been noted in various positions in the Agora.[818] In the

southeast corner of the Roman Agora we have another example,[819] in which some of the ashlars were set horizontally above the vertical ashlars in order to produce a cross shape. Another wall is constructed from ancient conglomerate ashlars.[820] In the house built over the retaining wall of the Theatre of Dionysos, the use of bricks placed both horizontally and vertically created the effect of pseudo-cloisonné masonry,[821] and in Building C in the Agora,[822] as well as in the house at the Kanellopoulos Museum, careful masonry with partially dressed stone combined with horizontally placed brick was attested. An example of rougher stonework using large irregular stones and brick was found in the fill of a street in the Agora.[823]

Vaulting has yet to be attested in a nonecclesiastical monument from Middle Byzantine Athens, except for in cisterns, graves and other small structures. This situation stands in contrast to Corinth,[824] where vaulting is believed to have been widely used. Small barrel vaults of flat stones and bricks have been found,[825] and there is one instance where the vault is constructed with dressed voussoirs,[826] but the dating is problematic.

In one house in the Agora,[827] architectural elements have survived that attest the original arrangement of two openings of identical width that were probably each spanned by an arch to form a double-arched passage from the ground floor into the courtyard. The construction of this discovery is interesting, but it also represents perhaps the only example from an Athenian house that offers us the opportunity to discuss architectural form.[828] Also of interest are the above-mentioned mixed constructions found in two houses where it seems that arches springing from pilasters supported wooden floors, or even flat roofs.[829]

The pavement of the ground-floor rooms was unusually packed earth, or *apatota* as the Byzantines called it. It has already been noted that excavators have confirmed that in most cases there were successive levels of earth floors. It is rare to find a floor covered with lime plaster.[830] However, hard coatings of lime plaster were discovered on the pavement around wells, wine presses or oil presses.[831] Floors paved with ceramic tiles are also rare.[832] Streets were usually paved in successive layers, sometimes with gravel.[833] The excavators

who had the opportunity to study the surviving walls do not refer to the existence of antiseismic timber ties, a standard feature in churches where they functioned in pressure and tension, greatly strengthening the walls, especially in case of earthquakes.

Little can be said about the mode of construction used for pitched or flat roofs, except that countless broken ceramic tiles are a feature of many excavated areas. There has been no independent study, or publication, of medieval tile morphology.[834] If my conjectures about vaulting are correct, wooden pitched roofs and wooden flat roofs were the norm for the medieval house.

It is also unknown whether the interior walls were plastered with lime mortar, or even whether the unfired bricks were protected from weather conditions by some sort of coating that was reapplied at intervals.

In many instances, the existence of stone staircases leading from the ground floor to an upper story has been attested. The absence of a staircase does not necessarily mean that the house was single story, since there might have been wooden stairs or ladders that have left no trace.

At the conclusion of this brief and incomplete survey of Middle Byzantine domestic architecture in Athens, one cannot help but notice the great difference in construction technology, generally speaking, found in churches from the same period and in the same city. The only explanation for this is that difficult circumstances led to the disappearance of the essential features of well-built habitations, and perhaps of the comfortable, if not luxurious, houses that belonged to members of the small local aristocracy of Middle Byzantine Athens, which our written sources pass over in silence.

The production of goods, the economy and industrial buildings

The main feature of cities, that which sets them apart from villages, is their economic function. The primary question, especially for medieval Athens, is

to what extent, during the three centuries of peace that concern us here, the city's function as a citadel and its dependence on primary production were surpassed, making Athens a productive city set within a broad network in Greece. These questions will be examined again in the general observations about the city.

The subject has barely been discussed until now.[835] In general discussions, Athens is associated with the flourishing cities of Middle Byzantine Greece,[836] while our main source of information, Michael Choniates, attests the opposite in a series of derogatory characterizations: 'the… territory of Athens is not fruitful, nor does it breed animals, nor does it produce silk fabrics, nor is it prosperous in any goods produced by man….'[837] 'Everything from Athens is meager and cheap.'[838]

Whether the metropolitan's account can be trusted has been discussed.[839] The reality of a sudden economic downturn during his Athens years cannot be verified. What we have is, on the one hand, the archaeological record, in other words the remains of structures somehow involved in production, as well as numismatic finds,[840] and, on the other, a few indirect pieces of information from the written sources, including the writings of Choniates among other material. All this taken together sheds some light on the problem of the economic development of Athens during the Middle Byzantine period.

Much of the evidence suggests that Athens had limited industry but had a direct relationship to the agricultural produce of Attica.[841] Grain, oil, wine, honey and wax from Hymettus, and some animal husbandry.[842] For the conservative thinkers of that time, such as Kekaumenos[843] and Michael Choniates,[844] agriculture was the best means of providing the basic necessities of life.[845]

The distance of the impregnable Acropolis fortress from the sea[846] and the insecurity of trade because of the city's mediocre or even insufficient defenses[847] may have been the reasons impeding Athens's development as a commercial hub like Corinth. But the city's connection to agricultural production should not be overestimated. The fact that, according to the *Praktikon*, there were 20,816 square orgyies (approximately 92 stremmata) of

farmland[848] inside the 'Royal' wall is an indication of intensive cultivation of the land, rather than just meeting the needs of the city's inhabitants. The impressive quantity of storage jars and storage spaces in the Middle Byzantine habitations of Athens[849] does not point to the ruralization of the city, since this abundance does not correspond to the number of industrial installations, olive oil and wine presses, mills and stables, which are usually associated with agricultural houses. Instead, the great quantity should be interpreted as an indication of prosperity and insecurity about the future, exactly as Kekaumenos describes the situation: 'There shall come an adverse time when the earth will be barren and you shall be found wanting in grain and other seeds to feed your people.'[850]

The Middle Byzantine houses whose ruins have come to light all across the city bear witness to a very low quality of life and the use of materials and building techniques that did not require the investment of large sums of money. By contrast, the large number of churches – impressive not only in quantity but also in quality – shows that the Athenians, much more than the population of any other Middle Byzantine provincial city,[851] made investments of a non-production-oriented sort in religious buildings. The well-known analysis of coin circulation in Athens[852] shows in steady economic improvement during the period between 969 and 1204, which is accompanied by the spread of settlements, but not church-building activity. As we shall see, this was a striking development of the eleventh century, while coin circulation increased much more at a later time, in the twelfth century.

This brings us back to the study of the archaeological evidence, which presents difficulties similar to those already discussed in detail[853] with regard to domestic architecture: finds have been destroyed with only minimal documentation, publications of these finds are almost always summary, and their dating is approximate and unpersuasive. Sometimes the vague identification 'workshop' is offered,[854] but the hypothesis that the rooms with large numbers of storage containers were shops cannot be confirmed. One conclusion of utmost importance for our discussion is that in medieval

Athens, as elsewhere,[855] workshops – including those with offensive by-products – were scattered in among the houses. In other words, there was no distinction in the use of land within the city.

The most widespread industry in Athens was ceramic manufacturing.[856] Pottery kilns were found during excavations in almost all parts of the city. In the general area of the south slope of the Acropolis, on the fill covering some impressive buildings (thought to have belonged to a philosophical school), a Byzantine kiln was found,[857] but no plan of it was ever published.[858] To the east, in the area of the Makrygianni plot, in systematic excavations made preceding the creation of both the metro station and the new Acropolis Museum, at least four pottery kilns were noted in a group of houses and workshops. This is the only case in which a special study[859] was dedicated to Athenian workshops.

In the ruins of a seventh-century secular basilica, pottery workshops[860] were established that probably used the water collected in the old cisterns of the architectural complex. A pottery kiln was discovered northwest of the round hall, as well as the impression of a potter's wheel and a repository with broken or defective pots,[861] all of which confirm the area's use for the manufacture of ceramics. The workshop seems to have had sheds[862] supported by wooden columns that were used for drying products before they were fired. Slightly to the north, also in the area of the former Makrygianni barracks (in Area 4), another kiln with pottery[863] (1.7 m in diameter) was unearthed, together with a potter's wheel, inside a shed that was supported by four columns.[864] The existence in a neighboring dwelling of an open-air courtyard with a well led to the interpretation that this was a potter's house,[865] directly connected to the workshops. East of the same group were discovered the remains of two more pottery kilns. An abundance of *pithoi* and masonry *siroi* served the needs of the workshops and households.

According to the excavators, the arrangement of the workshops (both pottery and other, which will be discussed later) in the area of the former Makrygianni quarter does not give the impression of being a consolidated industrial complex, but seems more like a neighborhood[866] with an

assemblage of individual workshops that got their raw materials, namely water and clay, from the Ilissos River. It remains to be proved that the Ilissos provided these necessities, given that its flow would have decreased or even ceased in the summer months.

Very little from the area of the ancient Agora has been published: a pottery kiln from the ninth or tenth century in the vicinity of the ancient industrial zone[867] and a storeroom of pots in the northwest corner,[868] dated by coin finds to the period between 976 and 1055. Remnants of pottery workshops were also noted at the metro's so-called 'Mitropoleos ventilation shaft',[869] and also in a rescue excavation at the corner of Pandrosou and Mnisikleous Streets.[870]

With regard to pottery, the most important find from medieval Athens comes from the Roman Agora.[871] During the excavation led by Stavropoulos in 1930, they discovered a pottery kiln, repositories (a *pithos*, a *siros* and a hemicylindrical pit full of broken pottery), and defective pottery that had been put aside and pots stored. In this case, too, the documentation of this find, either in drawings or photographs,[872] was exiguous. However, the information provided is highly useful because it verifies the production in situ of particular ceramics. In the depositories were found pieces of pots that had not been properly fired, as well as *tripodiskoi* that were used to support the pots inside the kiln. In other words, the typical refuse for a pottery workshop.

This valuable material remained unexploited for thirty-four years. In 1964, Orlandos made a catalogue[873] of 136 pieces (intact and fragmentary), including pots, *skyphoi*, flasks, plates and flat dishes with a wide variety of patterns, all dated to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.[874] Orlandos also informed us about another finding: 'a certain mass, probably a preparation of pigment and silica salt. This was melted and soaked in water and then ground to a powder that was dissolved in water and made into a sort of paste that could be spread over ceramic pots. In the kiln, the clay absorbed the water, while the colored powder in the paste formed a glaze once it was fired.'[875]

This discovery in the Roman Agora confirms the existence of an Athenian workshop[876] that produced glazed and ornately decorated ceramic wares employing the sgraffito technique. These wares may not have been considered

luxury goods,[877] but they were probably also exported for sale outside Athens.

Finally, I should also mention a pottery kiln found amidst remains of tenth to twelfth century houses, in the course of an excavation of foundations in Marousi.[878] Archaeological investigation has yet to produce evidence for glass production in medieval Athens.

Weaving was the most important craft industry in the medieval period, and it naturally demanded a division of labor when it aimed at something more than the characteristic self-sufficiency of an agricultural economy. In the case of weaving, we have no archaeological remains but only indirect indications and information from written sources.

Michael Choniates states clearly that Athens, in contradistinction to Thebes,[879] had no industry for the production of silk cloth,[880] by which he means exportable fabric that would bring wealth to the city. Cheaper fabrics intended for cassocks were mentioned by Choniates in a letter to an acquaintance in Monemvasia.[881] Such fabrics may have been produced in Athens and were clearly dyed there.

Indeed, it seems that the division of labor favored dyeing in Athens fabrics that were produced elsewhere.[882] The shells from which the dyes that produced purple-colored fabric, especially silk, were made were harvested from nearby shores. Mention has already been made of the neighborhood of shell-collectors in Athens[883] and the 4-meter thick layer of murex shells found in the *cavea* of the Odeon on Herodes Atticus.[884] Choniates mentions the porphyry fishermen,[885] and we find the name of 'shell-collector' among the graffiti in the church of the Soteira Lykodemou.

Dyeing with different colors in succession was carried out in open vats with live molluscs,[886] mainly in winter or spring, and the whole process was most conveniently conducted close to the point where the molluscs were gathered. Subsequently the fabrics were washed with soap likewise produced, so it seems, in Athens;[887] and finally they were dried in order to be sent for sale.

Workshops with open vats, probably dyers' workshops, have been found in the vicinity of the Olympieion[888] (Fig. 65), in the Athenian Agora[889] (Fig. 66), in the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian[890] and in the area of the

Makrygianni quarter.[891] However, it is not certain whether they were used necessarily for dyeing, since a similar arrangement with basins in a row and access to a good water supply was shared by tanneries[892] and workshops where wool was whitened and processed before weaving. The Athenian workshops have been interpreted as all three types of workshops,[893] but without any new data as proof.

The problem of how the workshops' water requirements were met remains unsolved, since medieval Athens did not have an aqueduct.[894] And even if we accept that the Ilissos River and Kallirhoe spring were sufficient over the course of several months to keep the workshop in the Olympieion in operation, the other workshops must have been supplied by wells, cisterns or large watertight storage vessels. It is a pity that we have no published information about the capacity of cisterns and vessels found in Athens, as is also the case with the *pithoi* and *siroi* found in the ground floor of houses, as noted earlier.[895]

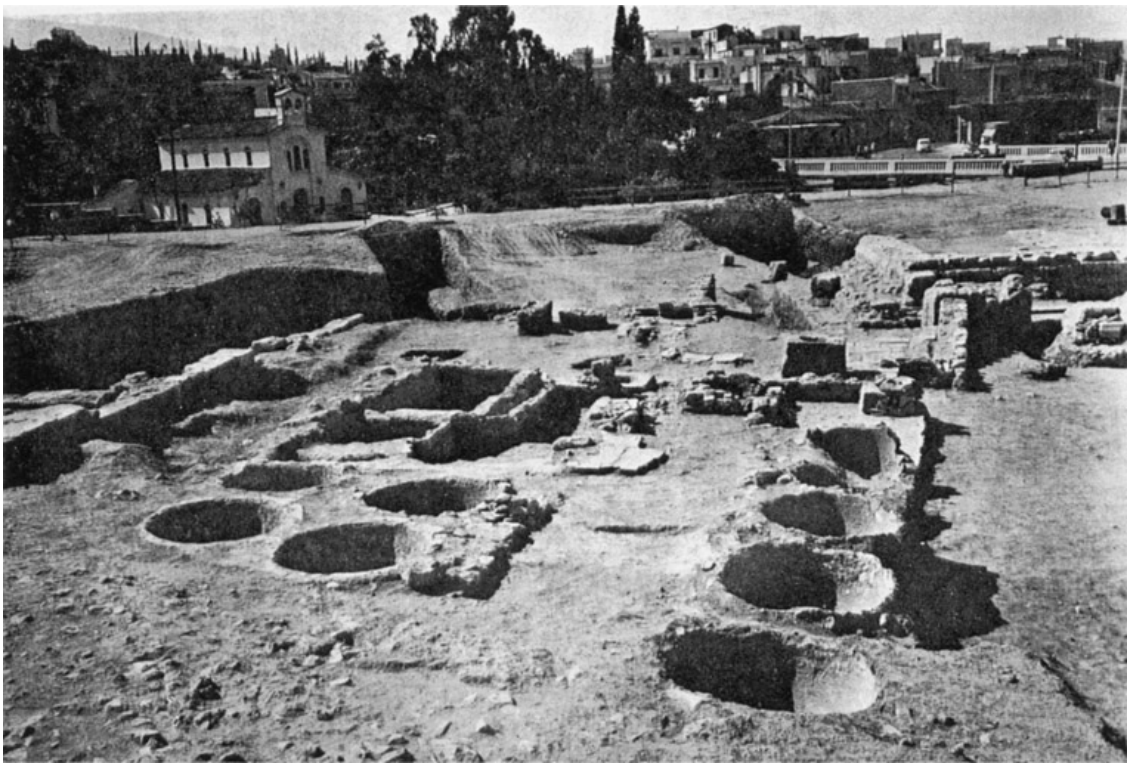

Figure 65 The Byzantine workshop of the Olympieion. View from the west (1962). (J. Travlos and J. Threpsiadis.)

Figure 66 Agora. Byzantine workshop east of the road in section E. Phot. ASCSA E 229, 230.

Traces of slag heaps point to the existence of at least a few ironworks in Athens,[896] despite the fact that Michael Choniates claimed at the end of our period that 'there is no longer any bellows, and no blacksmith among us, no coppersmith, no knife-maker, all these [crafts] that still existed yesterday.'[897] And indeed, a few years earlier, according to Georgios Tornikes, one saw in Athens blacksmiths and coppersmiths 'laboring with hammer and anvil', but who seem to have been meeting local needs alone. But the form taken by such Middle Byzantine workshops remains, sadly, unknown to us.[898]

Only two olive oil presses[899] and one wine press[900] have been noted in Athenian excavations. One must conjecture that the installations for making the primary agricultural products, oil and wine, must have been in the countryside. Michael Choniates writes about the honey produced on Mount Hymettus,[901] the dispatch of containers of oil as a gift[902] and the 'local wine' characterized by the addition of resin, in other words retsina.[903] The habit of flavoring wine with pine resin may have started from the attempt to make waterproof clay vessels with resin. As a practice it was known in Athens already from antiquity[904] and attested both in archaeo-logical finds and other evidence.[905]

We have no archaeological evidence of marble working in Middle Byzantine Athens. The abundant supply of white Pentelic marble taken from ancient ruins and the astonishingly large number of carved architectural members with relief decoration that are preserved today in museums, collections and archaeological sites, as well as in situ in churches, make it

more or less certain that from the tenth century until the Frankish period Athens had many marble workshops.[906] However, it is hard to determine their position given the small amounts of marble chippings or abandoned, unfinished architectural members[907] that were found during the excavations – or if more were found, they have not been recorded.

Economic historians chart the stages in the development of an urban economy, citing first the wandering petty salesman, then the craftsman who uses his workshop also as a shop in order to make his goods available, and finally the establishment of shops serving as a centralized market for the distribution of goods. Sadly, for Middle Byzantine Athens no relevant data exists, only the assumption that the city had reached the third stage.

In our pursuit of archaeological evidence for shops, we naturally turn to the concentrations of *pithoi* and *siroi* in what seem to have been single spaces and were so great in number that they cannot have belonged to one residence. On the so-called south street of the medieval settlement in the Athenian Agora,[908] the existence of fifteen masonry *siroi* and one ceramic *pithos* led the excavators to speak of a commercial center with a row of shops along the southern boundary of the ancient street that would have been accessible for goods deliveries via the street leading from the Piraeus Gate.[909]

A similar concentration of *pithoi* was found in an excavation at Amalias Avenue 30,[910] a plot where eleven masonry *siroi* came to light on the opposite side of Amalias,[911] at the so-called 'Zappeion ventilation shaft', about which we have already spoken.[912] North of this site, a similar concentration of thirteen *siroi* was found in Syntagma Square.[913] The relative closeness of these three groups makes it possible to conjecture that there was some sort of commercial center here, a marketplace perhaps, that was served by the road connecting the area to the Mesogeia. Unfortunately, no plans were published (not even ground plans) that could help us draw firmer conclusions. The tendency is, though, to imagine that the shops, as the workshops, grew up along the length of the street, as in Corinth[914] and later in Pergamon.[915] The group of nine *pithoi* excavated near the Gorgoepekoos church[916] was probably the 'repository'[917] of a small monastery of which the aforementioned church

was the *katholikon*.

In section H in the Athenian Agora excavations, the foundations of a relatively large building[918] (discussed above) were discovered. It had twenty-eight rooms and an open-air courtyard (Fig. 36), dated by coins to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The monument's excavators conjectured[919] that the rooms were used as shops, or as habitations. The closed layout of the plan excludes the view[920] that it was a 'courtyard' (*aule*), in the sense of an autonomous property with workshops producing goods, as well as shops selling goods, a type of building that is known also from our written sources.[921]

Excavations in Athens have not produced evidence for a space used as a weekly bazaar,[922] or a daily one for that matter, in the Middle Byzantine period. While accepting that we should be looking for a marketplace or suitable space within the Post-Herulian wall,[923] I have noted already that Travlos's view, that the Roman Agora was the site of a bazaar from antiquity until the late Ottoman period,[924] is simply not supported by the evidence.[925] Also unknown is where the annual commercial fair held on 15 August, the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, took place and who participated in it,[926] even though it is mentioned in a written source.[927]

Unbuilt spaces and cemeteries

The continuing obscurity of the shape of the urban fabric prohibits observations about unbuilt spaces in medieval Athens, and the absence of evidence for buildings at various points cannot stand in for evidence that these areas were in fact empty. The fields noted in the *Praktikon* as located inside the Royal wall certainly signify open spaces, but these were not incorporated into the urban fabric or into the life of the city. The only exception is the Tzykanisterion, located, according to the *Praktikon*,[928] on the north side 'in the *kastron*'. It was a recreational area, large in size and suitable for equestrian games.[929] Besides the Tzykanisterion in the Palace in

Constantinople,[930] we know of one in eighth-century Ephesos[931] and tenth-century Lacedaemonia.[932] We do not know whether the Athenian Tzykanisterion was still in use in our period, since the sport required teams of riders. Evidence in support of its use would be indirect testimony of the economic prosperity of the local aristocracy in Athens.

In contrast to the ancient practice, burials inside the city walls are known already from the time of Leo the Wise.[933] Middle Byzantine Athens proves no exception, as is demonstrated by the numerous archaeological finds from within the Post-Herulian and Valerianic walls. Regretfully, the same observation must be repeated in the case of burials as has already been made about domestic architecture and workshops: with only very few exceptions, excavations of the Middle Byzantine layers were hastily conducted and finds were destroyed or filled in, without documentation. Publications of this material is summary,[934] and it is difficult to date[935] since often new burials were made in old graves, or the graves were reused as ossuaries, in addition to the fact that there were very few grave goods.

Following the classification of Emmanouilidis[936] and the provisional(?) publications of various finds in Athens, it is possible to discern a few categories of burials. Although its boundaries are not known, an organized cemetery was noted in the area of the Makrygianni quarter,[937] and it may have been associated with a chapel.[938] The spatial organization, with vaulted graves arranged in rows, makes it almost certain that it was a Late Antique cemetery reused when the area was reinhabited in the Middle Byzantine period. A second cemetery from the same period was noted further to the south, on a parallel street to Vouliagmenis Street.[939]

We have more specific information about burials inside or in the immediate environs of churches or monasteries. The location of graves in these contexts can, of course, be explained by Christians' desire to be buried in holy places and as close as possible to places where the divine liturgy was celebrated.[940] Distinguished persons could be buried beneath the pavement or in arcosolia in church narthexes, as was the case in the well-known Athenian churches of the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora,[941] the Taxiarchs,[942] Hagioi Pantes (All

Saints),[943] Soteira Lykodemou[944] and the Asomatoi sta Skalia.[945] Despite church bans, there were sometimes burials even under the pavement of the *naos*, as was the case in the Hephaisteion,[946] which had been converted to a church, as well as in the Megale Panagia[947] and the church of the Hagioi Theodoroi.[948] It is supposed that the Parthenon[949] was the burial place of the city's metropolitans, whose names were found engraved on the columns.[950] Burial inside abandoned and ruinous churches continued even into the Post-Byzantine period.

Excavations brought to light dozens of graves in close association with churches and monasteries in Athens. In the Megale Panagia, built on the site of the Library of Hadrian, inscriptions on grave plaques led to the conjecture that the site was occupied by the cemetery of a nunnery in the ninth and tenth centuries.[951] But the excavator did not draw connections between the plaques and the graves or ossuaries that were excavated, the plaques were simply mentioned[952] and Koumanoudis later had them removed.

Northwest of the church of Soteira Lykodemou, the monastery's cemetery was indicated by the few fragmentary remains of Middle Byzantine graves.[953] In the limited area that was excavated in 1967 around the church of the Hagioi Theodoroi,[954] sixteen graves were found which were considered to be older than the church. One could conjecture that they were connected to the smaller and humbler church whose place the extant church occupied.

An extensive cemetery from the Late Roman period, possibly in use into the Middle Byzantine period, was excavated in the vicinity of the Panagia stin Petra[955] (the site of the temple of Artemis Agrotera). Byzantine graves that were directly associated with the church of the Asomatos sta Skalia,[956] some with interesting grave goods, were also found in the courtyard and in front of the propylon of the Library of Hadrian. In its northern wall an arcosolium was carved into the marble facing the narthex[957] or a vestibule to the church.[958] Whether the arcosolium should be assigned to a Middle or Late Byzantine date remains uncertain.[959]

Burials were even noted in the excavations of the church of Hagios Thomas[960] and at a church of unknown dedication located north of Adrianou

Street in the Athenian Agora.[961] Around the so-called Theseion, in the area of the newer cemetery for foreigners,[962] many Middle Byzantine graves were also found.[963] However, the eleventh- and twelfth-century graffiti on the columns and walls of the ancient temple[964] do not provide sufficient evidence to connect the temple with a Byzantine cemetery.[965] It is possible that the graffiti are some sort of catalogue of the dead in that area.[966]

The reuse of graves was condemned in Late Antiquity,[967] but not in the Middle Byzantine period. This subject has not, sadly, been the focus of systematic investigation by excavators, and there is a certain vagueness in the publications. Examples where vaulted Early Christian graves were used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been mentioned in the area of the Makrygianni quarter,[968] and also on Nikis Street.[969] Other graves reused later as ossuaries were also found in the Makyrgianni area, Syntagma Square and depositories of bones were found in the church of Hagios Nikolaos, in the northern part of the Athenian Agora.[970] The architectural idea of a vaulted ossuary seems to have survived until a much later date, as is suggested by two small buildings at the south wall of the Roman Agora, west of the fountain, that were discussed earlier.[971]

The above discussion contributes very little to our picture of the urban fabric of Middle Byzantine Athens. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that many other medieval graves were not even mentioned in the publications. Moreover, no one has occupied themselves with the typology of Middle Byzantine graves in Athens. The fact that they were scattered across the city bears witness, in any case, to the absence – or perhaps the nonenforcement – of regulations concerning land use, or hygiene,[972] but also the lack of planning regulations in general for the medieval city.

The churches of medieval Athens

The ecclesiastical architecture of Athens: Introduction

In the catalogue that follows, I discuss over forty Athenian churches[973] that, regardless of their later fate, were in use during the Middle Byzantine period. Compared to other provincial cities in the Byzantine Empire, the number of churches in Athens is very high and also difficult to interpret from a historical point of view. These ecclesiastical structures are remarkable both in their fine construction and artistic quality, and most belong to the eleventh century, a period about which our written sources are silent. The only exception is the visit of Basil II to Athens in 1019, described in the sources as purely formal, leaving no real administrative or economic impact on the city.

But the silence in the sources is pervasive: except for the Parthenon church of the Theotokos, Byzantine writers utter not a single word about the wealth of medieval monuments in Athens.[974]

The survival of a relatively large number of churches until 1830 can be attributed to many different causes. To begin with, the city is not prone to primary seismic activity, but is vulnerable to few seismic shots, from rather distant epicentres.[975] The pervasive use of vaulting restricted the effect of fire to mainly limited damage. However, the main factor behind the survival of the Athenian churches until the War of Independence was the fact that under Ottoman rule only three churches had been converted to mosques – the Parthenon, the church underlying the Fethiye Mosque and the Hagioi Anargyroi on the south slope of the Acropolis.[976] All other Byzantine and more than one hundred Post-Byzantine churches remained in the hands of the Christians, thanks perhaps to privileges granted them by Mehmet the Conqueror[977] when he visited the city in 1458. Many of the churches were preserved as the private property of leading Athenian families, while others became *metochia* of various monasteries or parish churches, with the result that they were all maintained in at least reasonable condition.

The great degradation of the wealth of medieval monuments in Athens took place during the period of uprising against Ottoman rule.[978] By the end of the conflict, most Athenian churches and especially the small Post-Byzantine churches were in ruins[979] and many of the dedications were subsequently forgotten. Insufficient funds for rebuilding, the imposition of a

new urban plan and changes in the status of private property lay behind most of the church demolitions.[980]

Other causes led to the degradation of the Middle Byzantine churches that had survived in a somewhat better condition on account of their construction. Out of ignorance, Greeks in the post-Independence period did not appreciate the value of the medieval monuments in their midst. This lack of understanding combined with the need for space to accommodate a much-increased number of parishioners at worship[981] resulted in the extensions and structural deformations I have already discussed. In addition, the adulation of antiquity and neoclassical ideals that prevailed after 1830 in Greece, and particularly in Athens,[982] led to the cold-blooded destruction of Byzantine churches in order to bring to light the remains of antiquity and purge the archaeological sites of the Middle Byzantine layers, without the slightest reservation.

The absence of direct information, most notably inscriptions, concerning the nearly fifty known Middle Byzantine churches makes it almost impossible to determine what their original purpose was and whether they underwent alterations either in the Middle Byzantine period or later. It is nearly certain that fourteen of these served as monastery *katholika*:

Hagia Aikaterine
Asomatos sta Skalia[983]
Kapnikarea[984]
Kynegos ton Philosophon[985]
Galatsi, Hagios Georgios
Hagios Loukas[986]
Goudi, Panagia
Megale Panagia[987]
'Theseion'
Homologetai[988]
Hagios Dionysios[989]
Hagioi Asomatoi, Petraki monastery
Kaisariani
Soteira tou Lykodemou

The Gorgoepekoos church may have been a private church, but during the

Ottoman period it was included in the property that came under the jurisdiction of the Cathedral of Athens.[990] The wall paintings, whose themes would have provided clues to whether or not the church served as a *katholikon*, are lost in nearly all the monuments. The view expressed by Cyril Mango[991] that the ornate and costly churches were *katholika* set in monastic courtyards cannot be verified in Athens, and donations of land, which were essential for the foundation of a monastery, are not documented or at least we are not aware of them given the lack of archival material for the Middle Byzantine period. The church of the Hagioi Theodoroi had specific donors, as did the first phase of the church of Hagios Ioannes Mangoutes, and can therefore be considered to have been private properties. In addition, there is a third category of Athenian churches that were neither private nor monastic but depended directly on the Cathedral of Athens, in a manner similar to today's parish churches. Two churches named in the *Praktikon*[992] simply as churches and not as monasteries, Hagios Ioannes Prodromos and Hagia Marina, appear to have belonged to this category. Cemetery chapels have already been discussed.

The Cathedral of Athens is also problematic. Travlos believed that the basilica of the Megale Panagia erected in the ruins of the tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian was originally used as the cathedral.[993] This notion rests on pure hypothesis without documentation. In the twelfth century, to judge from the homilies of Michael Choniates,[994] the metropolitan had his seat in the Parthenon until his expulsion by the Crusaders in 1204. It is possible that from that time the metropolitan see was established in the church whose remains are preserved beneath the Fethiye Mosque in the Roman Agora, about which more will be said later.[995] But the see was ejected from this venue, too, when in 1456 the church was taken by the Ottomans and given over to Muslim worship, and as the oldest Ottoman mosque in Athens it assumed the customary name Fethiye, 'Conquest'. Both Kambouroglous[996] and Travlos[997] wrote about the churches of Athens that served as cathedrals during the Ottoman period.

It is worth noting that even though the Valerianic wall was of no use

strategically in the late twelfth century, thirty-four of the forty churches discussed here were located inside the wall. This may be understood from the fact that many of the churches date to the eleventh century, in which case either the wall would still have been in good condition at that time, or it was believed that the wall would be restored, or it must still have provided a sense of security to the city's inhabitants. In a few instances elements survive that indicate the incorporation of churches or monasteries into the medieval urban grid. Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas was entered directly from the medieval Tripodon Street, the monastery of the Asomatoi sta Skalia had an elaborate façade opening onto the small square in front of the medieval Library of Hadrian, the Soteira Lykodemou and Sotera Kottakis opened onto the street connecting the Acropolis with the Mesogeia gate[998] and the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora had direct access onto the Panathenaic Way leading to the Acropolis in parallel to the Post-Herulian wall. A different picture emerged from the excavation at Hagios Nikolaos in the Athenian Agora, which was woven into the fabric of surrounding houses, although all the buildings did not appear to be related chronologically. Finally, the entrance to the monastery of Hagios Loukas was off the old road that led from Athens to Kifissia, known also from the first topographical plans made of the area.

In the catalogue of Athenian churches that follows the length of each entry does not correspond necessarily to the importance of the church it describes. I have described at greater length the churches that are completely unpublished as well as certain features in these churches that present exceptional interest. The result of giving more attention to the reconstructions of monuments that were disfigured or had fallen into ruin is that some of these entries are larger than others describing structures that have remained intact.

Following the presentation of forty Athenian churches, I include ten more about which minimal evidence exists, or about which there are doubts as to their Middle Byzantine date.

Catalogue of Middle Byzantine churches in Athens

The Agora. Hagioi Apostoloi/Holy Apostles

The Hagioi Apostoloi in the Athenian Agora[1] (Fig. 67) is perhaps the city's only Byzantine monument about which a scholarly monograph commensurate with the building's importance has been published.[2] It is also one of the few instances in which the radical interventions by restorers in the years between 1954 and 1956 were published (Fig. 68, 69).

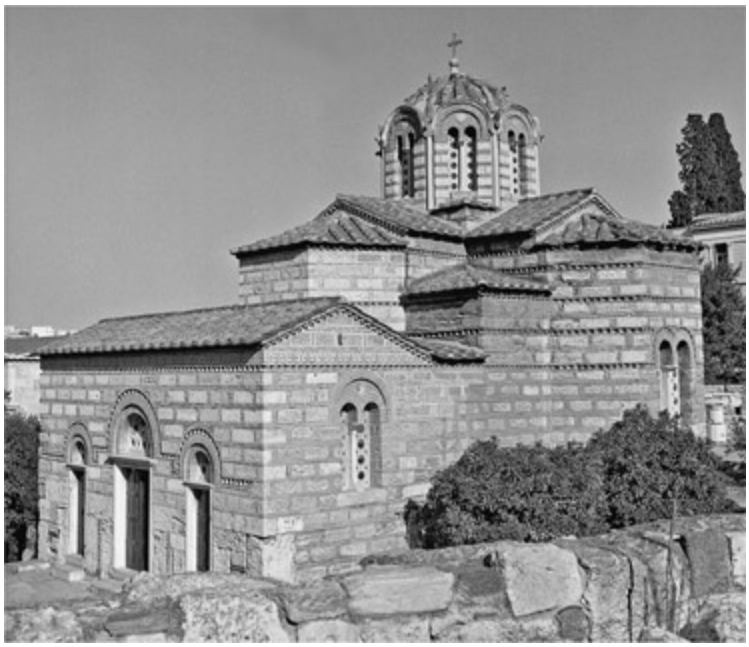

Figure 67 The Hagioi Apostoloi from southwest.

Typologically, the church is a unicum in Middle Byzantine church architecture (Fig. 70). Excavation confirmed the existence of a fourth apse, on the western side, as well as a tripartite narthex. The result is a highly unusual ground plan: a cross-in-square, domed church and a tetraconch, or rather an octaconch, shell. Choisy[3] had already commented on the monument's high quality. Its originality, especially in association with the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas was noted by Megaw.[4] Alison Frantz rightly concluded that the monument was the work of a highly ingenious architect.[5]

Figure 68 The Hagioi Apostoloi from northwest.

It was probably in the course of the War of Independence[6] that the western apse of the church was destroyed, together with the narthex. Somewhat later it was modified in order to create more space – a fate it shared with many Athenian churches – by the addition of a pseudo-classical extension at the west end in 1877. The minor widening of the narthex in order to create an arcosolium on the northern side belongs to the twelfth century.[7]

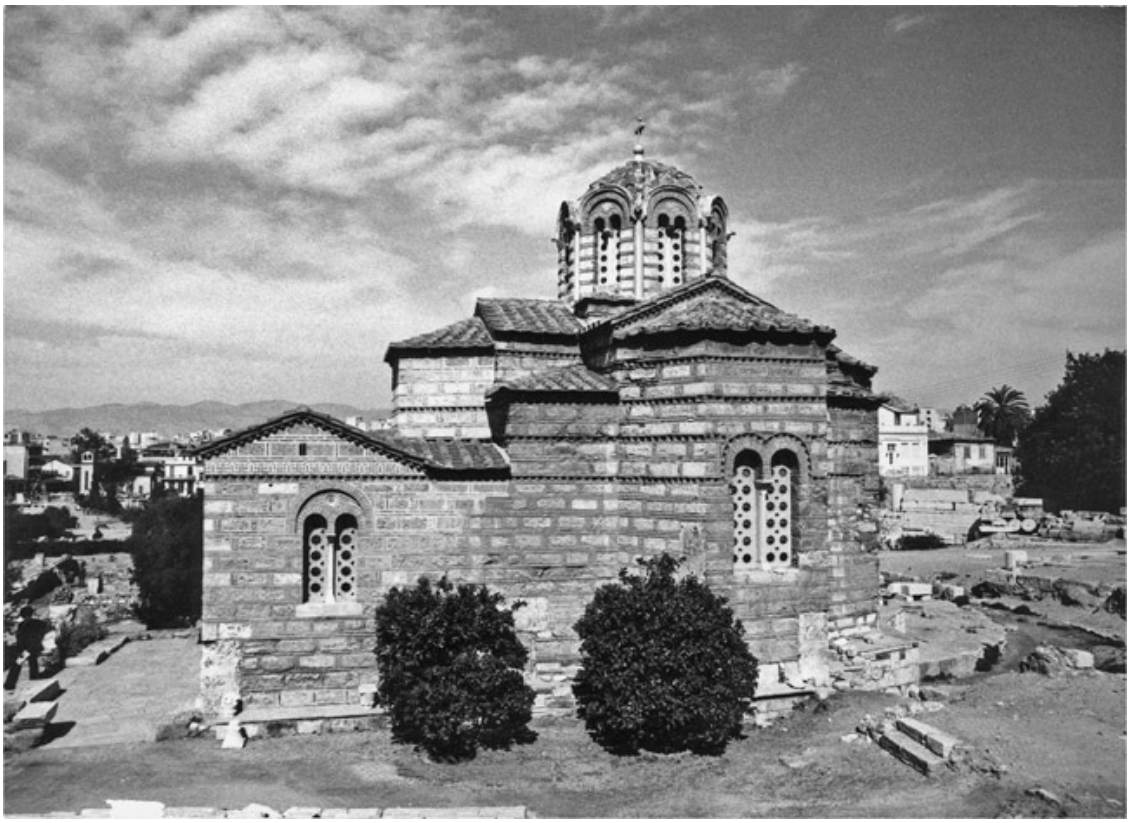

Figure 69 The Hagioi Apostoloi. View of the south face.

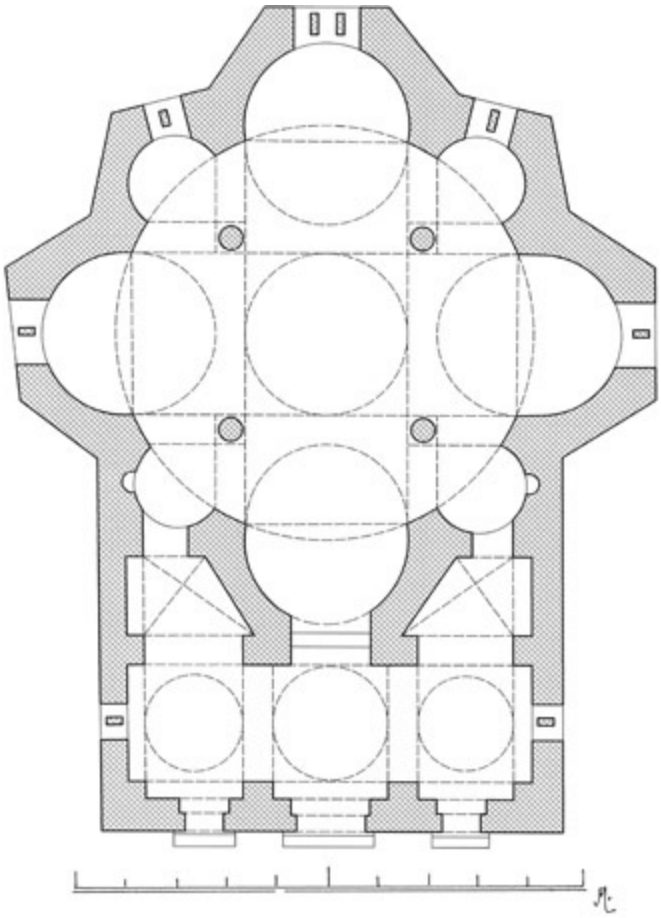

Figure 70 The Hagioi Apostoloi. Plan based on a drawing by J. Travlos.

In the church's restoration, aesthetic concerns prevailed over faithfulness to the Venice Charter. The overall form of the building became clear after the discovery of the foundations and parts of the original façade. However, the ceramic decoration of the restored walls (frieze,[8] pseudo-Cufic, dentil courses) as well as the vaulting in the narthex[9] were supported on hypotheses. The same is true for the final shape of the *omphalion* in the center of the floor pavement under the dome, about which very little information was available.[10]

Figure 71 The Hagioi Apostoloi. East–west section. Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. (A. Frantz.)

Figure 72 The Hagioi Apostoloi. East elevation. Drawing by W. B. Dinsmoor Jr. (A. Frantz.)

The incorporation of the cross-domed arrangement into an octaconch plan (Fig. 71) shaped around a circle measuring 8.16 meters in diameter succeeds

thanks to three-sided imposts that crown the ‘pilasters’ between the apses at approximately 4 meters above pavement level. This arrangement produces the eight arches that connect the ‘pilasters’ to the columns. It is important to note that the outward-facing surfaces of the apse arches are on a vertical plane and not aligned along the circular outline. In other words, there is a differentiation between the upper level (where the centrally planned design predominates[11]) and the lower (where the cross-in-square plan predominates and the apses are arranged in the familiar fashion). The domes of the four corner bays, which appear triangular on the ground plan, have an unclear shape on account of their small size. The two similarly diminutive spaces on either side of the western apse were covered not with groin vaults, as shown on Travlos’s ground plan, but with truncated cone vaults.

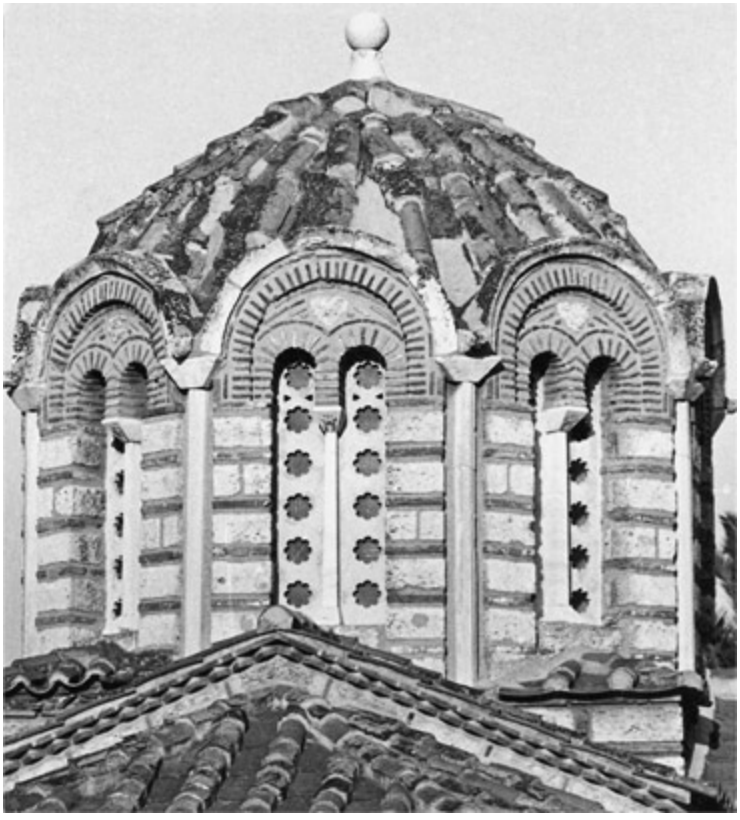

Figure 73 The Hagioi Apostoloi. Dome.

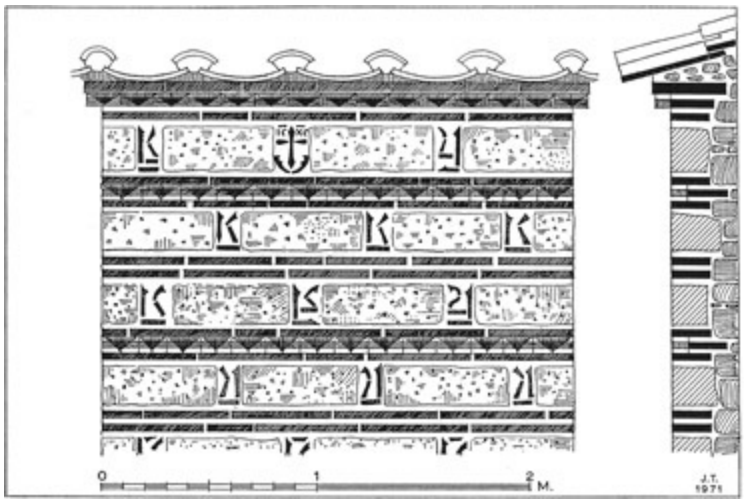

Figure 74 The Hagioi Apostoloi. Masonry on east side of the *bema* apse. Drawing by J. Travlos. (A. Frantz.)

Figure 75 The Hagioi Apostoloi. Detail of the masonry with Cufesque brickworks.

It has been observed[12] that the equal significance of the axes of the cross in the central space links the church to monuments in Constantinople. In contrast, drawing a parallel with the shape of the narthex with the Palaiopanagia church in Manolada,[13] a much later monument, is probably pointless, as is the old characterization of its form as of the Athonite type.[14] These mistaken notions may be due to the fact that until 1950 it was not known that the church originally had a western apse.

We see clear imitation of the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 74, 75)

in the morphology: the dome is 'Athenian' with arched cornices and double-light windows, the cloisonné masonry has identical pseudo-Cufic decoration between the ashlar stones (Fig. 76, 77); the proportions between the openings and the arrangement of the roofs all follow the familiar prototype.

As in the case of the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas, one is impressed here by the coexistence of Constantinopolitan and indigenous building techniques for the vaulting. The semi-domes of the apses are made entirely of brick without centering; and in the southeastern pendentive[15] we find the use of the recessed brick technique. By contrast, the dome is constructed of dressed limestone ashlars,[16] clearly executed with centering.

The church of the Holy Apostles was constructed after that of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas, but in close association with it. A date in the last quarter of the tenth century was proposed[17] and has not, to date, been contested.

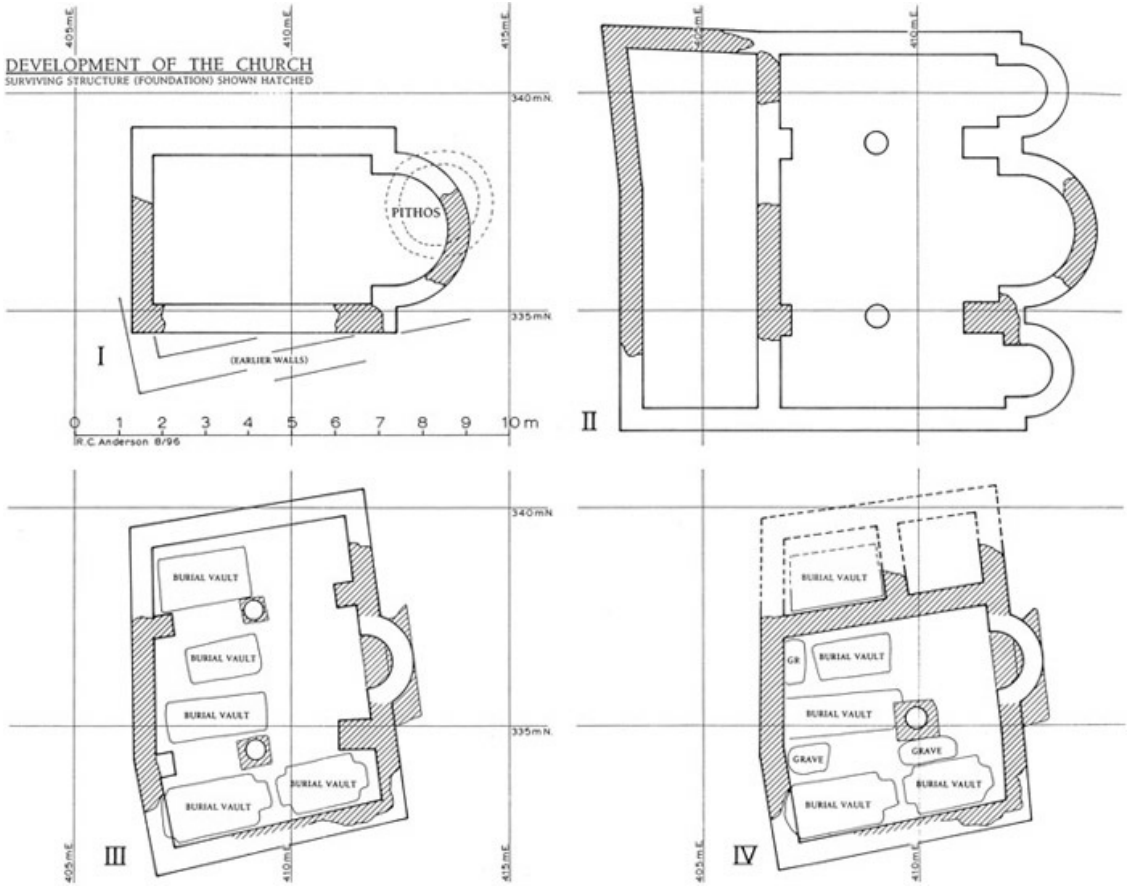

Figure 76 Agora. Hagios Nikolaos. Plans of the four phases of the church. Drawing by R. C. Anderson. (J.

Camp.)

Figure 77 Roman Agora. The Fethiye Mosque and the ruins of the Byzantine church beneath it.

Agora. Hagios Nikolaos

A monument of minor importance and in a ruinous state from the time of the War of Independence was made known thanks to its systematic excavation and publication. The church of Hagios Nikolaos is located in close proximity to that of Hagios Filippos, at the corner of Adrianou and Hagiou Filippou Streets,[1] and was discovered after the demolition of a modern house to make way for excavations by the American School of Classical Studies[2] in 1990–1992.

Study of the finds showed that the church, which functioned from the eleventh century until 1826, had four building phases (Fig. 76). The remains of the building's foundations were in poor condition and the reconstruction proposed by the excavators is consequently uncertain.[3] The most important and most interesting is the second phase, dated with certainty to the twelfth century. This was a small, three-aisled church (9 × 9.35 m) with a narthex, a semicircular apse in the sanctuary and perhaps in the *parabemata*, with pilasters on both sides of the column or pier that separated each aisle. The proportions do not permit a reconstruction of the dome,[4] and the narrow

width of the walls indicates that the roof was wooden rather than vaulted in stone. We can safely describe it as a small, three-aisled basilica with a wooden roof situated in a Middle Byzantine neighborhood located, in part, over the ancient artificial covering of the Eridanos River. The building was destroyed in the early thirteenth century and rebuilt in a somewhat haphazard fashion (phases III and IV) before it was razed to the ground after the War of Independence.

Various graves and ossuaries were discovered inside the church, some contemporary with the building, while others were later disturbed and reused. The absence of sculptural decoration is one indication that this was not a luxurious establishment, and it lacks the morphological characteristics[5] of contemporary Athenian churches. Consequently, the view has been expressed that it was a small parish church suited to the needs of the surrounding community.

Roman Agora. Church beneath the Fethiye Mosque

The church whose remains are preserved at a depth of approximately 2 meters beneath the Ottoman Fethiye Mosque (Fig. 77) was excavated by P. Lazaridis in 1964 and a first, brief report was published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.[1] This investigation was focused mainly on the northeast corner of the church, as well as its western side where its boundaries and narthex were identified. At the time, the finds were considered to be part of an Early Christian basilica, but later Travlos published an important outline sketch of the monument in relation to the mosque.[2]

The Early Christian chronology was later accepted by Pallas,[3] Platon[4] and Choremi,[5] the latter of whom continued the excavation in 2002. Thanks to further investigation it was clarified that the *bema* had a large, semicircular external apse and what was previously understood as a chapel on the north side of the *bema* was in fact the *prothesis* of a tripartite sanctuary (Fig. 78). Also noted were the remains of an Ottoman mihrab in the sanctuary apse. It thus became clear that the church, which occupied a central position in the

medieval city, had been converted into a mosque for a period of time before its destruction. The structure known today as the Fethiye Mosque was constructed between 1668 and 1670[6] and is preserved today in good condition.

The excavation of the tripartite sanctuary justified the characterization of the monument as a large tripartite Middle Byzantine basilica[7] and led, at almost the same time, to its identification as a transitional inscribed cross-in-square type church of the early Middle Byzantine period,[8] a view also espoused by Frantz.[9]

Figure 78 Roman Agora. The church beneath the Fethiye Mosque. View of the *prothesis*.

Although unaware of this archaeological evidence, Kambouroglous[10] formulated the view that some church, which was leveled for the construction of the mosque and whose dedication remained unknown, had served as the cathedral of Athens during the period between 1205 and 1456, in other words from the Latin occupation of the Parthenon until its dedication as a place for Muslim worship by Mehmet the Conqueror.

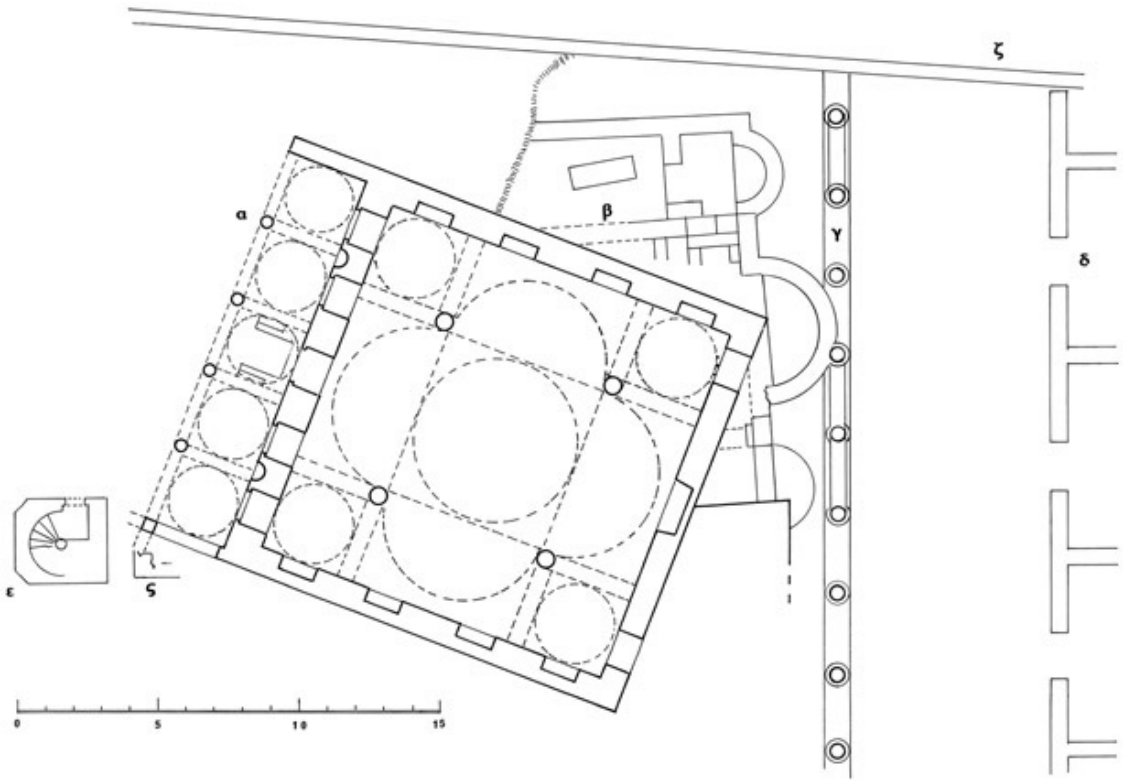

Figure 79 Roman Agora. α. Fethiye Mosque, β. Ruins of the church beneath the mosque, γ. Stylobate of the east portico of the Agora, δ. Shops, ε. Remains of the minaret of the mosque, στ. The Southwest corner of the church, ζ. Pelopidas Street.

The discovery of the mihrab confirmed that the renaming to Fethiye Camii belonged first to the converted church and that only later was the name passed on to the newly built Ottoman mosque.

Spon and Wheler reached Athens in 1678 and noted that the mosque stood on the site of the former cathedral,[11] basing themselves on local informants. The mosque also features on Verneda's map of Athens (1687)[12] and is identified in the legend (number 10) as the 'domo della Piazza', in other words the cathedral of the square.[13] We cannot exclude the possibility that during the brief second phase of Venetian rule the building returned to Christian use.[14] In any case, Kambouroglous's conjectures are confirmed: the remains uncovered in excavation have been shown to belong to the cathedral used by the Athenians for 250 years. The building's size, much greater than all the other Athenian churches, solidifies the view. It is a great misfortune that the

excavation was not completed and, except for reports, no publication of the finds has appeared. As a result, any attempt to make a typological classification remains purely conjectural.

The church (roughly 24.7 × 15 m) was oriented in a parallel relation to the sides of the Roman Agora[15] and underwent at least two building phases, in the first of which it was probably a single-aisled basilica (Fig. 79). The edge of the *bema* apse reached as far as the stylobate of the eastern stoa.[16] The minaret, whose base survives, was constructed at the church's western boundary.[17] The construction of the extant walls is extremely poor quality, made of small fieldstones without brick and carelessly applied mortar.[18] Large quantities of *spolia* were also used. Obviously, the church did not belong to the group of finely executed Greek monuments known from our period. Nothing found resembles Early Christian masonry or elements from the Justinianic period.

These observations about the building's construction combined with morphological evidence (the sanctuary's external semicircular apse) place the church of the Roman Agora in the so-called 'early Helladic' group and allow a tentative date of eighth or ninth century. The large amount of deposit is also a sign of its antiquity.

Hagia Aikaterine/Saint Catherine

The Byzantine church known today as Hagia Aikaterine on Lysikratous Street is used now in its modified form as a parish church.[1] Our information about this church is very late, beginning in 1767 when it became a church of the *metochion* of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai and acquired the saint's name (Fig. 80).

The monument's history and the modifications it underwent during and after the War of Independence have been systematically investigated by Karani.[2] Unfortunately, only the east end and part of the *naos* are preserved in a state that provides evidence enabling its analysis and classification among the city's Middle Byzantine monuments. The dome and the entire west arm of the cruciform church were demolished and rebuilt. The west wall of the

narthex was replaced by a pair of modern columns, as have the two western columns of the *naos*, to judge from their modern capitals. The tympanum of the west arm is a clumsy imitation of what is found at the two other arms of the cruciform plan: there is a stone arch instead of a dentil course, and the tile decoration is omitted. The side arch of the narthex is lower and obviously later, while the pavement has been raised almost half a meter above the original.[3]

As for the typology, the church was categorized as composite cross-in-square, albeit a relatively rare variation of this type. The sanctuary is shallow and the icon screen is situated between the eastern columns in order to increase the required functional space. The width of the *bema* is also limited, and between it and the *prothesis* is a narrow passage,[4] which may not have existed in the original building phase (Fig. 81). The church of Hagia Aikaterine (like the *katholikon* at Moni Petraki and the Sotera Kottakis church) should, therefore, be considered a complex four-column cross-in-square domed church with a contracted sanctuary[5] and narthex. We will return to this special typology.

The church's architectural forms and decoration indicate a somewhat early age, but also the adoption of new elements from the so-called Helladic 'school'. The semicircular external apses of the sanctuary, the triple-light window of the arcade type, the radial arrangement of the mullions in the same window and the rubble masonry in the lower sections of the walls suggest an early date. The widespread use of simple bricks in the cloisonné masonry, with limited decorative Cufic tile letters between the ashlar blocks[6] and the group-type double-light windows at the ends of the cross arms date Hagia Aikaterine after the Hagioi Apostoloi church in the Agora. Megaw[7] has noted that the cross arm windows imitate the small windows of the

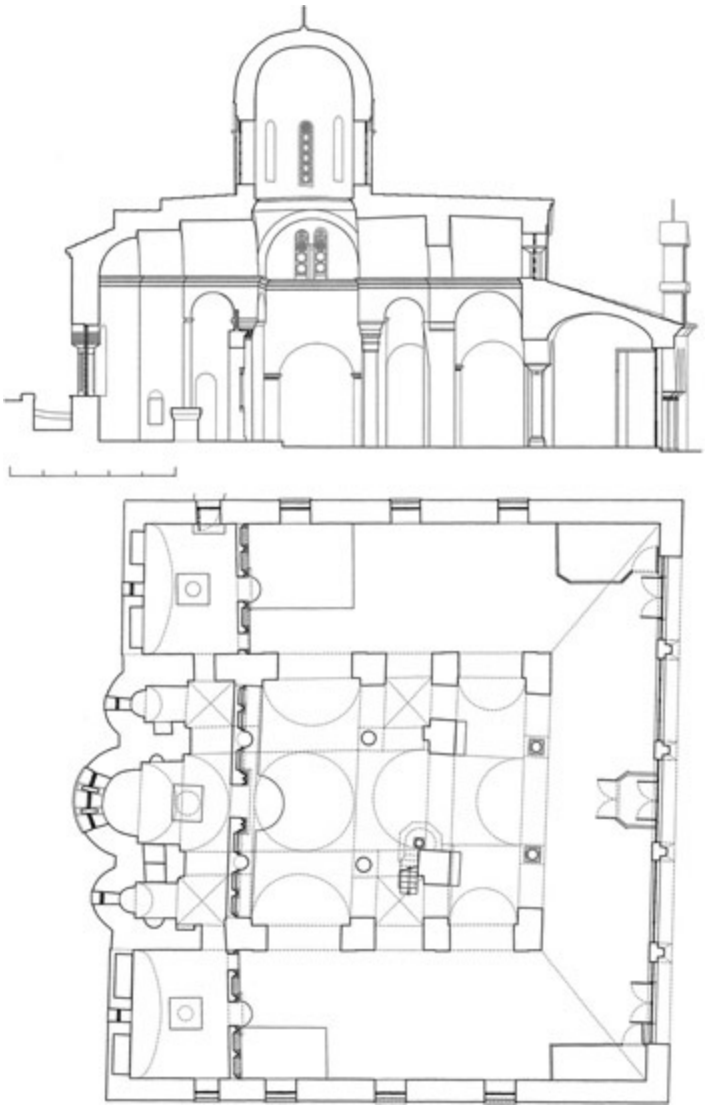

Figure 80 Hagia Aikaterine. Plan and longitudinal section. Actual state. Drawing by S. Mamaloukos.

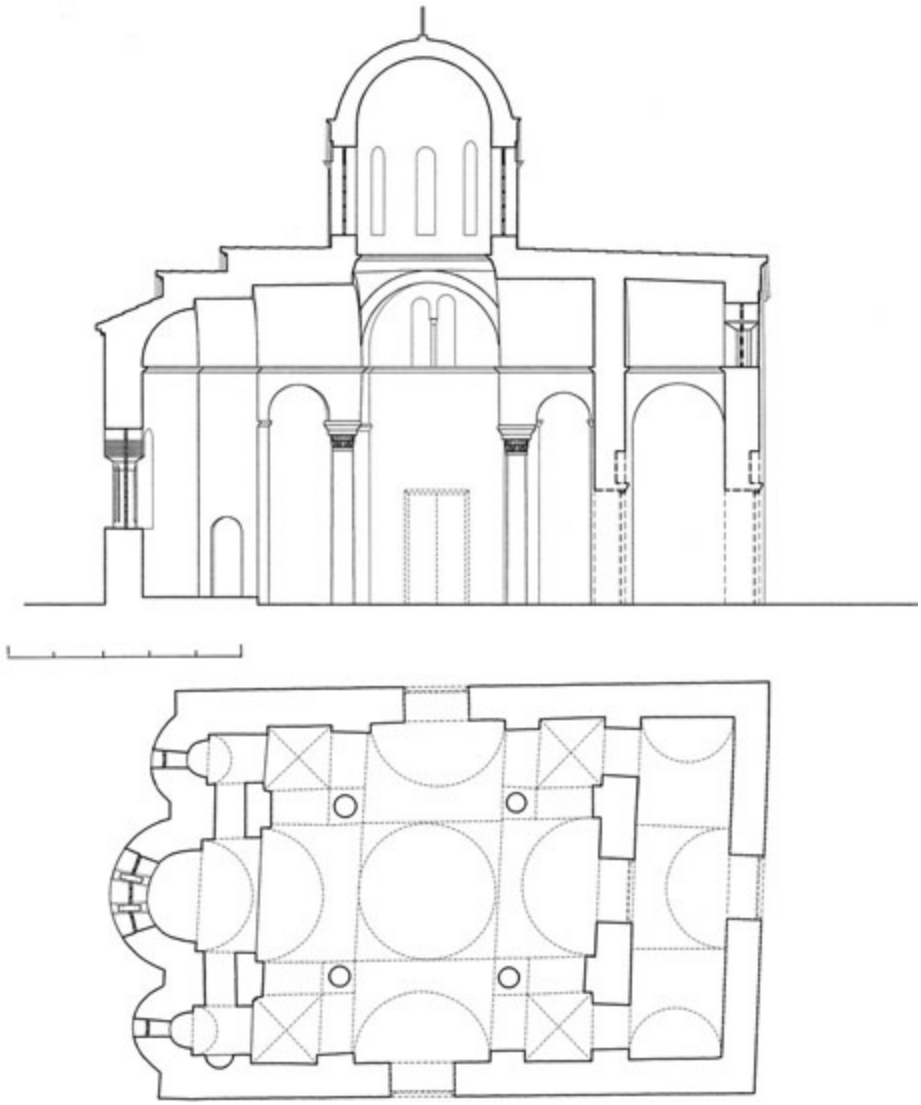

Figure 81 Hagia Aikaterine. Reconstructive plan and longitudinal section. Drawing by S. Mamaloukos.

Soteira Lykodemou, as does the use of vertical Cufic tiles and ceramic bowls[8] to fill in the triangular gaps (in the case of Hagia Aikaterine, the gaps have been replaced with more recent material).

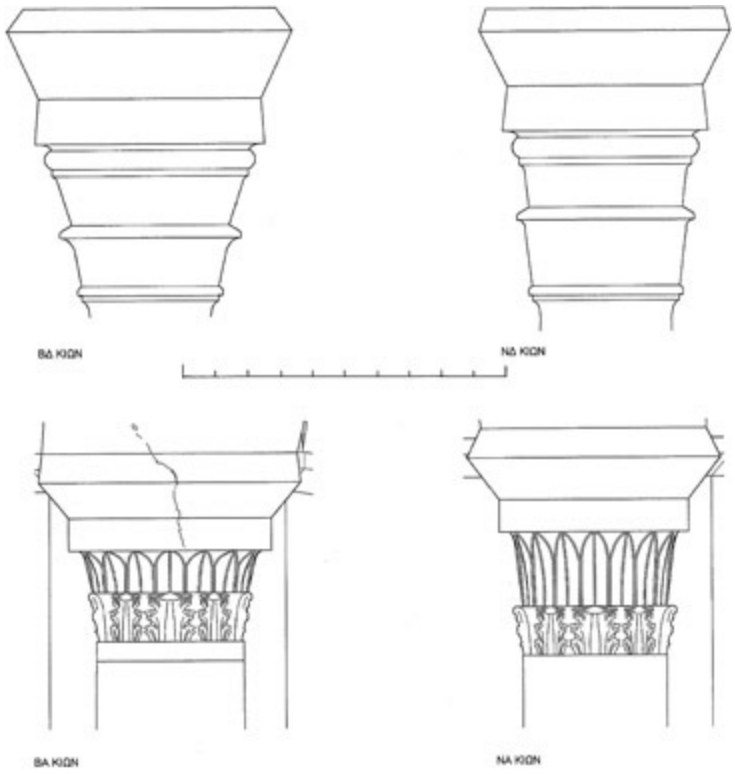

Figure 82 Hagia Aikaterine. The four column capitals of the main church. Drawing by S. Mamaloukos.

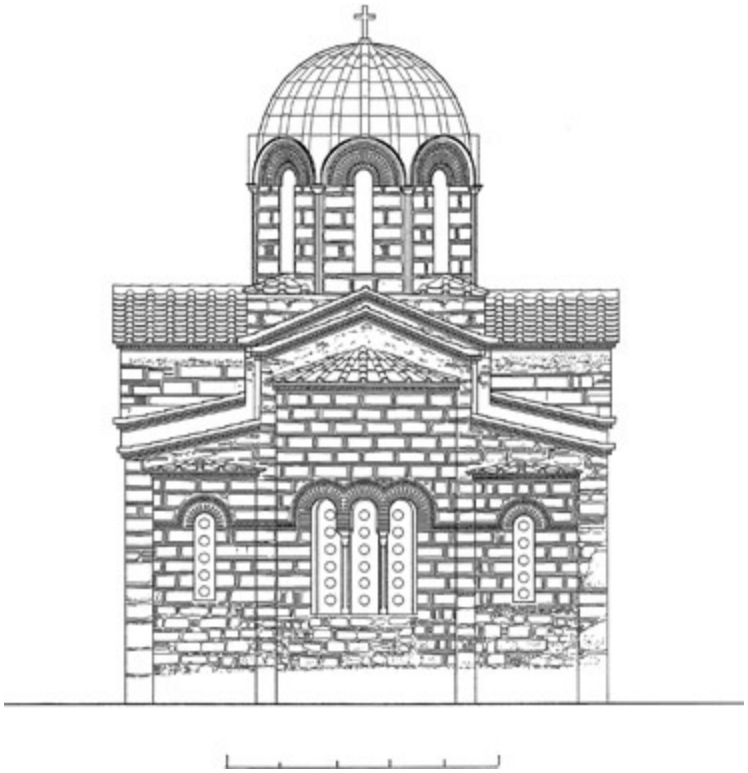

Figure 83 Hagia Aikaterine. East elevation reconstructive. Drawing by S. Mamaloukos.

The two different Corinthianizing capitals (Fig. 82) that survived the drastic modern interventions are *spolia* in reuse. The capitals preserve their monolithic columns, but it is uncertain whether their bases are original. The pavement, interior plasterwork, the 34-centimeter-high uniform cornice and the *templon* are all modern. No marble sculptural decoration dates from our period.

The coincidence of early and late morphological elements – such as the windows in the *bema* (Fig. 83) and the cross arms (Fig. 84) – bear witness once again to the impossibility of chronology based on the comparison of these elements. The Cufic letters in the masonry and the entire appearance of the sanctuary apse suggest that we should accept the date proposed by Megaw[9] in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

The stylobate and two columns belonging to a Late Roman stoa (Fig. 85) are preserved in situ at a distance of approximately 25 meters from the present-day façade of Hagia Aikaterine and was considered by Travlos as the remains of the basilica's atrium,[10] or of a bath.[11] No excavations were made to verify these conjectures, but various cuttings in the columns suggest that they were incorporated into buildings, perhaps houses, in the Middle Byzantine period. During the excavation around the columns in 1911, Keramopoullos noted 'walls with foundations 1.25 m higher than the stylobate of the stoa and large storage jars that still contained black deposits at the bottom'. Their significant distance from the church makes it improbable that these buildings should be identified with monastic buildings (Fig. 86).

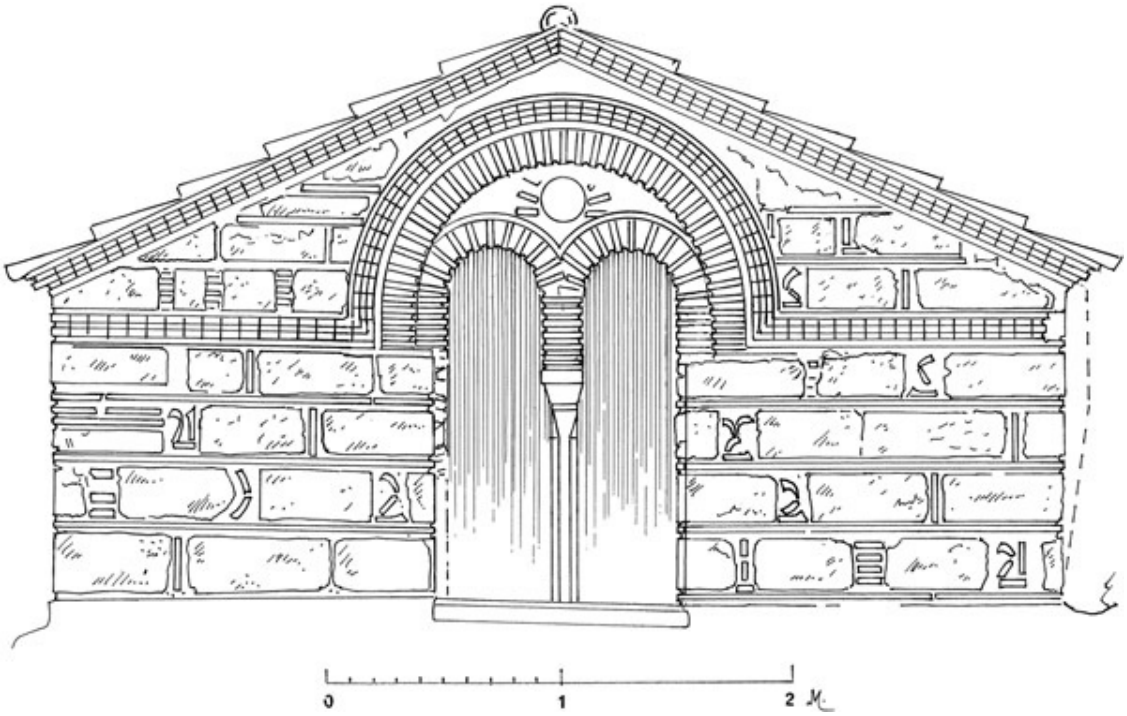

Figure 84 Hagia Aikaterine. The north gable.

Figure 85 Hagia Aikaterine. Columns of the Roman peristyle. View from the north.

The two columns in situ represent visible features from antiquity and would have served as a point of reference in the medieval city.[12] They appear in architectural plans dating to after the War of Independence, partially filled in with deposit.[13] Although limited in extent, the excavation by Keramopoullos[14] exposed the two columns to their full height as well as the bases and parts of the columns of others, and the stylobate, which curves eastward, showing that it was the peristyle of a stoa with a re-entrant angle.[15]

The two extant columns are made of Hymettian marble (4.55 m in height with a maximum diameter of 0.577 m), while the marble of their Ionian capitals is Pentelic. They supported in situ one of the epistyles (2.60 m in length) with three fasciae. Three beam sockets on the back of the architectural elements indicate that the façade of the stoa faced the east and the back wall

the west, that is, towards the modern street. In other words, the two standing columns belonged to a large interior peristyle or atrium whose dimensions will be made clear once the excavation is complete. Two excavations on 16 Lysikratous Street[16] and 17 Galanou Street[17] revealed remains of buildings thought to have been related to the peristyle complex.

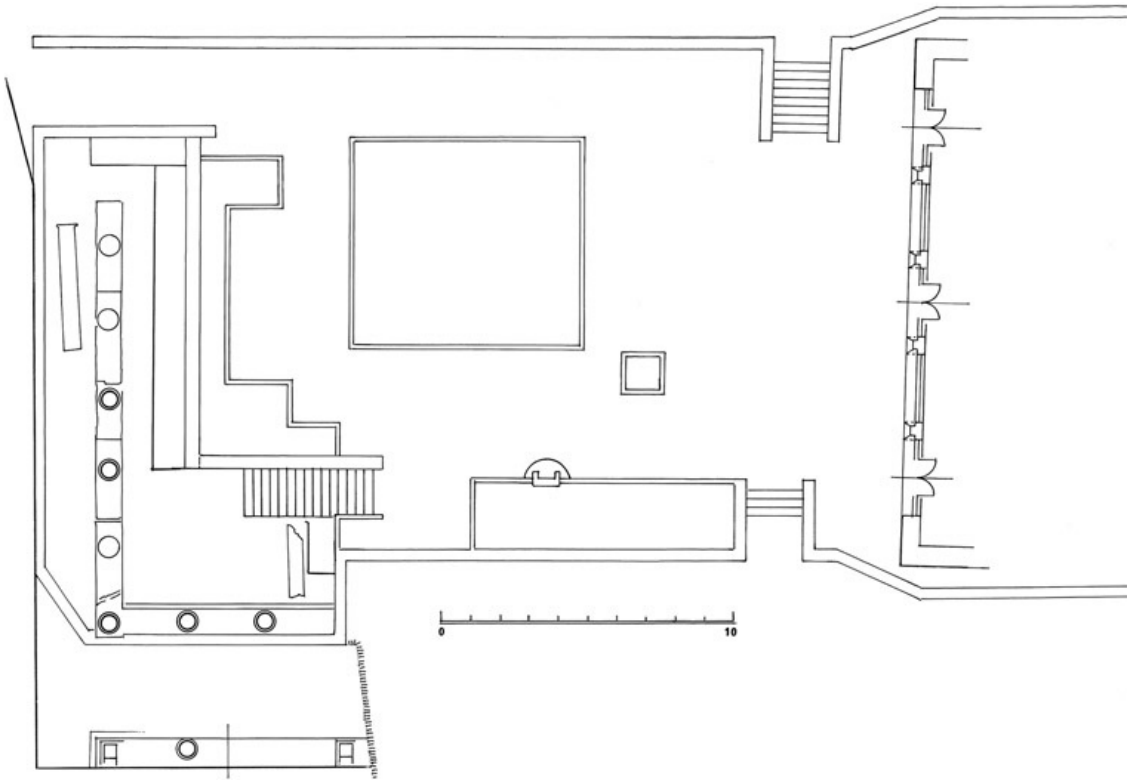

Figure 86 Hagia Aikaterine. General plan of the open space in front of the church.

Acropolis. Parthenon

Any investigation of the form and function of the Parthenon in the Middle Byzantine period must start with a brief overview of the monument's condition in the immediately preceding period. I have already discussed at some length the outside appearance of the building as an ancient monument in its medieval context, so here I will summarize our information and related bibliography, starting with the great fire that marked the beginning of the building's general degradation.

It is supposed, but cannot be proved, that the fire occurred as part of the attack by Heruli in 267[1] or by Alaric's Visigoths in 396. It is also supposed that the monument was radically restored,[2] given a new roof and put back into service under Julian, after nearly 100 years, or in the early fifth century. When exactly the temple became a place of Christian worship remains unknown, and various solutions to the problem have been offered.[3] What is certain is that the Parthenon was converted into a three-aisled basilica with a wooden roof,[4] but without an elevated central aisle, and that an entrance was made at the west end, the rear section of the *cella* transformed into a narthex, a semicircular sanctuary apse was added, the intercolumniation of the peristyle was filled in to create an open-air passageway around the basilica, and a baptistery was built in the narthex. The deliberate destruction of a large part of the sculptural decoration of the *metope*s on three sides of the monument and many of the pedimental sculptures on the east end had already caused major alteration to the building and was probably the work of the Christianized Visigoths, perpetrated on the occasion of the conflagration. The claim that the church was originally dedicated to Holy Wisdom, as Hagia Sophia,[5] is unsupported conjecture. And we lack secure answers to other questions as well. The promotion of the bishopric of Athens to an archbishopric occurred before 841,[6] and it was elevated to a metropolitan see before 851.[7] But we do not know whether the Parthenon was the seat of the metropolis, or whether it was dedicated to the Theotokos and developed into a pilgrimage site. I will return to these matters below.

In the context of the Parthenon restoration work, Korres[8] undertook from 1975 a series of investigations of the pavements (Fig. 87), superstructure and unincorporated marble architectural members which can be added to earlier studies by Michaelis, Deichmann, Orlandos, Travlos and others.[9] Together their work provides us with a complete picture of the medieval church despite the extensive damage the building had previously suffered.

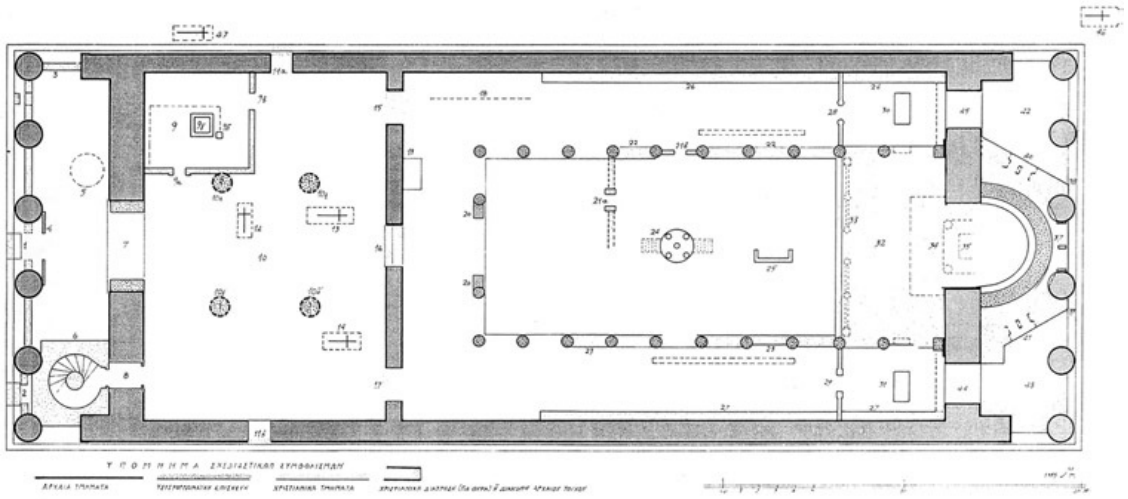

Figure 87 The *cella* of the Parthenon as a Christian church. Drawing by M. Korres. (The numbers on the plan are explained in Korres 1984, p. 145, Fig. 10.)

Figure 88 The Parthenon. The *pronaos* and the *bema* apse during the Middle Byzantine period, restored. Drawing by M. Korres.

Three graves were made in the narthex and another in the north wing where the porous stone substructure was removed.[10] In the Middle Byzantine period, the Early Christian apse in the sanctuary was replaced by a new, wider apse[11] that partially encompassed two of the columns belonging to the eastern interior side of the *prostasis*. The apse was widened by destroying the

pilasters of the ancient east entrance as well as the entablature they upheld. According to Korres, the grand east entrance had been repaired after the fire, which means that the Parthenon continued to function as a temple of Athena after this repair. The external three-sided Middle Byzantine apse (Fig. 88) had large double-light windows on its three sides,[12] two small reservoirs on either side and was high enough to require the dismantling of the middle part of the *prostasis* entablature and the corresponding architrave and its *antithemata*.[13] The window was reconstructed to the north of the conch in symmetrical alignment with the ancient window on the south, and stairs were built to allow access to the gallery above the side aisles of the nave. Three windows were opened in both of the long sidewalls just below the ceiling and in positions where the ancient cornices and parts of the continuous Ionic frieze and its backers had been removed (Fig. 89).[14] Since these windows opened onto the gallery over the side aisles, we can be certain that the nave of the basilica would have been almost lightless. The translucent marble plaques that impressed Spon and Wheler would probably have been the pierced window slabs of the three double-light windows of the *bema* conch, by analogy with those they saw at the Hosios Loukas monastery.[15] It is unknown when the side entrances to the narthex were opened.

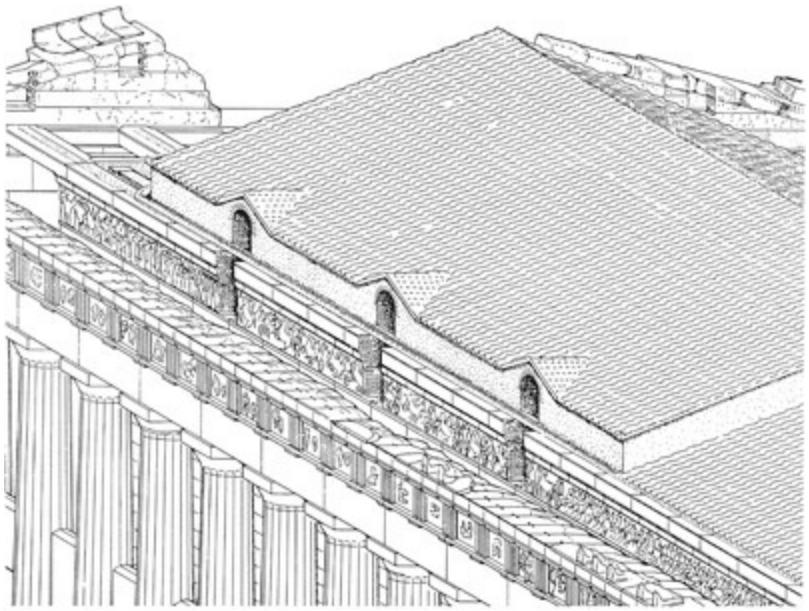

Figure 89 The medieval Parthenon. Part of the roof and the windows over the entablature.

Reconstructive drawing by M. Korres.

In the plan of the west pediment drawn by J. Carrey,[16] there appears behind the sculptures an arched opening or brick niche that is thought to have been related to a Byzantine construction of unknown function, built over the west *pteron*.[17] A small structure supported on the ancient beams[18] and intervening vaults can be seen in the drawings by Gell[19] and others, but the dense mass of the backers of the pediment's tympanum excludes its correlation with the arch in the façade. The suggestion by Xyngopoulos[20] that there were galleries above the *pronaos* and narthex,[21] in other words above the western section of the ancient temple,[22] cannot be verified.

These issues are related to the square tower (Fig. 90) that was erected in the *opisthonaos*. It seems that a significant part of the tower, with its internal spiral staircase made of brick, rose above the roof.[23] According to Korres, the tower was constructed largely with marble reused from the Philopappos monument, the Propylaia and other monuments recut for use here.[24] There is a pronounced likeness between this tower and that found at the Daphni Monastery.[25] Opinions vary as to its use and date. Was it a watchtower, bell tower[26] or staircase leading to the galleries?[27] It seems more likely that it was a bell tower, a feature shown by recent research to have been not unusual in large Middle Byzantine churches. Its dating to before 1204 is supported by the existence of wall paintings[28] that were once preserved on the tower's north side; but there are opposing views that date the tower to the period of Frankish rule,[29] after the visit of Cyriac of Ancona, in 1436 or 1444, who is supposed to have seen the Philopappos monument (which was quarried for the tower's construction) intact. In any case, the political and economic climate of the duchy of Athens between 1436 and 1456 would hardly have favored expensive building projects on the Acropolis, and the existence of wall paintings on the tower's north side speaks in favor of a date before 1204.

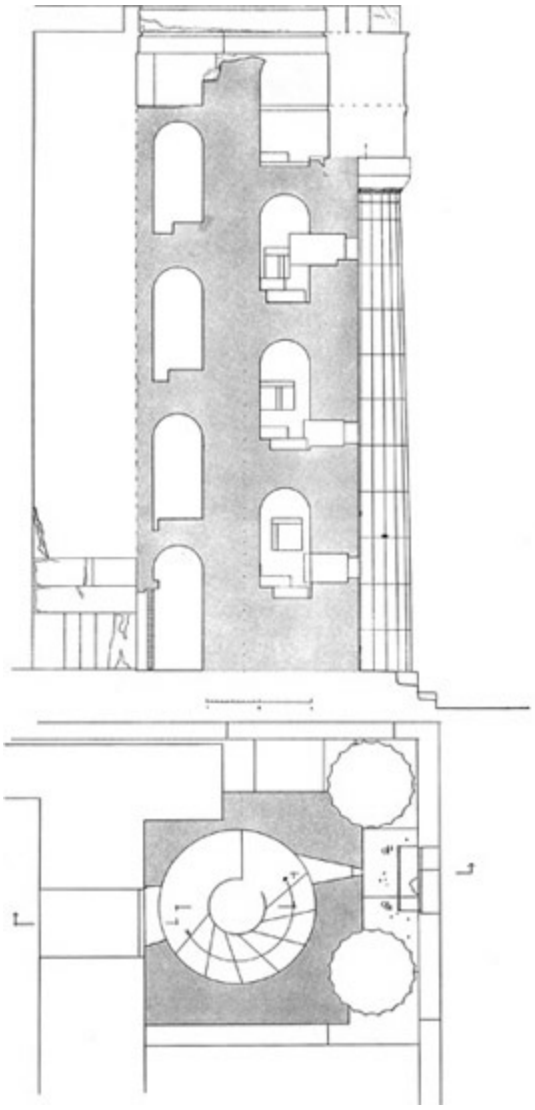

Figure 90 Plan and section of the mediaeval stair tower of the Parthenon.

The tower obstructed the small entrance between the *opisthodomos* and the church narthex, and this entrance was the main entrance, rather than a secondary one, in the Middle Byzantine period. It seems logical to accept that the enormous ancient entrance, measuring 5 meters in width and almost 10 in height, was not in use in the medieval period and had been walled up,[30] while there are serious indications that access to the basilica interior was through the small entrance to the right of the ancient doorway, although we do not know when the smaller entrance was opened. In fact, in this position the ancient *krepidoma* was recut in order to create steps, and a new structure,

traces of which survive,[31] may have formed a sort of wind barrier in front of the entrance. That this spot was in frequent use is demonstrated[32] by the fact that most of the medieval graffiti are found here, on the immediately adjacent columns.[33] No information exists about the marble door frames of the three entrances in the façade.[34]

Inside, the *ambo* with two sets of stairs was supported on colonnettes[35] and belongs to the period when the Early Christian *ambo* had fallen out of use. The *parabemata*, whose pavements are lower than that of the *bema* pavement, had their own holy altars and may have been used as chapels. We cannot exclude that there were masonry niches built into their east ends. The holy altar in the *bema* had a *ciborium* with four columns[36] and may have been mentioned by Spon and Wheler[37] when they noted four Corinthian columns of porphyry.[38]

Unfortunately, all the marble furnishings in the Parthenon from the Middle Byzantine period (icon screen, door frames, throne, *synthronon*, window colonnettes) were destroyed, and it is not possible to determine which of the many Middle Byzantine architectural members that were found on the Acropolis[39] and moved to the Byzantine Museum originated in the basilica. An archival document from the last quarter of the sixteenth century[40] mentions other precious marbles from funerary monuments and architectural members that still existed at that time in the Parthenon.

At least eleven[41] fragments of an inscribed, curved epistyle[42] (Fig. 91) that can be dated by the letter forms to the twelfth century have been found on the Acropolis, and six have been frequently published.[43] However, the meaning of the inscription remains unclear and does not seem to relate to individuals[44] or objects. Pallas[45] identified the fragments as a sort of uncovered *ciborium* that stood on top of the so-called 'Parthenon phiale', and this interpretation has been widely accepted.[46] The basin or font mentioned by Spon, Evliya and Babin in the exonarthex was destroyed. And we possess no signs of such a completely irregular[47] and unusual architectural solution,[48] just as nothing indicates that these fragments actually originated in the Parthenon.

Figure 91 Six fragments of a marble string course with a twelfth-century inscription. (Phot. S. Mavrommatis and P. Koufopoulos.)

We know about the wall paintings in the Parthenon thanks to copies commissioned by the marquis of Bute in 1885 and drawings by A. Xyngopoulos, as well as a few photographs. Today only dim traces can be seen.[49] All the copies were made of paintings in the *opisthodomos*, which in the medieval period was used as the narthex, and from the *opisthonaos*, or rear inner porch, which may have been partially open-air and served as an exonarthex. Nothing is preserved from the paintings in the main body of the church.

All scholars who have studied the Parthenon wall paintings, with the exception of A. Xyngopoulos,[50] agree that they belong to different periods. The best section of the paintings that were preserved until 1885 was on the north wall of the narthex and consisted of over-life-size, full-length, frontal depictions of saints, hierarchs in the two upper registers[51] and female saints in the lower, separated by a painted decorative band that imitates a dentil course.[52] This composition belongs to a single iconographic type and can be placed with certainty in the Middle Byzantine period. According to Westlake, the outlining of the figures in red was preserved. The paintings had been applied directly to the smooth marble surface of the ancient wall in order to show off the quality of the marble. According to Xyngopoulos, the technique used was the same applied in the painting of portable icons with egg tempera, using a variety of colors, all of which later disappeared except for the red.[53] The stability of the red pigment on the smooth Pentelic marble surface remains problematic, however, since it was almost entirely nonporous.

It is worthy of note that the artist took into consideration the joining system of the ancient ashlar masonry and painted each figure on a series of four blocks rising above the orthostat (at a height of 4 × 0.525 = 2.10 meters), thereby enhancing the saints' monumental stature. On stylistic grounds, the representation of the Second Coming in the exonarthex and the tower clearly belong to a later period, but not after 1205 when the Orthodox were expelled from the church.

The position of the hierarchs in the narthex can be accounted for, on the one hand, by the fact that the colonnades in the main body of the church did not accommodate wall painting in the central nave[54] and, on the other hand, by the eleventh-century indifference to the placement of the hierarchs[55] within the space of the church. The overall iconographical program followed that of a basilical plan without a dome that would have offered large, flat surfaces[56] or of a large domed plan[57] that would have had space for full length, frontally disposed saints in rows. Another problem related to the iconography emerges if we accept Korres's view[58] that the northwest corner of the narthex was transformed into a baptistery. In that case, we would expect to have found there the relevant iconography associated with baptism.[59]

The wall paintings in the narthex, now lost, impressed those who recorded having seen them, notably, N. Westlake,[60] O. M. Dalton[61] and S. Lambros.[62] In all likelihood, the paintings were probably difficult to see in the medieval period on account of the almost total darkness that engulfed the Parthenon interior in this phase of its architectural development.[63]

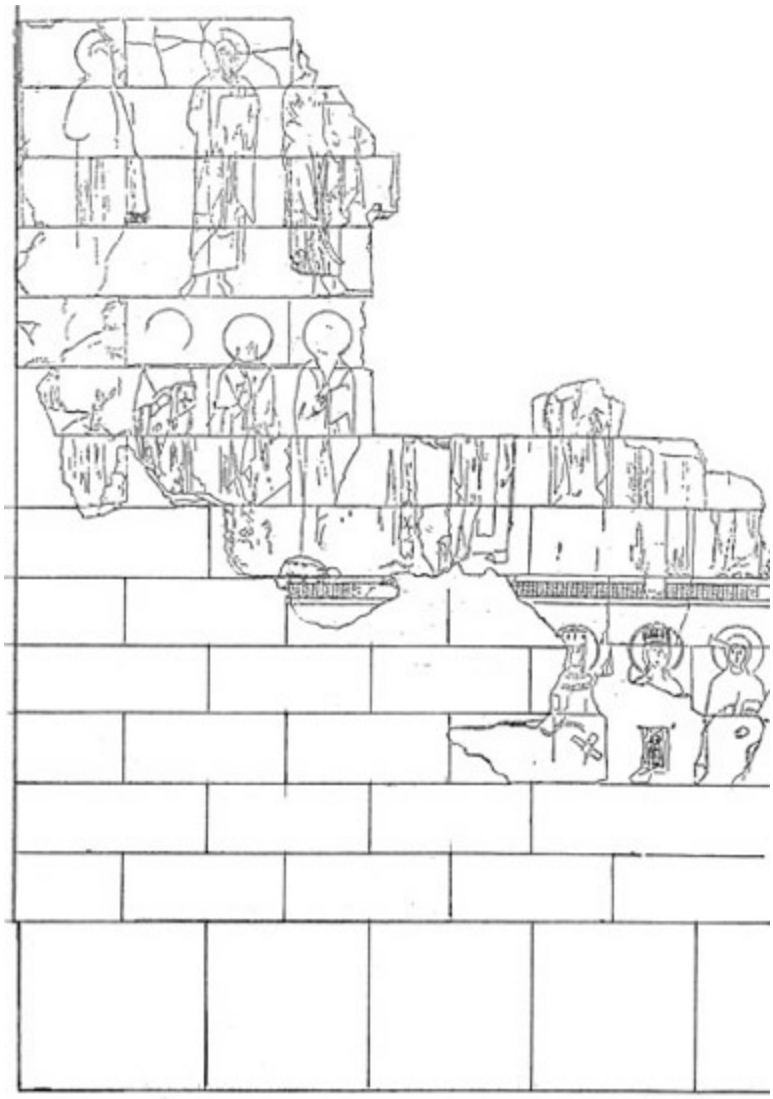

Figure 92 Wall paintings in the narthex of the medieval Parthenon. Drawing by N.H.G. Westlake (1888) with a few additions.

Two texts penned by two bishops refer to work undertaken in the Parthenon in the twelfth century. The first is the funeral oration for Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites (1166–1175) delivered by one of his nephews,[64] in which he declares that 'you enhanced the metropolis of Athens… you built churches both small and large' and 'you made [the Parthenon] flash with much gold.' The second text is a small poem by Michael Choniates[65] addressed to the Theotokos in which he writes, 'I beautified your church… bringing precious furnishings and vessels.'

Clearly Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites made serious structural repairs or additions to the Parthenon and, quite naturally, the archaeologically attested Middle Byzantine works found at the great monument have been attributed to him.[66] But the faint traces of this work cannot be dated on technical grounds to the decade between 1166 and 1175. To the contrary, if the reconstructions made by Korres are correct, the double-light windows on the three sides of the *bema* apse would lead us to comparisons with considerably older monuments.[67] As for Choniates, he clearly refers to furnishings and liturgical implements. The wall paintings (Fig. 92) have also been attributed to Choniates,[68] but what remains of the paintings can be dated to the eleventh century. As for the mosaic thought to have adorned the sanctuary apse,[69] this clearly did belong to the Middle Byzantine period if it is what Spon and Wheler saw in some vault,[70] since the only vault in the wooden-roofed basilica would have been the semidome of the restored sanctuary.

Because the Parthenon was a pilgrimage site that drew visitors from beyond the local area, the building housed various costly dedications, including the imperial gifts from Emperor Basil II, the golden dove that Michael Choniates dedicated above the holy altar,[71] holy relics[72] and icons. It might also have housed Choniates's library,[73] which was dissolved with the arrival of the Latins.[74]

The graffiti on the Parthenon columns present precious material for the history of both the monument and also the city of Athens from the sixth to the fifteenth century. We are fortunate to possess a full edition of the graffiti by Orlandos and Vranousis[75] that includes facsimiles, transcriptions, notes and indices. To the old publications of the 102 graffiti by Pittakis[76] and Antonin,[77] which was reprinted with many corrections, they added 130 originals that, according to Orlandos, 'demonstrate continuous and unbroken historical life'. We will return to the content of the Parthenon graffiti later, in the chapter dedicated to the historical interpretation of the Middle Byzantine monuments.

Acropolis. Propylaia. Chapels

In the Propylaia of the Acropolis, there were two medieval monuments dedicated to Christian worship, but their names are unknown to us today.

Taking his cue from some traces of wall painting, Pittakis[1] formulated the view that a church dedicated to the Taxiarchs ('Archangels'), stood in the central hall of the Propylaia. The absence of other elements and the removal of all remains of the building make it impossible to verify this conjecture today. Sotiriou[2] believed that the church of the Taxiarchs was located in the Pinakotheke, another hypothesis without material proof. Finally, Travlos[3] argued that the church was located in the south wing of the Propylaia, based on traces of an altar in front of the east wall. This suggestion was also adopted by Tanoulas.[4] The basic fact remains that we know neither the architectural form nor the date of construction for this church.

By contrast, we possess detailed plans[5] for the medieval chapel (Fig. 93, 94) that once stood in the re-entrant corner between the Pinakotheke and the main building, and above the previously mentioned Justinianic cistern that was built in the Propylaia.[6] Both Travlos[7] and Tanoulas[8] consider the church was constructed in the time of the Latin Duchy, which allows them to identify it with the above-mentioned chapel of St Bartholomew.

The chapel was leveled, but even before its destruction the building did not preserve its roof, which must have been either vaulted or wooden.[9] All the morphological elements attest a twelfth-century date of construction,[10] while there is no trace of Gothic architectural style, as was employed by the dukes of Athens to roof the neighboring Pinakotheke. Above the north entrance of the chapel there was an epistyle of a marble *templon* reused as a lintel. Unfortunately, the remaining depictions[11] of the monument before its destruction offer no further information about its form.

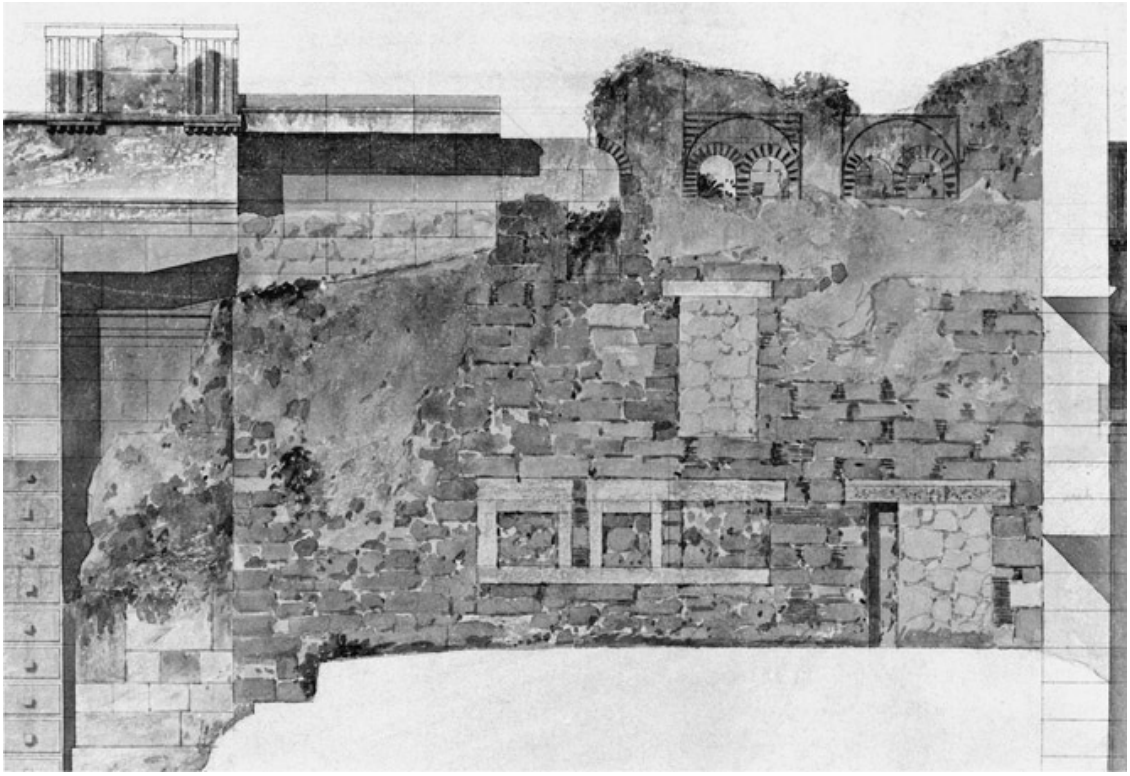

Figure 93 Propylaia. Byzantine chapel. East–west section. Drawing by Fr. Boitte. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux Arts.

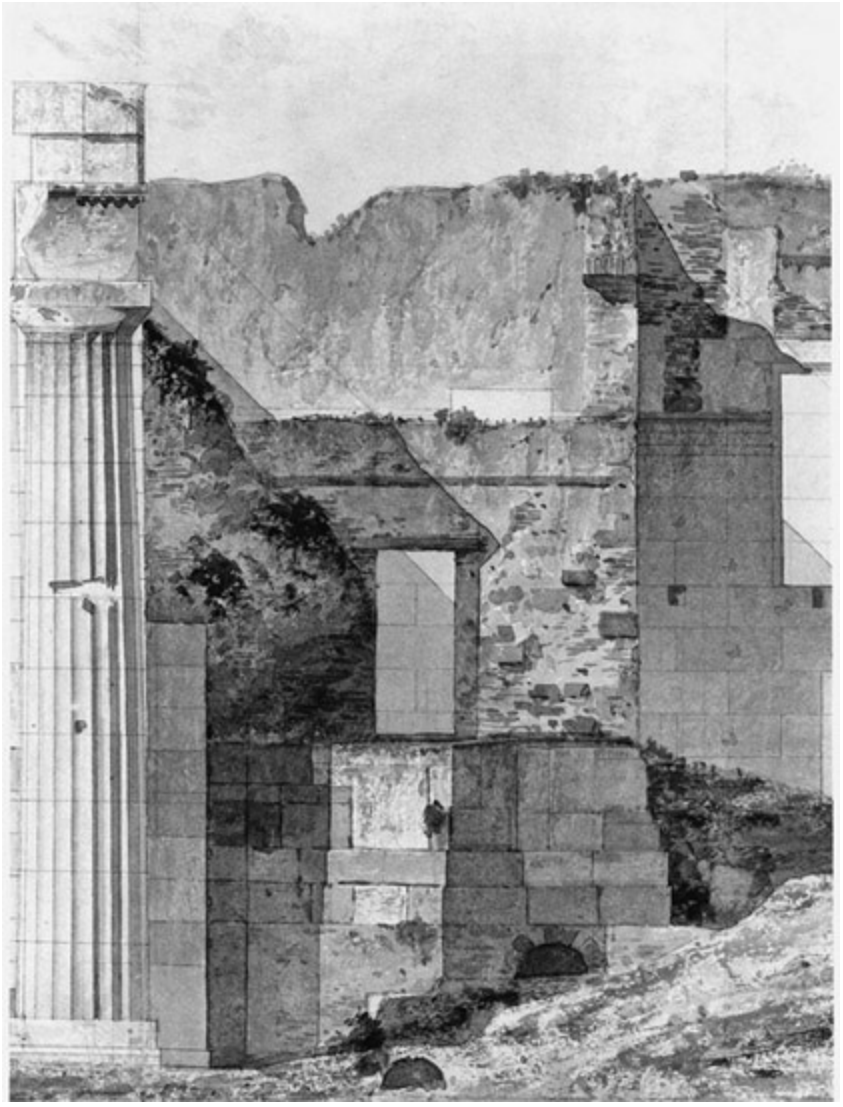

Figure 94 Propylaia. Byzantine chapel. East face. Drawing by Fr. Boitte. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux Arts.

Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square

The church of the Hagioi Anargyroi (Fig. 95), located in what is known to old Athenians as Psyrri Square, may have been the last victim of the senseless destruction of Byzantine monuments in Athens for utilitarian purposes. The damage was inflicted on the Hagioi Anargyroi in 1908, and events surrounding it are quite well known both from the lively protests on the part

of private individuals[1] and subsequently the Christian Archaeological Society.

The church was not razed, but extensions to both its width and length, followed by deformations in the form of plasterwork and auxiliary constructions in the interior and outside, were sufficient to disguise the building still today as a modern church. What is completely inexplicable is the fact that no descriptions or drawings of the Hagioi Anargyroi were made before the gross interventions were committed, with the lone exception of the well-known drawing by Stademann.[2] This may be attributable to the fact that the church was located at a considerable distance from the city's classical monuments and the masonry may have been covered by plasterwork.

The arduous effort to reconstruct the monument's appearance[3] must be based on whatever remains from the Byzantine church in the structure we find today, as well as Stademann's drawing. More recent publications are almost useless aids in this endeavor.[4]

In the process of widening the church, apparently all that remained was the dome with the three vaults of the cross-arms, as well as the *bema* with its exterior semi-hexagonal apse and the *parabemata* apses (Fig. 96). The four columns of the *tetrakamaron* were made thicker by the use of plaster and were bestowed with new gilded Corinthian capitals, also made of plaster. The column bases are not visible, but may survive beneath the modern pavement. The proportions of today's columns (measuring 66 cm in diameter) are low and very poor indeed.

The great thickness (1.30 m) of the wall between the *bema* and the *parabemata* and the great height of the opening between them (3.17 m from the current pavement) indicate that the *parabemata* were demolished in order to accommodate this widening and their vaults were replaced with sloping concrete slabs. The difference of elevation between the *bema* and the *parabemata* is approximately 20 centimeters. It appears that the massive piers with chamfered corners rise from what were formerly the foundations of the west wall of the *naos*. Imitations of the pilasters with arches and gables that had once existed in the exterior walls of the Byzantine church were also added to the new sidewalls. The entire church exterior is covered with hard, cement plaster. The windows of the sanctuary apses are not visible, and the

dome has been partially altered. There is no marble decoration. It was either destroyed or never existed.

Figure 95 Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square. View from northeast. Engraving by F. Stademann (1835).

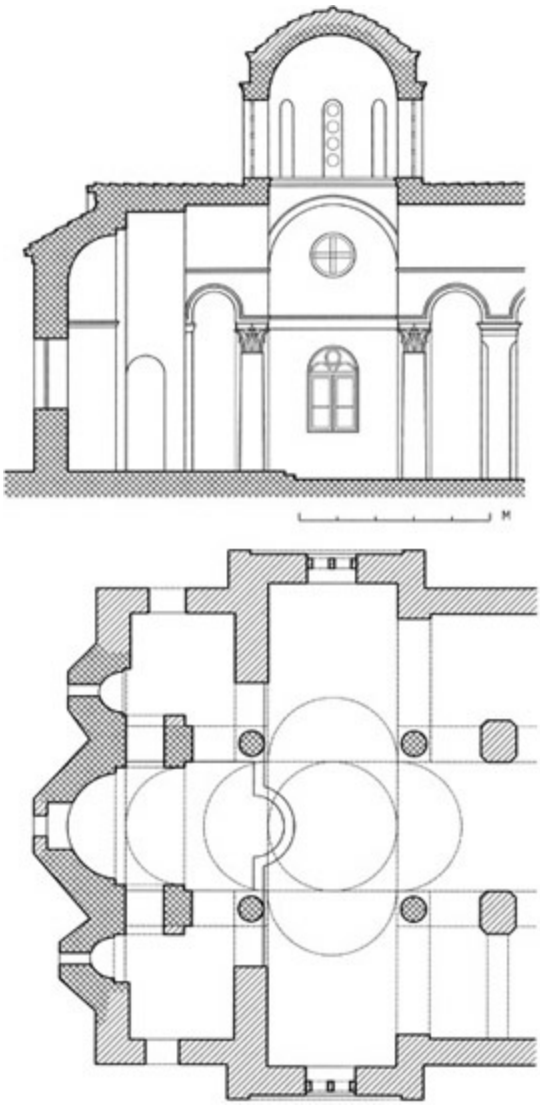

Figure 96 Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square. Actual state. Plan and east–west section.

Stademann's highly detailed drawing[5] provides us with a considerable amount of information about the church. The three-sided apses of the *bema* and *parabemata* were not separated by a section of wall. This verifies that the three apses remained as they were during the alterations made in 1908. The section of the eastern wall that extended to the north of the *pro-thesis* is thought to have been approximately 20 centimeters long. The *bema* apse had large single-lobed windows, one on each side. The side windows were walled in, then and now. No windows were visible in the *parabemata* apses, perhaps because these too were walled in. The roof of the eastern cross-arm had a step,

as was the usual practice in complex cross-in-square type churches, and in its east corner the roof of the cross-arm nearly joined the roof of the *bema* apse.

In the north cross-arm (possibly also in the south) a large arch was formed by a small recess in the wall with a corresponding vaulted structure in the surface of the adjacent walls. A large double-light window was opened in the arch, well beneath the point whence the arch sprang. It is not clear whether it reached as far down as the pavement, or what form the axial support took.

The roofs belonged to the type common to cross-in-square churches and were covered in ceramic tiles. The eight-sided dome had large single-light windows in its flat surfaces, four of which were open and four walled in, while the dome's pyramidal roof terminated in a horizontal cornice with a perimetric step that formed the so-called *diplotholion*.

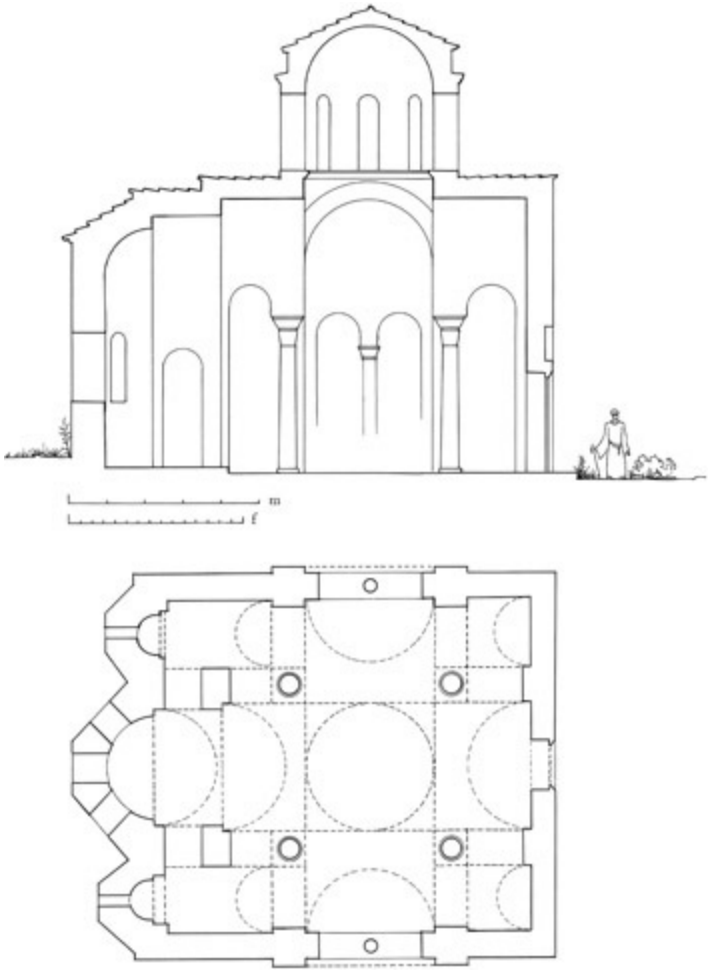

Figure 97 Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square. Restored plan and east–west section.

There was no narthex at the west end. The north side of the northwest corner bay seems to have been significantly shorter in length than that on the east side. The corner bays did not have windows.

It has already been noted that the dome and the *tetrakamaron* retained their original dimensions and form the basis of the reconstructive drawing of the Hagioi Anagyroi (Fig. 97). The original position of the sidewalls is clearly shown.

If, as is usually the case, the main axis of the *parabemata* and their apses was maintained, the corner bays would have had a width of approximately 1.70 meters, combined with the width of the exterior east wall of 20 centimeters (beyond the *prothesis* apse, according to Stademann's drawing), giving us a width for the sidewalls of roughly 70 centimeters, which would have been sufficient for a building of this size.

The width of the wall on either side of the arch and the size of the large double-light window on the north cross-arm (and presumably on the south) can be drawn in an approximate fashion on the basis on the Stademann drawing, as well as the windows of the *bema* apse.

The west wall of the Hagioi Anargyroi has disappeared completely, but it seems logical that the two modern octagonal pillars are supported on its foundations. This would harmonize with the proportional relations of the width of the cross-arm with the length of the north wall in Stademann's drawing. It remains entirely unknown how the two western corner bays were covered. The perfectly square shape of the bays makes it equally likely that they should be reconstructed as domical vaults, groin vaults or barrel vaults. It is also unknown whether there were windows on the façade of the church and, if so, what their shape was. We are also ignorant of the dimensions of the west entrance. They are represented at an estimated 1.30 meters in width and 2.50 meters high, approximately, with a blind arch over the door.

Inside the church, both on its sidewalls and on its west wall, we note pilasters roughly 10 centimeters thick that correspond to the columns.

From the point of view of typology, it is difficult to determine whether the cross-in-square church belonged to the composite or semi-composite category, given that the walls and domes of the corner bays and *parabemata* have been

destroyed.

For the same reasons, uncertainty surrounds the reconstructed ground plan with regard to the interior pilasters on the sidewalls in the sanctuary. We do not know whether the vaults of the eastern corner bays differed from those in the *parabemata*.

The absence of a narthex decreases the likelihood that the monument was the *katholikon* of a monastery. According to Philadelpheus,[6] it was always a parish church.

On account of the difference in length between the east and west vault, the shape of the *naos* in the ground plan is not a square. This sets the Hagioi Anargyroi apart from the cross-in-square churches influenced by the architecture of Constantinople via the church of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas. The Hagioi Anargyroi belongs to the local tradition, as can be understood from its architectural forms.

The dome is not 'Athenian', but a *diplotholion* related to that in the church dedicated to the Prophet Elijah (Profitis Ilias) at the Staropazaro. We find parallels to the windows in the three sides of the *bema* apse at Hagios Demetrios of Varasova,[7] the *katholikon* at Hosios Loukas[8] and the Parthenon.[9] The arches in the exterior sidewalls preserve their archaic appearance and are not made independent, with pilasters and pilaster capitals at the base of their arches, as at the Panagia at Hosios Loukas and the Greek imitations of that church.[10] The large, double-light opening supported by a column that is in turn supported on the pavement has a parallel in the Soteira Lykodemou[11] and the *katholikon* at Hosios Loukas.[12] There is a total absence of carved architectural elements, although we cannot exclude the possibility that they once existed and have been destroyed. Durand's silence about wall paintings also suggests that there were none, at least not after the War of Independence.

The monument's molestation, the lack of excavation or other research, the absence of tile or sculptural decoration and the total nonexistence of supplementary information[13] make dating the Hagioi Anargyroi highly problematic. The conclusion that the church does not belong to the high-quality architectural work of the post-1000 'Helladic school' encourages us to consider an earlier dating for this anyway hard-to-date church. However, the

similarities outlined in the foregoing discussion make it more likely the monument should be included among the churches constructed in Greece around the year 1000.

Hagioi Apostoloi sta marmara (The Klepsydra fountain, Acropolis)

The ancient form of the Klepsydra fountain was exhaustively studied just before the Second World War by the American School of Classical Studies (Fig. 98).[1] The original fountain building from the time of Kimon was destroyed by rock fall and came back into use as a well that was accessible from the Acropolis after the erection of the Post-Herulian wall. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the area around the well was covered by a half-dome extended by a half barrel vault.[2] After a period of abandonment, possibly in the tenth century, the system of water provision returned to use again, and the oblong space with the vault and half-dome was converted to a small church dedicated to the Holy Apostles with wall paintings covering its interior. The old wellhead occupied the central space.[3] During the Frankish occupation the Klepsydra underwent new, radical changes.[4]

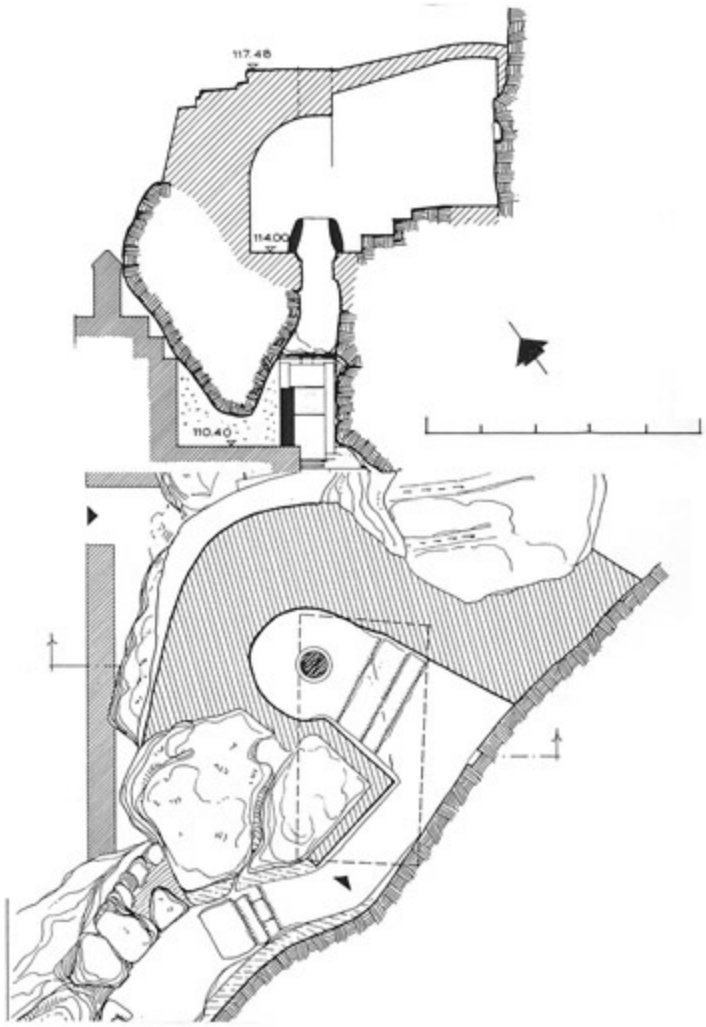

Figure 98 Hagioi Apostoloi ‘sta marmara’. Plan and section. (A. W. Parsons, J. Travlos.)

The wall paintings are not preserved. But they were studied and drawn by Breton in the mid-nineteenth century.[5] The Americans dated the reuse of the vaulted space with the well to the tenth century, the same period to which Breton dated the wall paintings.[6] Consequently, the old attribution of the church to the Ottoman period[7] cannot be sustained.

The construction of walls and vaults in the small church, entirely of brick, makes a date to the Middle Byzantine period unlikely.

Hagioi Asomatoi near ‘Theseion’

The church of the Hagioi Asomatoi, located in the area near the 'Theseion'[1] (Fig. 99), suffered the same fate as other Athenian churches after the War of Independence. It became a parish church[2] and, ostensibly in order to house the local faithful, was extended at first towards the east and west, and later (1925) to the north and south with improvised and unaesthetic additions.[3] In order to make room for the first extension, the three sanctuary apses were demolished, as well as the narthex and a section of the sidewalls. Thanks to the significant elevation of the surrounding ground level and the interior pavement of the church, the foundations and lower parts of the walls survived.

This made it possible for the Directorate of Restorations to produce in the 1950s a satisfactory reconstruction of the church's original shape as well as an equally respectable scientific account of the interventions that were made.[4] The serious opposition that was voiced at the time[5] seems to have been unjustified.[6]

Figure 99 Hagioi Asomatoi near the 'Theseion'. View from the northeast.

The Hagioi Asomatoi is a relatively small, simple, domed, cross-in-square church with a narthex (Fig. 100, 101). From the typological point of view, there is nothing remarkable about it. However, its architectural forms and decoration are of interest because they display all the signs of the high-quality Athenian churches of the eleventh century.[7] The dome (Fig. 102) is the typical 'Athenian' type with marble arches and colonnettes at the corners, the masonry is cloisonné, the arch of the west door of the narthex is horseshoe

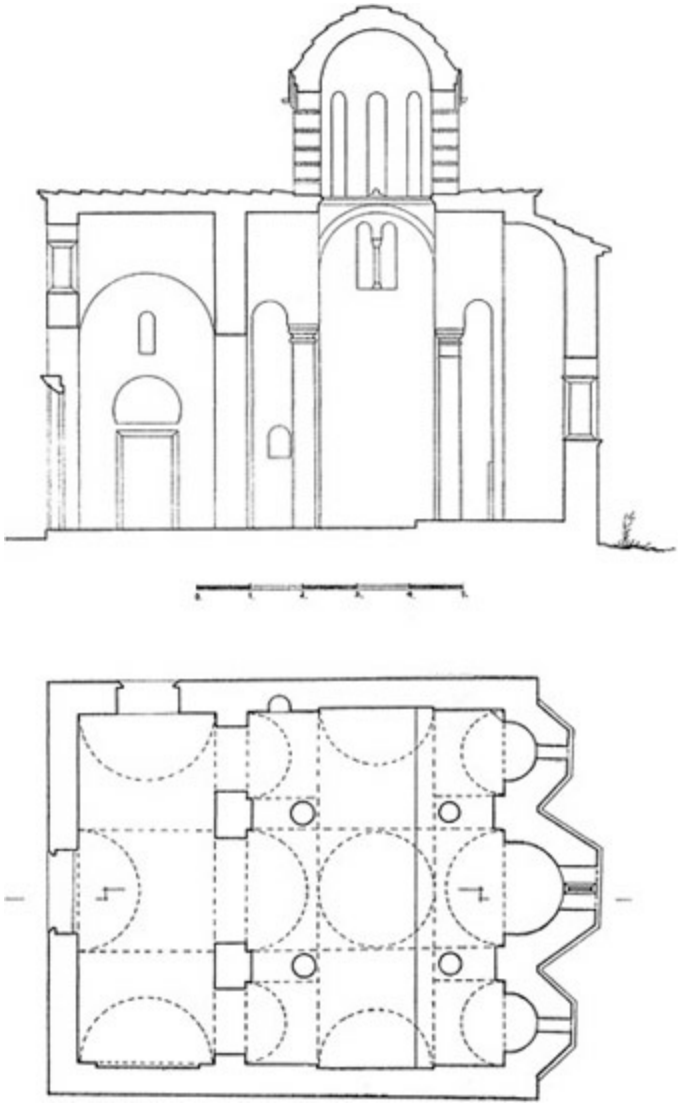

Figure 100 Hagioi Asomatoi near the 'Theseion'. Plan and east–west section after the restoration. (E. Stikas.)

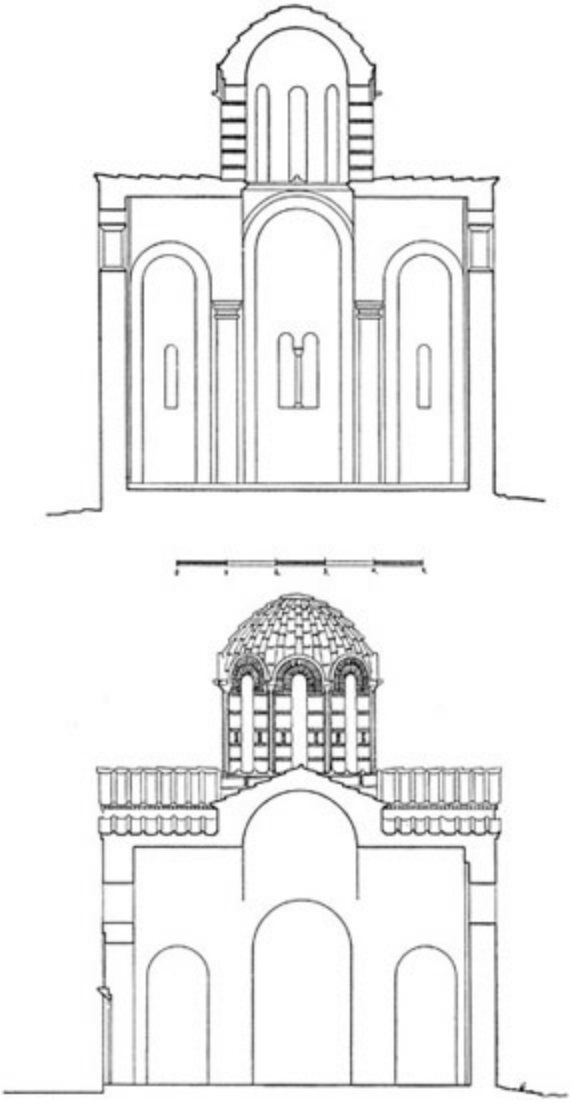

Figure 101 Hagioi Asomatoi near the ‘Theseion’. North–south section of the main church and of the narthex, after the restoration. (E. Stikas.)

Figure 102 Hagioi Asomatoi near the ‘Theseion’. The dome.

in shape[8] and the masonry includes crosses formed of massive ashlars. Possibly because of the church’s small size, in the north and south cross-arms the double-light windows follow the simplest pattern, without a surrounding arch (the arcade type), and the triangular spaces between their arches and the dentil cornice of the cross-arm (Fig. 103) are filled with small, vertically set Cufic decorative elements.[9] The four columns of the church are monoliths without bases,[10] *spolia* from ancient monuments, with Ionic column bases used as capitals. On the south wall of the narthex a shallow arch is formed, and in front of it was a tomb. Shallow arches are also formed in the main nave at the ends of the cross-arms.

Figure 103 Hagioi Asomatoi near ‘Theseion’. The south gable.

Three fragments of clay plaques (Fig. 104) found in the excavation of the west part of the church are of special interest.[11] They have composite pseudo-Cufic decoration and depressions suitable for the application of white mortar (champlevé technique). The fragmentary plaques are similar to those that form a frieze in the Soteira Lykodemou and Hagioi Theodoroi churches.[12]

This similarity leads to a date for the Hagioi Asomatoi in the first half of the eleventh century, which is also compatible with other morphological elements and construction style of the church.

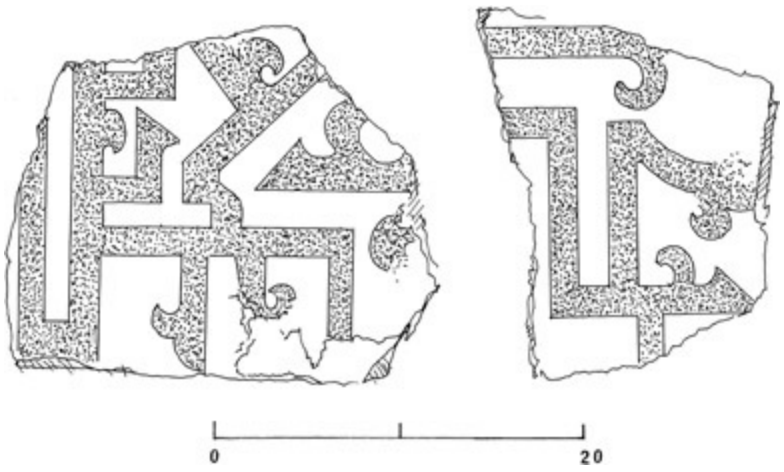

Figure 104 Hagioi Asomatoi near ‘Theseion’. Two fragments of ceramic slabs with Cufesque decoration.

Asomatos sta Skalia

Despite its considerable artistic and historical importance, the church of the Asomatos sta Skalia (Fig. 105), as it was known to older generations of Athenians, was destroyed to free up part of the façade of the Library of Hadrian, to which the church was attached. The intimate connection between the two monuments and the fact that they were located in the much-frequented center of late Ottoman Athens meant that they were often depicted by artists. And these depictions, together with a few remains still in situ,[1] help us to understand this Byzantine church and even produce an approximate reconstruction.

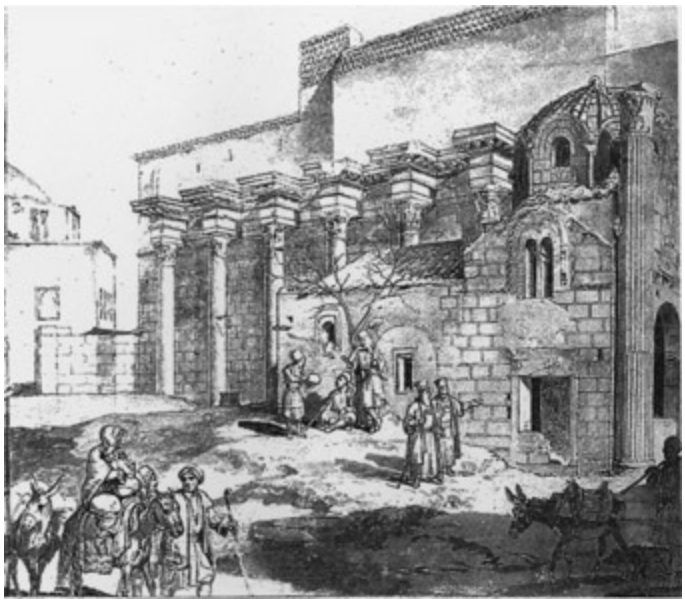

Figure 105 The main façade of the Library of Hadrian and the church of Asomatos ‘sta Skalia’. Drawing by K. W. von Heideck (1830). München, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau.

The two most valuable depictions are by Carrey (1674)[2] and by von Heideck (1830).[3] The former provides information about the Byzantine narthex and the south annex before the partial collapse of the Hadrianic propylon, while the latter, with its precise drawings of morphological features, assists us with the date and reconstruction of the Byzantine monument.

It is apparent from von Heideck’s drawing that the main, western façade of the church was not uniform in its entirety. The ‘Athenian’ dome, cross-arm and part of the corresponding wall very clearly exhibit the characteristics of high-quality ecclesiastical architecture from the eleventh or twelfth centuries. By contrast, the north half of the same façade, with its traces of plaster(?), lack of a cornice and its square windows, bears witness to work from the Ottoman period. The shape of the sanctuary apse,[4] which is semicircular in plan, is not Middle Byzantine, and the section of the wall on the north side is made of inferior masonry.

The graffiti[5] that survived in the church recorded that ‘the Asomatos tou skaliou was built in the year 1577’, which coincides with the aforementioned Ottoman-period architectural characteristics. Indeed, it was in this period that the orientation of the church changed, with the sanctuary apse now facing

northwards. In the drawing by Du Moncel (1842),[6] this Post-Byzantine section seems to have been already demolished.

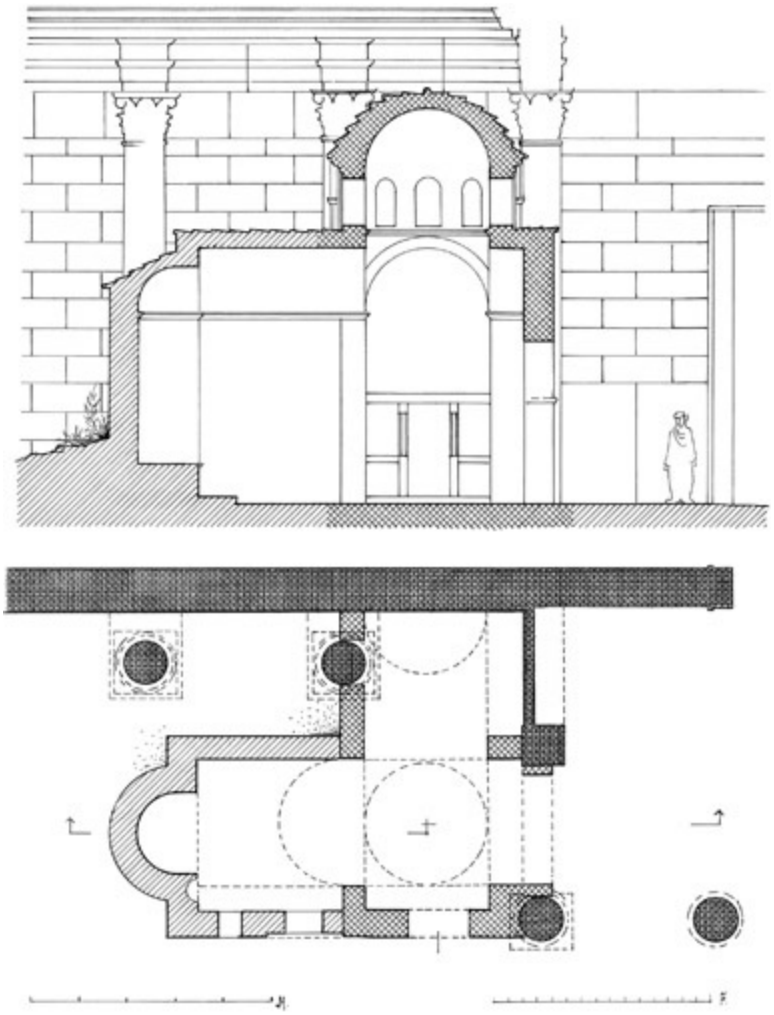

Figure 106 Hagios Asomatos 'sta Skalia'. Restored plan and longitudinal section.

The fact that this church is no longer extant and was never studied as an architectural monument necessitates a more detailed description of it and justifies the suggested reconstruction (Fig. 106).

The original Asomatos church was small, single-aisled and domed, with a barrel-vaulted extension to the east, a spacious narthex (larger than the main body of the church, perhaps funerary in character) and a vaulted chapel to the south. The shape of the *bema* without the semicircular apse is unknown. In 1577, the north wall was demolished and extended by means of a vaulted

room and an exterior, semicircular sanctuary apse. This alteration created a unique ground plan for a domed, cross-in-square church with vaults extending in all four directions, two very short and two long. In the course of the modifications the narthex was retained, but the southern chapel was destroyed at some point after 1674. A later date, before 1830, saw the demolition of the narthex, whose funerary character is confirmed, on the one hand, by the arcosolium that was created on the left side by a recess made in the ashlar masonry of the Hadrianic façade and, on the other, by the number of graves found during more recent excavations.[7] A simple saddleback roof covered the north, Post-Byzantine side of the church. On the right, above the short west cross-arm, some sort of modification is discernable in the wall and roof tiles. This alteration was connected with the makeshift support of the propylon's ancient entablature that extended as far as the narthex.

The form of the dome, a typical 'Athenian' specimen, with marble colonnettes at the eight corners and marble arches, appears in many depictions (Carrey,[8] Thürmer,[9] Gell,[10] Gasparini,[11] Du Moncel,[12] Rørbye,[13] von Heideck,[14] and others[15]). The single-light windows were already partially closed from the seventeenth century. The tympanum was filled with cloisonné masonry.

The west cross-arm had a typical double-light window surrounded by an arch and a dentil course that extended down to the base of the window and ran horizontally along the length of the cross-arm. The masonry in the entire west side was typical Middle Byzantine cloisonné, leaving no doubt about the chronology of the southern section (approximately 3 m). The door at the west end, with monolithic pilasters and a heavy lintel (decorated with relief crosses with arms of equal length), may not have been the original, but there was an earlier door in this position. This is confirmed, on the one hand, by two chamfered corbels anchored to the wall somewhat above and to either side of the door (clearly shown in the drawings of Du Moncel and von Heideck) and, on the other hand, by signs of alterations in the masonry. It is apparent that there was once an arch above the entrance, which is the case in other Athenian churches.

Further to the north, the Post-Byzantine section of the façade had a very

shallow blind arch that was axially aligned with a rectangular window. A similar window of smaller dimensions illuminated the sanctuary. There was no window in the apse.[16]

The narthex façades and south chapel assumed an interesting form, as can be noted in the Carrey drawing. The entrance to the narthex, which was set between the first and second columns of the Library propylon (2.70 m in width) was made of a marble Byzantine door frame with a molding, and over it a blind arch was formed. The masonry over the narthex wall is somewhat makeshift in appearance and, on the left side, reached up to the roof of the west cross-arm, while on the right it extends to the propylon epistyle.

Between the second and third columns of the propylon (3 m in width) rose the façade of what is supposed to have been the chapel. Its form was determined by the relatively sharp incline of the saddleback roof and the autonomous 'pediment' that was associated with some sort of horizontal element. Inside the 'pediment' there was a single-light window with a tile frame and lateral semi-arches, a familiar feature in Athenian Middle Byzantine architecture.[17] Lower down there was an arched window and masonry employing horizontally placed bricks, possibly cloisonné style. Here, too, stonework is supported against the wall of the Byzantine façade and reaches up to the propylon epistyle. Clearly this wall was constructed in order to bolster the entablature and part of the propylon pediment so that it would not collapse when, at some undeterminable time, it became unstable. A bell tower with an arched opening, clearly Post-Byzantine in date, was erected at the apex of the pediment.

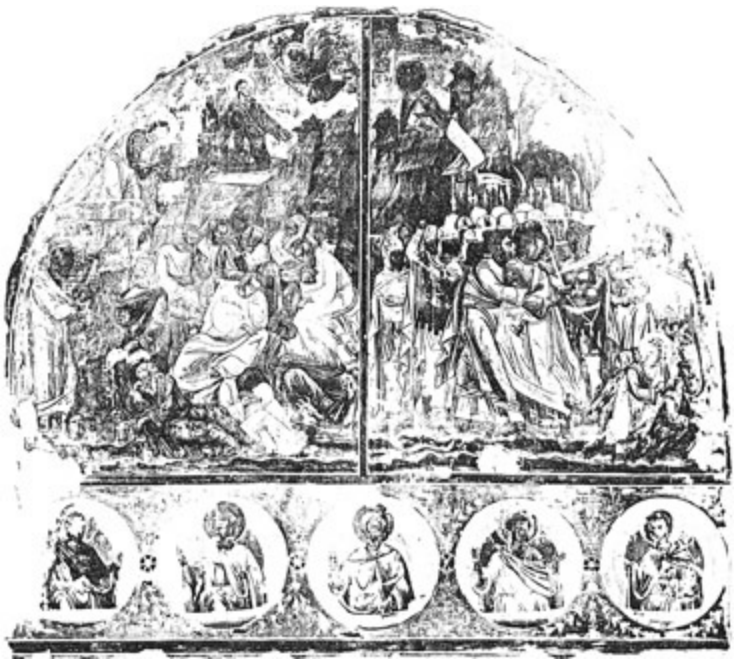

Figure 107 Hagios Asomatos 'sta Skalia'. Paintings on the west wall of the Library of Hadrian. Drawing by N.H.G. Westlake (1888).

The surviving wall painting (Fig. 107) on the Library wall[18] obviously dates to the Ottoman period, but it is not certain whether it was coterminous with the eastern vault. If so, the dome had a diameter of 2.60 meters, but between the dome and the propylon wall there must have been an intervening arch with a width of approximately 0.75 meters that would have sprung from piers. The deep recess in the pilaster of the propylon (approximately 5.50 m from its pavement) would appear to have been made for some other construction that was older than the Asomatos church, because it is very high to have been the place where the dome-bearing arch began. And if it did begin there, the dome would have been much larger. Moreover, the deep cutting in the propylon wall was designed, it would seem, to receive a wooden roof, but this does not obviously relate to the low narthex as it appears in the drawing by Carrey.

As for the dome's height, three depictions drawn from a somewhat higher position (as were those of Stuart and Revett, Gell and Carrey) confirm that the arches reached a height of approximately 8.50 meters – in other words, to the height of the columns on the Library façade.

The Post-Byzantine section of the church was probably covered with a

vault that was supported on a wall constructed in parallel to the Library façade.[19] The shaft of the first column remains intact and presents a problem for the reconstruction: if the surviving wall painting provides the position and diameter of the eastern vault of the church, the column shaft should have been pared down to match the thickness of the vaulting (perhaps 25 cm). But neither here nor on the ancient wall surrounding the wall painting do we find traces of the vaulting. Among the other problems is the level of the church pavement and whether the steps of the propylon were visible, or underneath the pavement. In 1835, at least, they could not be seen.[20]

A row of cuttings in the north wall of the Hadrianic propylon and a large cutting in the pilaster attest that another construction, perhaps with a wooden roof, had already occupied the same spot. Perhaps this building should be connected with the plastered wall on the north side of the pilaster. At an unknown date, the bases of both the column and the pilaster of the propylon were cut in order to widen the southern entrance[21] into the Library.

Figure 108 Hagios Asomatos ‘sta Skalia’. Fragment of a marble epistyle.

A marble entablature of an icon screen (Fig. 108, 109) found in the course of excavation in three pieces (2.59 m long when joined) corresponds in length to the eastern opening of the eastern vault and most probably belonged to the church. It is decorated with a row of interlaced rosettes. It may be the only sculpted architectural member preserved from the Asomatos church.

Figure 109 Hagios Asomatos ‘sta Skalia’. Fragment of a marble epistyle.

Part of the painted decoration, which is clearly of the Ottoman period, was preserved in a series of drawings by Durand,[22] and also by the marquis of Buté.[23]

The date of the destroyed church can only be determined approximately. The masonry seems to have been of good quality, although we do not know whether it included ceramic decorative elements. The double-light window with its surrounding arch indicates a mid-eleventh century date.[24] However, the carved decoration of the epistyle showing simple rosettes speaks for an earlier date. The third quarter of the eleventh century is considered very likely.

The historical evidence for the Asomatos church comes principally from the Ottoman period.[25]

The discovery in the 1971 excavation[26] of Middle Byzantine constructions employing upright stone blocks at the corners permits us to conjecture that we are dealing here with monastic buildings of a small monastery whose *katholikon* was the Asomatos church.

Library of Hadrian. Ruined church

In the area that remained undisturbed inside the Library of Hadrian, north of the tetraconch, the paltry remains of a church (Fig. 110) were discovered in 1968[1] and 1970.[2] The church was built against the north *crepidoma* of the central courtyard of the Library complex.[3] The *bema* apse (its exterior destroyed) came to light, as well as one of the two wall piers that separated the tripartite sanctuary, and the west wall with three doors leading into a 2.10-meter wide narthex. The overall dimensions of the building can be measured and reveal a building that was 10 meters in length and 8.20 meters in width. The existence of columns was not confirmed, but there were pilasters (approximately 1.40 m in length) that extended from the west wall. The ground plan of the church as reconstructed by Travlos[4] (Fig. 111) is cross-

in-square with a dome, distinguished by an extension of the north cross-arm beyond the outline of the church so as to produce a nearly square room to the north of the *prothesis*. A cuboid marble pedestal was used as the altar.[5]

Figure 110 Library of Hadrian. The remains of the ruined church. View from the west.

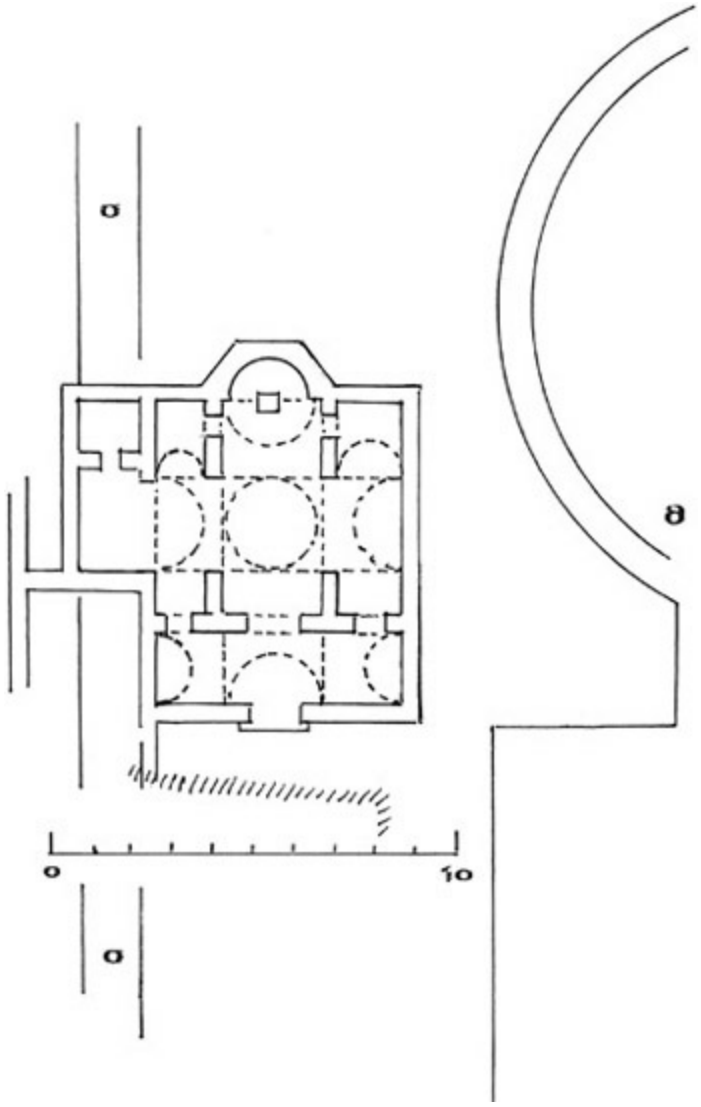

Figure 111 Library of Hadrian. Restored plan of the ruined Byzantine church. Based on a drawing by J. Travlos.

To judge from a photograph,[6] the construction of the sanctuary apse and *bema* piers was probably quite poor in quality, using small fieldstones and hard mortar. However, the stratigraphy indicated that the monument's construction can be attributed to the Late Byzantine[7] or the Frankish period, and it was destroyed in Ottoman times. The demolition and quarrying of the building almost down to its foundations prevent any morphological observations. No sculpted architectural elements were found (Fig. 112).[8]

Figure 112 Library of Hadrian. Marble fragment of a *templon* epistyle (?).

The destruction of the Byzantine levels during the excavations in the Library in 1885 and 1886[9] do not permit any comparisons of this small church with its context, either the surrounding settlement or cemetery.

Galatsi. Hagios Georgios, or Omorfi Ekklesia

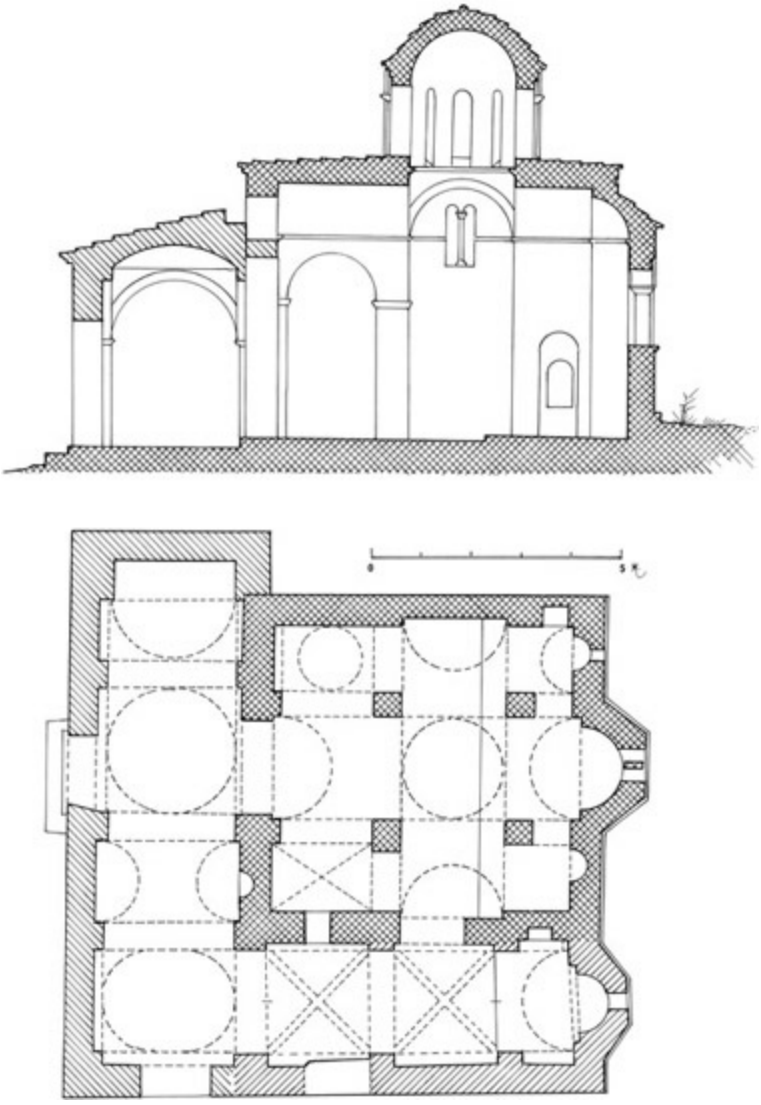

Figure 113 Galatsi, Omorfi Ekklesia. Plan and east–west section. Based on a drawing by A. Orlandos.

The problem of dating Greek monuments before or after 1204 appears once again in the case of the church of Hagios Georgios in Galatsi (Fig. 113), also known by the name Omorfi Ekklesia ('Beautiful Church').[1] While all the typological and morphological elements point to a late twelfth century date,[2] the difficulty arises from the pronounced ribs of the two cross-vaults in the single-nave chapel that is contemporary with the church and whose Gothic character is very obvious. The older conjectures that western construction techniques were adopted before the period of Frankish rule seem to have been abandoned,[3] and the possibility that the roof was constructed only decades

after the walls is unlikely.[4] With the possible exception of a rosette on a column impost that could be considered western in style,[5] there is no indication to support a date for the church either before or after the Frankish occupation.[6] As for the wall paintings, they certainly represent later, thirteenth-century work.[7]

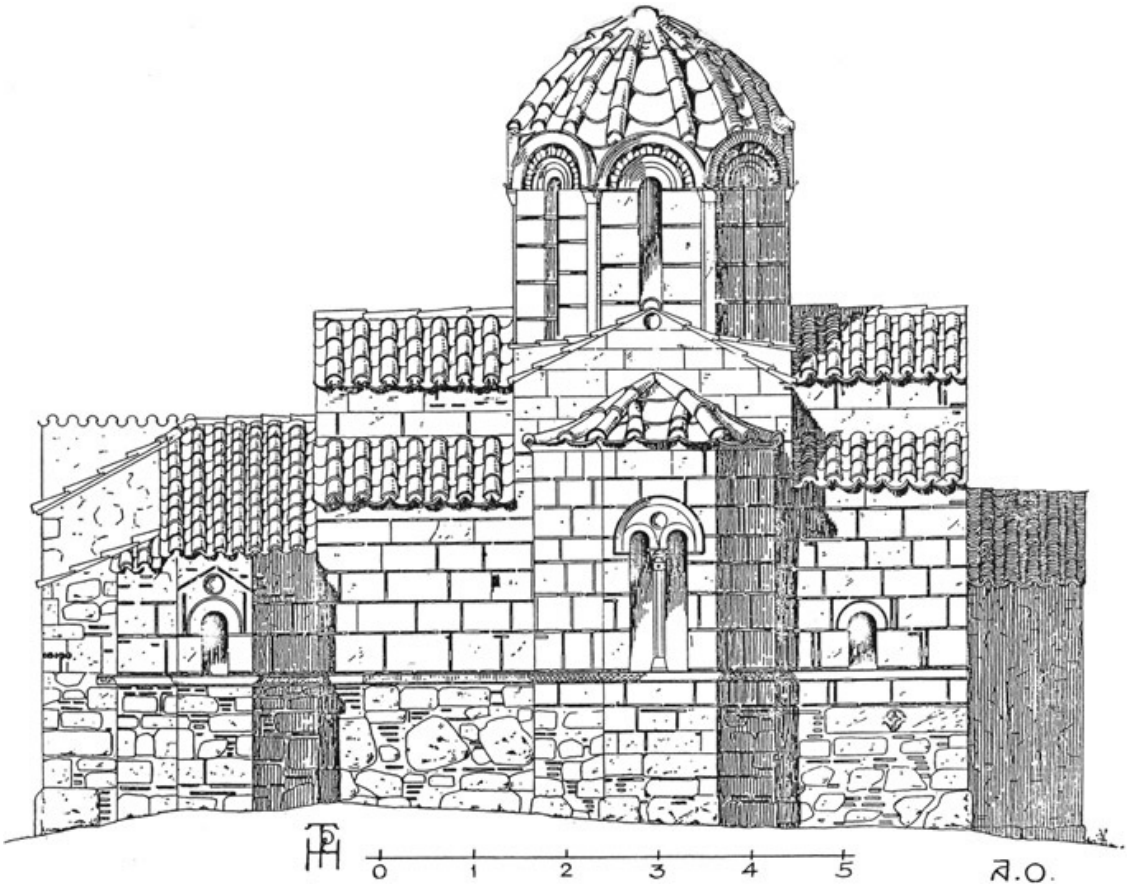

Figure 114 Galatsi, Omorfi Ekklesia. East face. Drawing by A. Orlandos.

Standing, then, at the edge of this study's chronological boundary, the church of Hagios Georgios probably served as the *katholikon* of a monastery[8] and is impressive both for its architecture and its excellent state of preservation. There are no relevant written documents or inscriptions. From the point of view of typology, it is a very simple cross-in-square, domed church with four piers (Fig. 114–117), and a side chapel and vaulted narthex that are probably contemporary with the church or added very soon after its

construction. The excellent stone carving of the windows and cornices stands in contrast to the pseudo-cloisonné masonry in the lower section of the walls, just as the masonry piers (a sign of limited means) contrast with the high-quality architectural sculpture.

Figure 115 Galatsi, Omorfi Ekklesia. The apse of the chapel.

Figure 116 Galatsi, Omorfi Ekklesia. The north gable.

Figure 117 Galatsi, Omorfi Ekklesia. View of the east end.

The various problems relating to the Omorfi Ekklesia have been reinvestigated in a more recent publication,[9] where an extensive bibliography

can also be found (including some new publications that have nothing remarkable to contribute).

Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos

What little knowledge we possess about the church of Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos we owe to Travlos,[1] who assembled the written sources and drawings, and also excavated what little remains of its foundations. The church was located in the area of the Theatre of Dionysos[2] and was completely destroyed during the siege of the Acropolis in 1827.

As was demonstrated by Travlos, the perspective drawing made by the architect J. Woods[3] of a monument as seen from the southwest (Fig. 118) does not show Hagios Georgios of Lykabettos,[4] but Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos. The name of the Alexandrinos family is already known from Athens in the Middle Byzantine period[5] among property owners and later[6] in connection with this church. The discovery of an ossuary in the immediate vicinity of the church[7] shows that it was in all likelihood the *katholikon* of a small monastery.

Hagios Georgios was a two-columned, or a simple four-columned,[8] cross-in-square church with a dome and narthex. On the west end there was a wide portico with a triple archway and lean-to roof. If the drawing by Woods is correct, the portico roof was wooden.[9]

Figure 118 Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos. The church from the southeast (circa 1825). Engraving by J. Woods. Gennadius Library.

Otherwise Hagios Georgios resembled other Middle Byzantine churches in Athens: it had an 'Athenian' dome with colonnettes at the corners, the cross-arms had saddleback roofs, and the narthex employed the familiar cross-vaulted pattern.

Obviously it is not possible to reach anything but an approximate date for the monument on the basis of an incomplete perspective drawing. Nonetheless, a date in the eleventh or twelfth century[10] seems likely.

Gorgoepekoos Panagia, or Hagios Eleutherios, or Little Metropolis

The Gorgoepekoos church in Athens occupies a unique position in Byzantine architecture as it is completely covered with marble *spolia* on all sides (Fig. 119). The well-attested taste of Byzantine master builders or founders for making use of old architectural members with relief decoration in order to adorn the façades of their buildings is here pushed to its limits. For this reason, the Gorgoepekoos became immediately known to all scholars in the field and made its way into all the books on Byzantine architecture, in some

cases as a masterpiece of medieval art in Greece and in others as more of a curiosity that raises questions of interpretation (Fig. 120).

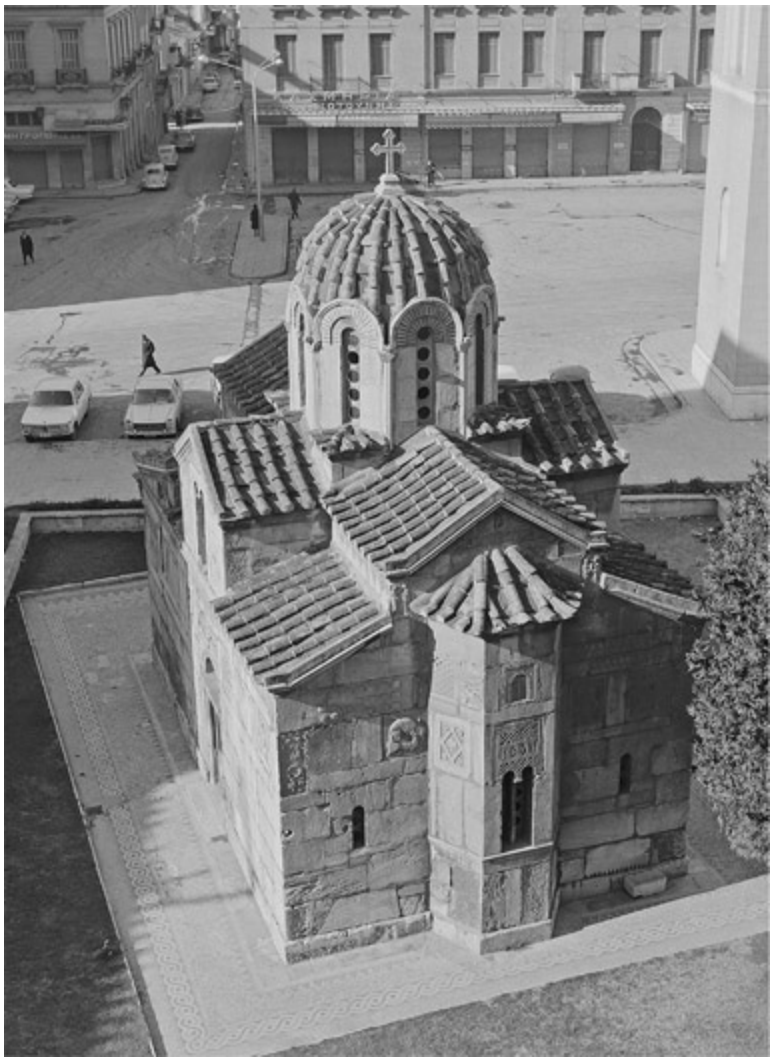

Figure 119 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. View from above.

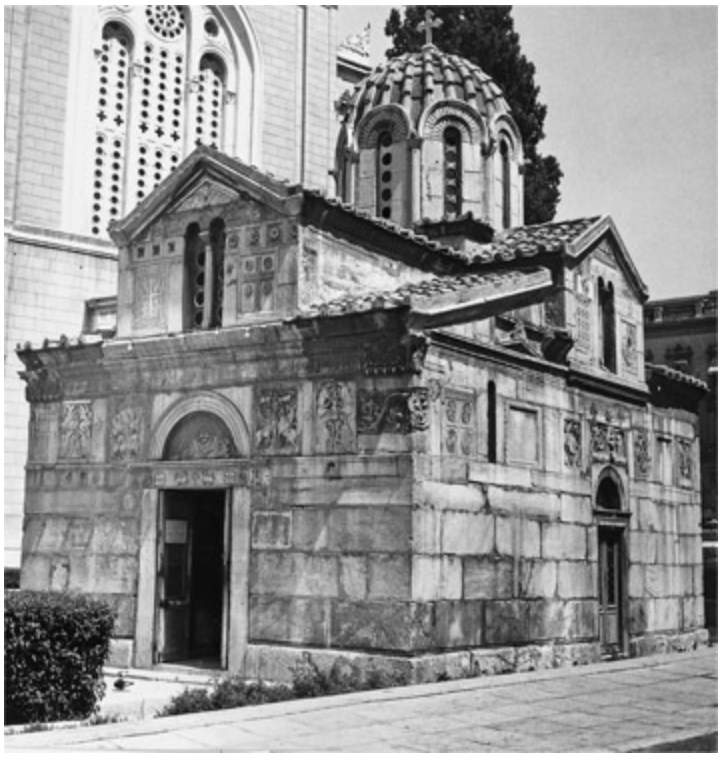

Figure 120 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. View from the southwest.

As one would expect, there have been many references to the monument, or comments about it or its *spolia*, from Cyriac of Ancona[1] to the present day. There is one older, in-depth study,[2] another concerned with the ancient reliefs,[3] and many articles about particular sculptural elements from classical antiquity.[4] Early depictions[5] of the exterior do not provide any serious information about the Gorgoepekoos, especially in view of the fact that there have been no significant alterations to its appearance except for the destruction of a few external frescoes probably of the Ottoman period and the demolition of the undated bell tower[6] that rose above the west cross-arm.[7] Architectural drawings of the church have been published by the National Technical University of Athens,[8] and others are kept in the archives of the British School at Athens[9] and the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.[10] Kambouroglous wrote about the appellation of the Theotokos as Gorgoepekoos.[11]

There are no inscriptions or references in medieval sources concerning the church. It was originally believed that the church was the *katholikon* of a

small monastery that was demoted to a dependency of the Kaisariani monastery in the mid-seventeenth century.[12] From the beginning of the next century it belonged to the metropolis of Athens. The drawing by Barskij reveals that the Gorgoepekoos was incorporated into the episcopal residential complex. In 1834, after the War of Independence, it was used as an antiquities storeroom[13] and in 1839 underwent drastic restoration in which its marble columns[14] were replaced by masonry piers and the bell tower was demolished. In 1841 the building was used as a public library[15] and later (1862 to 1863) was subject to further interventions when the interior plaster with Post-Byzantine wall paintings was removed.[16] Restoration work was done by the Ephorate of Antiquities[17] in the early 1970s. The replacement of the columns seems to have been necessitated by the fact that they were cracked in a fire. The results of the fire are visible still today in the northwest corner bays, the pilaster in the north wall and in the narthex (thermal fracture).

Typologically speaking, the Gorgoepekoos is a semi-composite, four-columned cross-in-square inscribed church with dome (Fig. 121), a type found quite widely in Greece. This explains the relative uninterest of Millet,[18] who was mainly concerned in the church's typology. The roof of the narthex is cross-vaulted, while those of the west cross-arm and the middle vault of the narthex are uniform, with one projecting three-sided apse in the

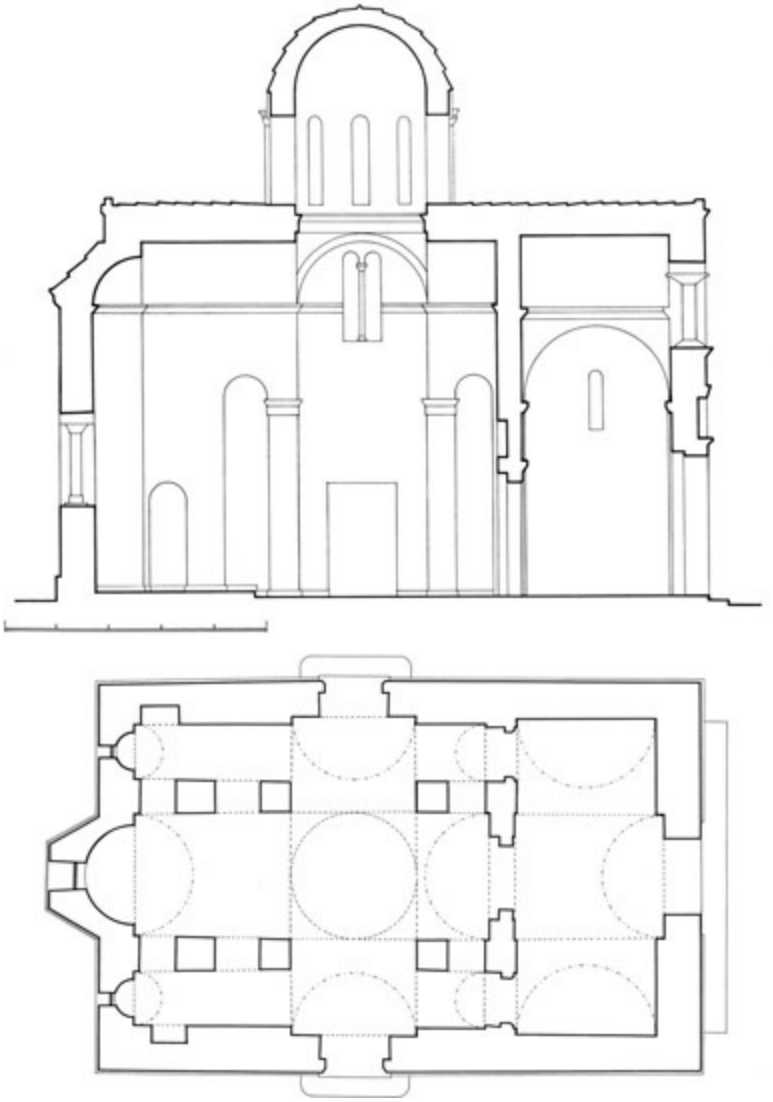

Figure 121 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. Plan and east–west section. Actual state. Drawing by D. Vlamis, K. Ioannou, I. Mavrommati and P. Travlou. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

sanctuary (Fig. 122) and side entrances to the *naos*, along its transverse axis. The corner bays are covered lengthwise with vaults and are joined on the east side to the vaults of the *parabemata*.

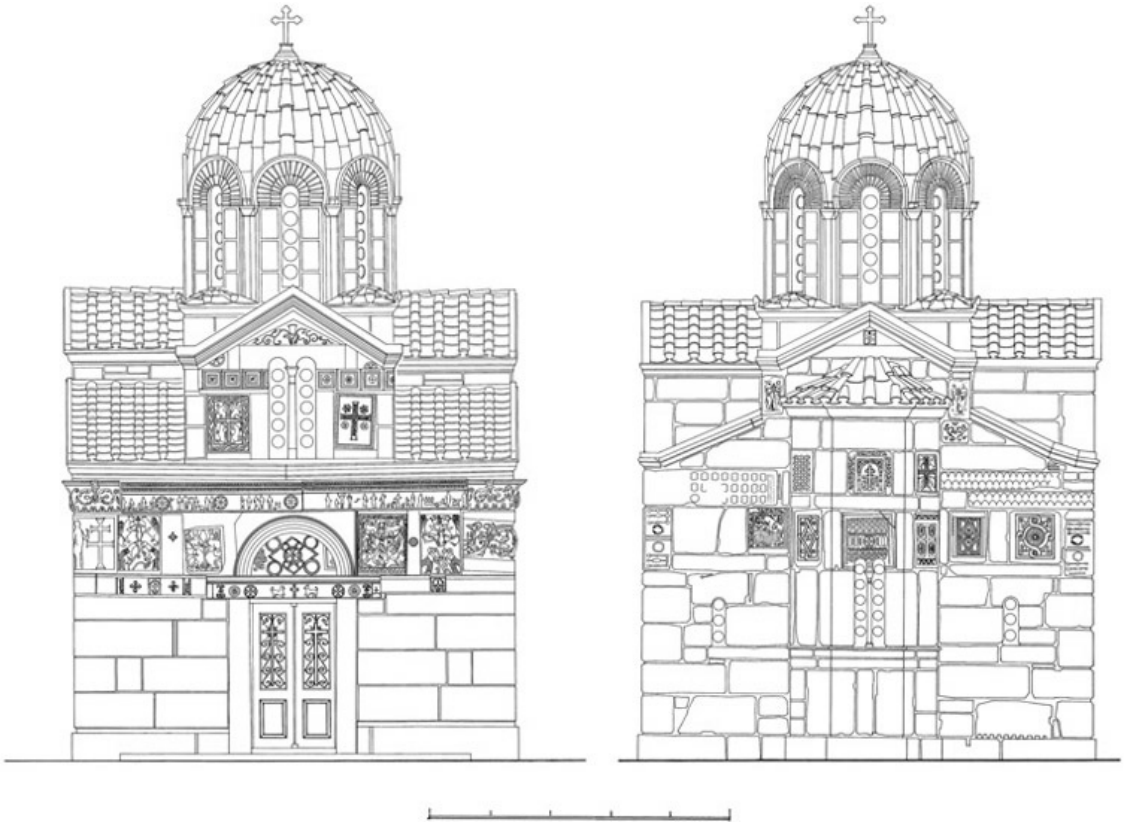

Figure 122 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. West and east façades. Drawing by D. Vlamis, K. Ioannou, I. Mavrommati and P. Travlou. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

Figure 123 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. View of the east end.

The morphology is much more interesting (Fig. 123). Without a doubt, the architect or master builder took special care to assemble the most suitable materials in order to create balanced and rich façades with a unified and restrained irregularity,[19] a latent plasticity sprung from the same material as the structure itself, but also from the central idea of originality that pervades the composition.

The dome of the Gorgoepekoos belongs to the well-known type of the eight-sided 'Athenian' dome, with single-light windows and marble colonnettes at the corners. However, it is not constructed with the usual system of cloisonné masonry, but with contoured rectangular marble blocks surrounded with single bands. The arches are slightly horseshoe-shaped, a sign that indicates – given the great chronological distance – an indirect reference to its prototype in the dome of the Panagia church at the monastery of Hosios Loukas.[20] The configuration of the roof follows the known pattern, with a break in the marble cornices at the ends of both cross-arms in order to ensure that the molding continued in the cornices of the long sides. On all sides except the east, the masonry is opus isodomum up to a height of four courses (approximately 4.30 m), employing large ashlars surrounded by single bands and only a very small amount of mortar in the joints. It is unclear whether all the stones are *spolia* from ancient buildings, because they do not have cuttings for clamps or dowels, which means either that they came from the face of an ancient wall, or that they were all reworked. The use of upright stones that is a common feature in the masonry of Greek churches[21] is limited here to the sanctuary apse.

The walls stand on a high *crepidoma* that projects on all sides and is emphasized by the recessed band of the wall's bottom course. The role of shadow comes into play here, as the horizontality of the *crepidoma* is heightened and attention is drawn to it as the foundation of the architectural whole.[22] The door frames of the side entrances are adorned with moldings and cornices, while the western entrance has monolithic jambs and a heavy lintel.

Figure 124 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. Part of the west gable with the molded cornice and the sculptures W2 and W4.

The austerity and clarity of the external volumes of the Gorgoepekoos derive from the emphatic use of the surrounding decorative bands and cornices that are indeed ancient moldings used as *spolia*, or newly carved elements that faithfully imitate ancient models and continue along the length of the building, or are used in symmetrical relation to each other (Fig. 124). All this combines to lend a classicizing air to the architecture of the Gorgoepekoos, an often-repeated observation.[23] The sculptural elements are arranged, on the one hand, to form a sort of perimetric frieze around the building while, on the other, they serve an organizational function on the façades of the three cross-arms. The elements are heterogeneous, deriving from ancient, Early Christian and Byzantine monuments; some have been reworked in order to fit into their new architectural compositions, others in order to harmonize with the sacrality of a Christian church.[24] With the lone exception of the arches surrounding the windows in the dome, no brick was used in the construction. The windows have pseudo-arches carved from single blocks of marble, as do the three entrances, where the master builder found and made repeated use of three integral Roman arches with three fasciae[25] carved from Hymettian marble similar to the arches in the so-called

Agoranomeion[26] or the Theatre of Dionysos. Some of the *spolia* were incorporated into the monument with respect to their original functions, as is the case with the two, possibly Hadrianic, Corinthian pilaster-capitals (Fig. 125) used at the corners of the façade.

Figure 125 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. Roman anta capital and part of a frieze, in secondary use, at the southwest corner of the church.

Michel and Struck[27] numbered the carved elements in the Gorgoepekoos, thereby facilitating their analysis. It is obvious that there is no stylistic relationship between adjacent carved works, and neither is there any sort of

iconographic program, given that the subjects, decorative or figurative, are the product of whatever came to hand in the process of collecting materials for reuse. As has been observed by both André Grabar[28] and Cyril Mango,[29] all that can be noted with certainty is a discernable tendency towards symmetry, both in the western façade and on the cross-arms. A latent symmetry also exists in most of the Middle Byzantine decorative motifs.

Figure 126 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. Part of a Late Roman calendar frieze and the relief no. W17 on the west façade of the church.

The western façade is dominated by a 5.80-meter-long frieze (Fig. 126) with an integrated cornice from a small Roman building showing scenes from the

ancient calendar[30] onto which crosses were later imposed. Two symmetrically arranged plaques (W 12 and W 19) have the same style and similar motifs; it is likely they are the work of the same marble carver. Plaque W 17 is perhaps the most elaborate[31] in the entire monument and depicts in high-relief two sphinxes positioned en face on either side of a Tree of Life[32] and accompanied by other motifs.

These three plaques have the same height (approximately 1.08 m), and the overall impression of the representations supports the hypothesis that they are not *spolia* but were made especially for the west façade of the church. Three other plaques, also of the same height, without any decoration but surrounded with a frame and built into the south side[33] seem to have been placed there to fill in gaps so as to reach a particular height. The three or four main plaques in the west façade with their figures and ornate decoration were probably not panels on an icon screen. They all depict mythological beasts[34] from ancient iconography, such as griffins, sphinxes, sirens. The supplementation of the ancient carving with new creations that also employ ancient motifs strengthens the suggestion of an intentional overall design.

The ancient sculpture is also worthy of note and includes part of a Doric frieze depicting the cultic symbols of Demeter at Eleusis (S 41), perhaps from the propylon of the Eleusinion (Fig. 127), two small classical reliefs used on the east side on either side of the *bema* apse, part of a Roman frieze(?) with a figurated,[35] foliate cross at the southwest corner (W 20, S 35), a funerary monument with two female figures on the north side (N 94) and fish-scale decoration from Roman sarcophagus lids (O 74) on the east side. There are also reworked ancient members: a plaque with a naked figure and two crosses (N 87), another with pitchers on which rosettes have been carved (N 9) and a third at the northwest corner (W 11).

Figure 127 Panagia Gorgoepekoos. Part of a Roman frieze, in secondary use, over the south entrance of the church.

The highly varied *spolia* is not reused here simply as building material as is the case, for example, at the Panagia church at Skripou, or as symbols of triumph as at San Marco in Venice. As decoration they far surpass contemporary Byzantine conceptions for church façades, while it is impossible to discern what sort of symbolism may have been intended in this eclectic assemblage of at least eighty pieces of sculpture.

According to Maguire,[36] the Gorgoepekoos bears witness to an educated elite at the time of the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties that possessed a sensibility to and admiration for the aesthetic values of the ancient world. For the majority of people, antiquities inspired fear[37] rather than admiration: they had to be exorcised in order to be liberated from the evil spirits. Among the tiny elite, which may not have included Athenians, there must have been someone who was in a position to revere at least the artistic value of these objects and to collect the sculpture in order to display them in a sort of open-air museum, and to supplement them with new works with mythological

themes.

Chatzidakis believed[38] that this person was Michael Choniates, who was certainly sensitive to the historical charge of the city where he was metropolitan. As we shall see, the chronology does favor this view. However, there is evidence that Choniates's archaeolatry was limited to texts and did not extend to the surrounding material world.[39] In any case, we possess no indication of another founder with a fondness for the ancient world who would have wanted to remind his contemporaries of the glory of the ancient city[40] in this way.

The wall paintings inside the Gorgoepekoos, which survived until 1862, were Post-Byzantine. In addition to drawings of the church exterior, Durand left behind sixteen drawings of wall paintings[41] that offer valuable material for the study of painting in Ottoman Athens.

The absence of decoration and the manner in which the windows are fitted into the façades make it difficult to date the church. Megaw[42] touched briefly on the subject with a rather vague reference to the form of the door frames and the sculptural style. He did not deem conclusive the comparison with the opus isodomum masonry at the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Kambia; nevertheless, he believed that the Gorgoepekoos belongs to the twelfth century. Essentially, what interests us is the style of the latest Byzantine sculpture built into the walls, especially in view of the fact that some of the reliefs are so incompetently carved[43] that there are no helpful comparanda. The two-level relief, highly wrought floral decoration, many of the animals and some typical motifs such as the pointed guilloche[44] date a significant number of the Gorgoepekoos sculptures to the late twelfth century. The total absence of Gothic or even Romanesque sculpture (not unknown in Athens at a later time) make it almost certain that the monument was built before 1204.

Frantz[45] questioned the generally accepted (probably late) twelfth-century date, maintaining the view that the *spolia* came from the city's destruction by Leo Sgouros. However, according to Niketas Choniates[46] it seems that when Sgouros did not manage to capture the Acropolis, he set fire to the Athenians' houses and left for Thebes. Obviously he did not have time to demolish

churches and other buildings. Finally, the recent suggestion by Bente Kiilerich[47] that the church should be dated to the fifteenth century is founded on misguided interpretations and is completely unsupportable. Her only argument is that Cyriac of Ancona saw and transcribed an inscription that was then in another position and is now built into the Gorgoepekoos. But the fact that Cyriac made mistakes is also known from another inscription in ancient Messene.[48]

Goudi. Panagia or Hagia Triada

Only a small part of the original structure of the church dedicated to the Panagia at Goudi (Fig. 128) survives: the *prothesis* apse, the walls and the domes of the *parabemata*. The monument became known mainly thanks to Millet,[1] who identified in a photograph taken by Lambakis the ruin of a three-aisled, vaulted basilica with a single pitched roof, in other words a barrel-vaulted basilica (Fig. 129) that acquired special importance for the theories that were being advanced in 1916. Three years earlier, Xyngopoulos[2] had written about the church of Goudi, but the restoration of its true architectural type was only made in the early 1930s by Sotiriou[3] and Orlandos.[4] They clarified that almost all the longitudinal vaults and the single roof belonged to a later, clearly Ottoman, architectural phase, that the original type was a domed, two-columned, cross-in-square church (Fig. 130) with a narthex and that the church assumed a new form after it had partially collapsed. The type of vaulting over the western corner bays remains completely unknown, as does the form of the corresponding façades.

To judge from the photographs,[5] the church fell into ruin again after its renovation: the entire west wall collapsed, as well as the upper parts of the sidewalls. From the narthex drawn by Orlandos after the excavation (?) all that survives are two large, ancient, marble ashlars that originally stood at the corners of the west wall. This establishes that the relatively spacious narthex (5.50 m × 3.65 m) was contemporary with the church.[6]

Figure 128 Goudi. Panagia or Hagia Triada. Partial view of the east end of the church.

During the second building phase, the two wall piers of the sanctuary were lengthened and the columns were relocated and acquired thick stone slabs in place of capitals. The longitudinal vaults of the first church were removed and a new, single vault was created at a much lower level. Consequently, the vaults of the eastern corner bays that retained their original height had separate, small, saddleback roofs.[7] No sculptural work has survived from the original church, neither in situ nor scattered around.

In his attempt to preserve whatever he could from the ruins, between 1959 and 1961 Orlandos rebuilt *ex novo* the parts

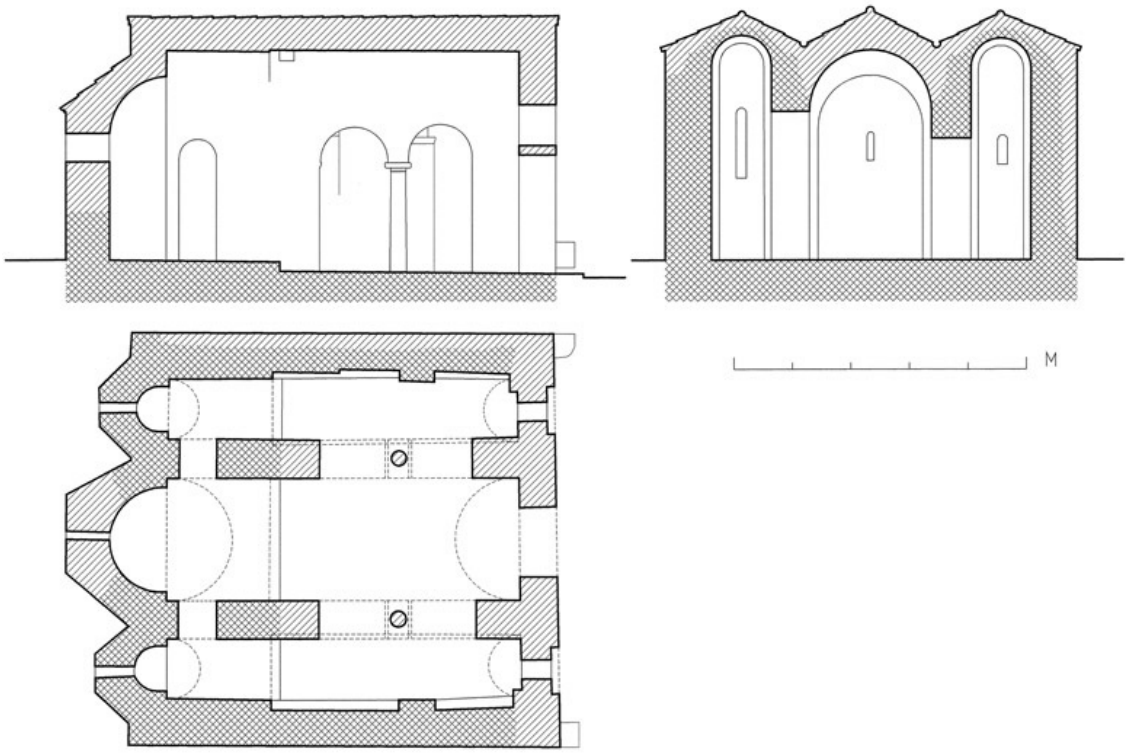

Figure 129 Goudi. Panagia or Hagia Triada. Plan and two sections. Actual state. Drawings by K. Aslanidis.

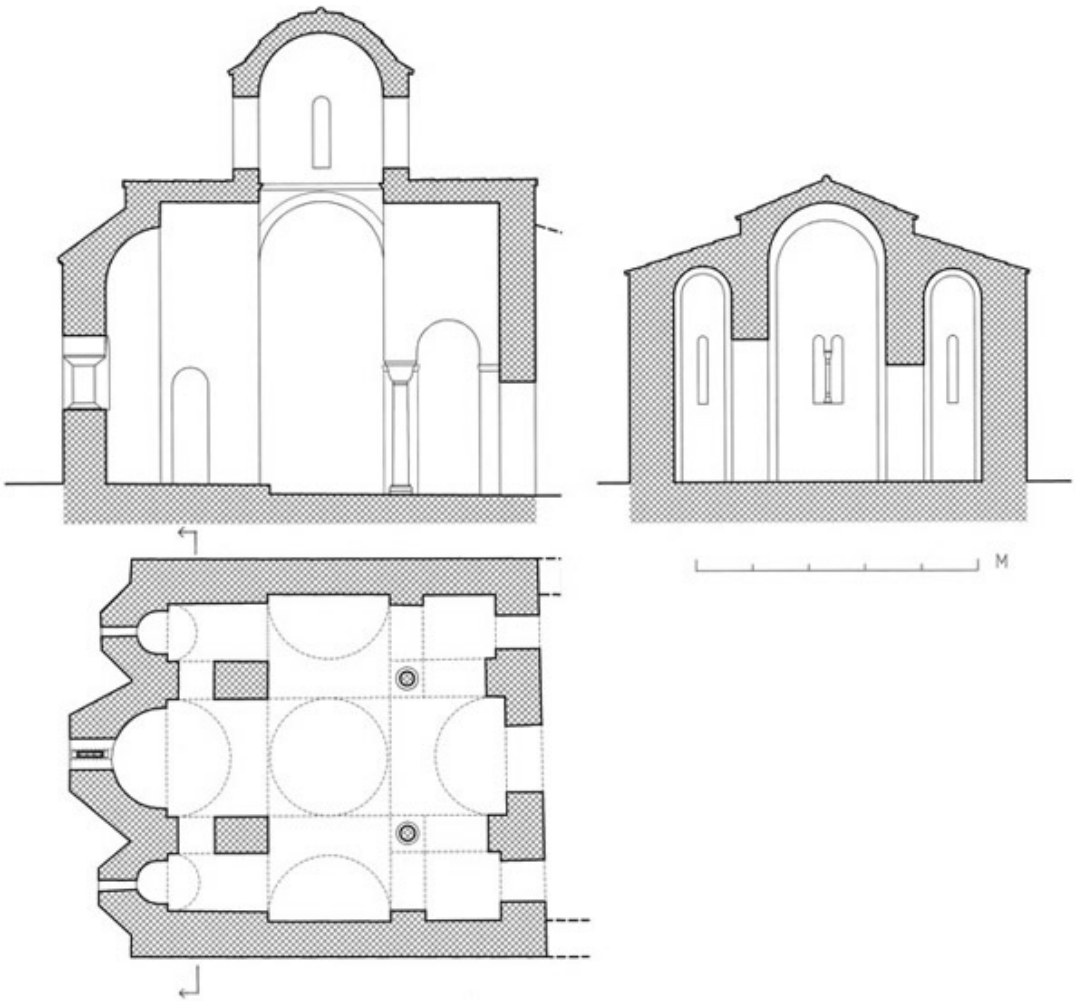

Figure 130 Goudi. Panagia or Hagia Triada. Restored plan and two sections of the church. Drawings by K. Aslanidis.

that had fallen into ruin.[8] Unfortunately, annotated plans made before the interventions were not published, and today it is impossible to distinguish between what was preserved before his work and what is reconstructed.

The date of the original church of the Panagia,[9] after all the decay and rebuilding, is almost beyond our grasp. The *prothesis* apse, which is thought to belong to the original building phase, preserves a single-light window with a surrounding arch of light brick (Fig. 131) – clearly this is insufficient evidence on which to base a chronology. Only the ground plan with its proportions, the width of the walls, and the general shape of the sanctuary create the impression that the monument might belong to the Middle

Byzantine period.

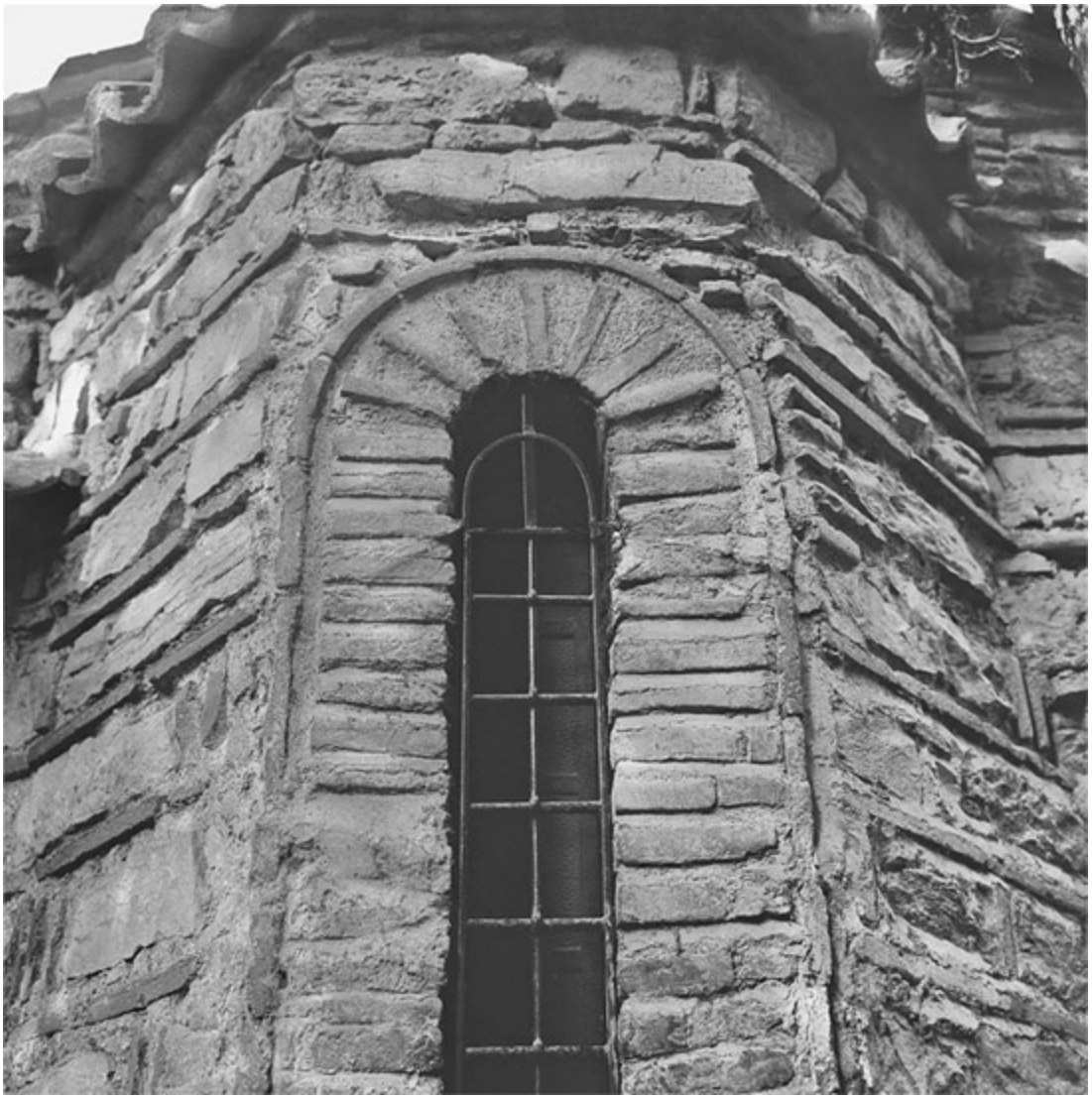

Figure 131 Goudi. Panagia or Hagia Triada. The window of the *prothesis*.

Hagios Dionysios Areopagites

In the context of the excavations carried out by the American School of Classical Studies in the area of the Areopagus, systematic research into the ruins of a church and metropolitan residence was undertaken in the 1960s.[1] Contrary to expectations, they did not find remains of a church from the

Middle Byzantine period, but only of an assortment of dwellings. It seems that the church was demolished and plundered for building materials in order to construct the Post-Byzantine church.[2]

The Middle Byzantine architectural members found in the same position are *spolia*[3] from the older church as well as other sources.

All that remains of the Byzantine church are the written sources. The excavators already mentioned the famous letter of Pope Innocent III (1208) in which the church is recorded,[4] as well as indirect evidence from the testimony of Cyriac of Ancona in 1436.[5]

Finally, the Byzantine monument is noted as a monastery of St Dionysios in the *Praktikon*[6] of the region of Athens. The mention that some property bordered on the 'south the well-rooted rock and the monastery of Hagios Dionysios'[7] makes it almost certain that the document is referring to the monument under consideration, which is located close to the rock of the Areopagus. It cannot be excluded that once the well-built medieval walls[8] found in the same area belonged to buildings that were part of the same monastery.

Profitis Ilias in the Staropazaro

The church dedicated to the Prophet Elijah[1] near the Corn Market (Staropazaro) of Ottoman Athens was in a partially ruinous state[2] after the War of Independence (Fig. 132) and was demolished[3] in 1848. Prior to this it had been given over to the Catholics, but was not used.[4] The reasons for its demolition are unknown: perhaps it was not possible to repair the damage, or possibly additional space was needed to restore the neighboring church of the Taxiarchs. Before the church was destroyed, one of its wall paintings was removed and can be found today in the Byzantine Museum of Athens.[5]

Figure 132 The churches of the Profitis Ilias and the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora. View from the north. Painting by E. Peytier (1830).

A detailed and thorough study of the church was published in 1971,[6] primarily based on four measured drawings[7] that exist today in the Institute for the History of Architecture at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology. Presented here are, on the one hand, observations about the monument's type and architectural forms and, on the other, some new material that has appeared in the thirty-five years since the building's publication by S. Sinos.

The position of Profitis Ilias at the center of old Athens and in close proximity to the Gate of Athena Archegetis was the reason why the church has been drawn at least ten times, not including the drawings at the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology. They are as follows:

1. Gaillabaud, *Monuments anciens et modernes* (Paris 1850) II.
2. T. Du Moncel, *Ὁδοιπορικό τοῦ 1843* (Athens 1984) Fig. 22, 23.
3. A. Lenoir, *Architecture Monastique* (Paris 1852) 295, Fig. 204.
4. L.F.S. Fauvel, *Byzance Retrouvée* (Paris 2001) 164, no. 92.
5. E. Flandin, Rouen archive, *Ἀν. Ὀρλάνδος, Ὁ ἄνθρωπος καί τό ἔργον του* (Athens 1978) 213.

6. P. Durand, Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 69 (Fig. 133).
7. Bendtsen, *Sketches* 115, Fig. 62 (drawing by Chr. Hansen).
8. E. Peytier, *Λεύκωμα Πεϋτιέ*, S. Papadopoulos (ed.) (Athens 1971) Fig. 9.
9. L. Lange, *Das Neue Hellas*, R. Baumstark (ed.) (Munich 2000) 512, no. 373.
10. A. Kokkou, *Ἡ μέριμνα γιά τίς ἀρχαιότητες …* (Athens 1977) 113, Fig. 41.

Typologically, Profitis Ilias was a cross-in-square church with continuous walls supporting the dome in the west and a cross-vaulted narthex (Fig. 134). It could be classified as a variation of the transitional type. The similarity with the plan of the Hagioi Theodoroi church in Athens is obvious: they share shallow blind arches at the ends of the inscribed cross-arms, a unification of the western cross-arm vault and the middle vault of the narthex, an enlargement of the width in relation to the length of the *naos* and the sanctuary. The *diakonikon* became a sacristy with the erection of a transverse wall, possibly at a later date. On the exterior, the sanctuary apses are semicircular. It is reasonable to accept that, as at the Hagioi Theodoroi church, there were longitudinal vaults in the four corner bays. A later intervention can be seen at the northern end of the narthex.[8]

Figure 133 Profitis Ilias from the northwest. Drawing by P. Durand (1840). Athens, M. Charitatos Collection.

The architectural form of this church presents great interest. The dome was octagonal with a horizontal cornice and curved pilasters at the corners.[9] Its roof,

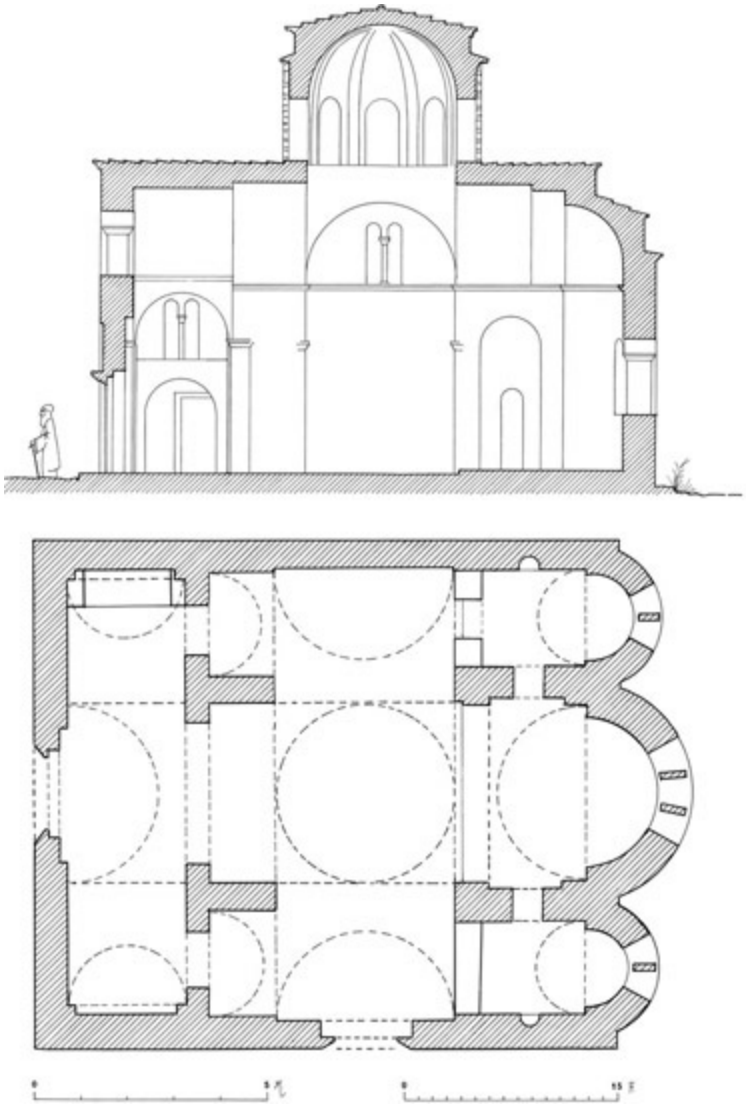

Figure 134 Profitis Ilias. Restored plan and east–west section. Revised from drawings in the Collections of the University of Karlsruhe.

like that of the *bema* apse, took the form of a *diplotholion.*[10]

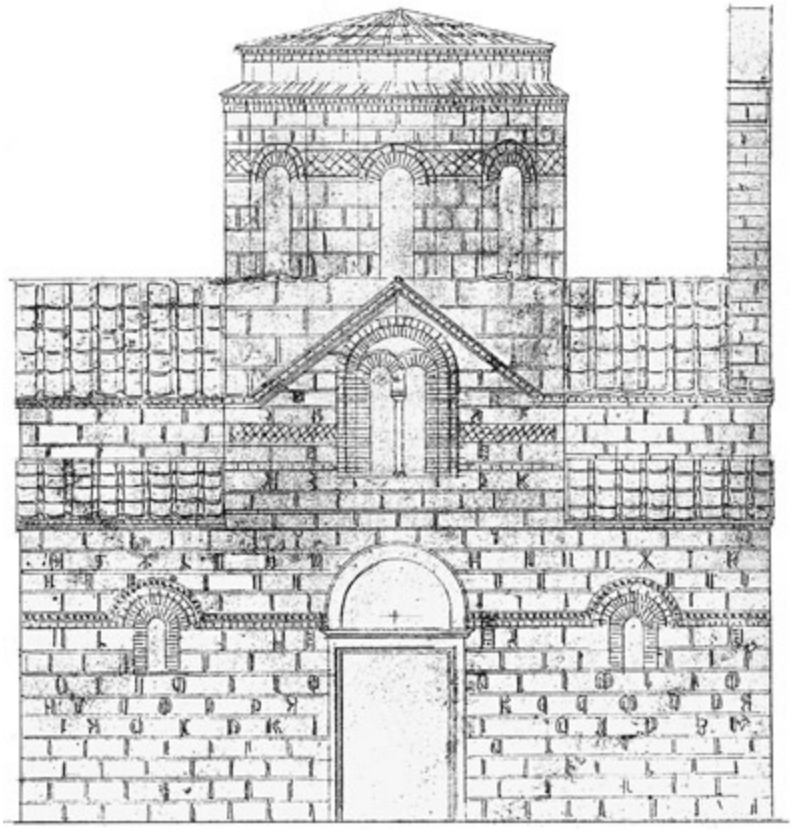

Figure 135 Profitis Ilias. West face. Elevation. Drawing in the Collections of the University of Karlsruhe.

It appears from two of the reconstructive drawings in the Karlsruhe collection (Fig. 135) that the church had cloisonné masonry. On its west façade, between the ashlars, ceramic tiles were arranged to form Cufic or Greek letters, a feature not visible in the other drawings. There were dentil cornices and a dentil course that ran around the arched windows, but not around the doors. On the dome and the façade of the west cross-arm there was a frieze with reticulate revetments.[11] The side vaults of the narthex, again as at Hagioi Theodoroi, were covered with saddleback roofs and terminated in double-light windows, while on the façade there were small single-light windows – once more as at the Hagioi Theodoroi church.

The western main entrance to the narthex had a marble door frame with a chamfered cor-nice[12] and a shallow arched niche over the lintel. The north entrance to the *naos* was walled in.[13] The double-light bell tower above the south cross-arm had a pointed stone arch[14] and was obviously erected after

1204.

In terms of its construction, the eight-sided dome presents considerable interest, due to the presence of ribs of unkown profile in its hemisphere and extending down into the tympanum. This type of dome was common in Constantinople, but rare in Greece[15] (Panaxiotissa at Gavrolimni, Hagios Sozon in Orchomenos). Clearly the dome was constructed in brick rather than stone.

As for the chronology, it should be noted that Megaw[16] did not mention this church, since in the 1930s most of the information available to us today was unknown. The earliest features are the semicircular apses in the sanctuary, the reticulate revetments, the stepped roofs of the dome and the *bema* conch, and perhaps the church type, which approaches the transitional,[17] domed, cross-in-square type.

By contrast, elements suggesting a later date include the triple-light window of the *bema* that was surrounded by a grouped type arch, the tile pilasters and dentil friezes around the double-light windows that reached down to the level of the windowsill and the cross-vaulted narthex. The similarities with the Hagioi Theodoroi help suggest a way of determining when the two monuments were erected,[18] while the ceramic Cufic or Greek letters in the masonry may suggest a later date, on account of their resemblance to that found at the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora.[19] In the end, it would seem logical to include the church of Profitis Ilias among the Athenian monuments of the second quarter of the eleventh century. It is a misfortune that we lack any architectural members with carved decoration to help confirm this hypothesis.

The five drawings of wall paintings from this monument[20] bear witness to the fact that in addition to the representation of the so-called Madonna Catalana[21] there were other wall paintings in the late Gothic style, as well as representations that belong rather to the Ottoman period, such as that of the whale rendering up Jonah.[22]

Hagioi Theodoroi on Nikis Street

At 27 Nikis Street were discovered in 1970 the meager remains of a church with two distinct building phases. The excavation was never completed, although it was possible to study approximately one-third of the church. While the publication was extensive,[1] it sheds little clear light on the subject.

The small church dedicated to the memory of the two Saints Theodore survived until the War of Independence[2] and represented the monument's second building phase that probably dated to the Ottoman period. It was a single-aisled structure with a semicircular sanctuary apse and was founded on the middle aisle of a larger three-aisled church whose pavement was discovered 1.10 meters beneath ground level and whose foundations were erected partially on the outworks of the ancient defensive walls.[3]

The church's first phase, dated by the excavator 'before the tenth century', seems to have been well built, incorporating ancient architectural members and ashlars from the ancient *proteichisma*. The absence on the east wall of pilasters corresponding to the division of the aisles presents a problem for the accuracy of the reconstructive plans.[4] A vaulted tomb reused as an bone house was mentioned earlier.[5]

From the publications it does not emerge which architectural type the Byzantine phase of this church belonged to. Given that all the finds were at the level of the foundations or pavements, there is no discussion of the monument's morphological characteristics.

Hagioi Theodoroi

Besides its artistic value as an architectural work of high caliber, the church of the Hagioi Theodoroi is of historical importance thanks to two inscriptions preserved in the church structure.[1] The inscriptions inform us about the date of the church's construction, in 1049, and about its founder, Nikolaos Kalomalos, *spatharokandidatos*, who was a state official with a direct connection to the Byzantine capital. The fact that he made a significant outlay of money in a provincial city at a time of political flowering in the empire is naturally of importance for our understanding of medieval Athens.

Despite all this, the church has never been studied systematically. As is the case for other Athenian monuments, there exists a mass of information that must be collected, including scattered documentary material in older publications such as those of Couchaud[2] and Castellazzi,[3] in albums such as that published by the National Technical University of Athens,[4] in archives such as the Byzantine Research Fund Archive[5] of the British School at Athens, and in more artistic depictions, such as that by Stevens.[6] Located outside the Post-Herulian wall and on the site of a poorly made, older chapel,[7] it is conjectured that the church of the two Saints Theodore was probably not the *katholikon* of a monastery.

Generally speaking, the church's state of preservation is good. After the War of Independence, efforts were made to stabilize the building but, fortunately, additions were not made to its structure. A photograph dated to 1842[8] shows the windows of the dome blocked up and the western entrance without the marble door frame of dubious taste that appears there today. In 1910 a new pavement was laid and, perhaps at the same time, since the interior plaster was removed,[9] the new decoration in oil paints was done, according to early twentieth-century artistic fashion. Excavation and conservation work[10] were carried out in 1967.

Typologically (Fig. 136) the church is a variation of the transitional type, without columns, and with continuous walls west of the dome and barrel-vaults in the four corner bays. The variation is relatively rare and indicates that it is ancient (since little distinguishes it from the transitional type),[11] and/or the fact that they could not find marble columns to be reused here. We will return to this rare variation also represented elsewhere in Athens (as at Profitis Ilias, for example).

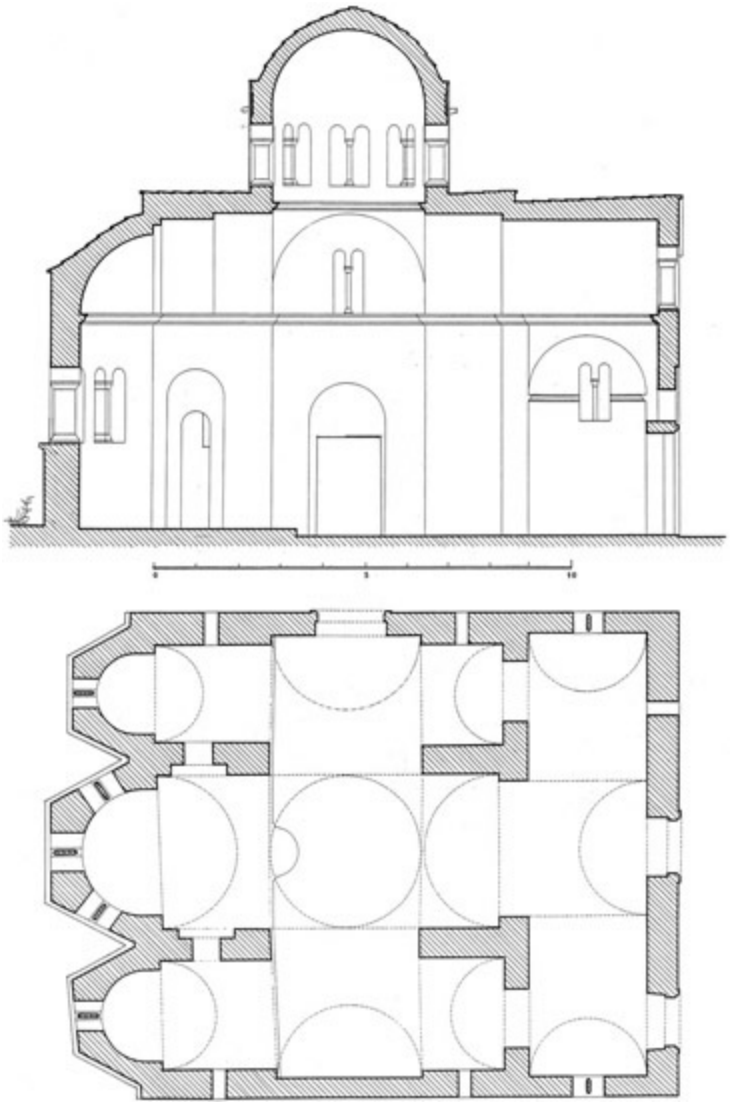

Figure 136 Hagioi Theodoroi. Plan and east–west section. Drawing by A. Alexandratou. NTUA Archives.

Figure 137 Hagioi Theodoroi. Frieze of terracotta panels on the west façade.

Figure 138 Hagioi Theodoroi. Frieze of terracotta panels on the north façade.

Other typological features of the Hagioi Theodoroi church include the two blind arches in the eastern cross-arm[12] and the asymmetry: the south cross-arm is shorter than the north one, and the corresponding *diakonikon* is shorter than the *prothesis*. There is a perceptible asymmetry in the west façade of the building too.

Above the doors of the side aisles leading into the narthex there are arched openings, possibly original. They might suggest that the narthex is later,[13] but such a theory is not verified.

The asymmetry of the west façade has been noted. On the left, there is a door and the cloisonné masonry continues to the base of the wall. On the right, instead of a door there is a high, single-light window and the masonry is constructed of three large, upright through-stones, others arranged horizontally to form a 'T', and the necessary filler.[14] The arches above the door, the single-light window and the dentil bands set around them are preserved undamaged and unaltered.

The western cross-arm has a frieze (Fig. 137) made of nine equally sized ceramic plaques with relief decoration that survive in a state of excellent preservation.[15] The north cross-arm also has nine ceramic plaques of the same size (Fig. 138), but these have been eroded and are in poor condition. The south cross-arm has ten equally sized ceramic plaques, also in very good condition. Only the first and third have Cufic characteristics. None preserves the original white plaster.

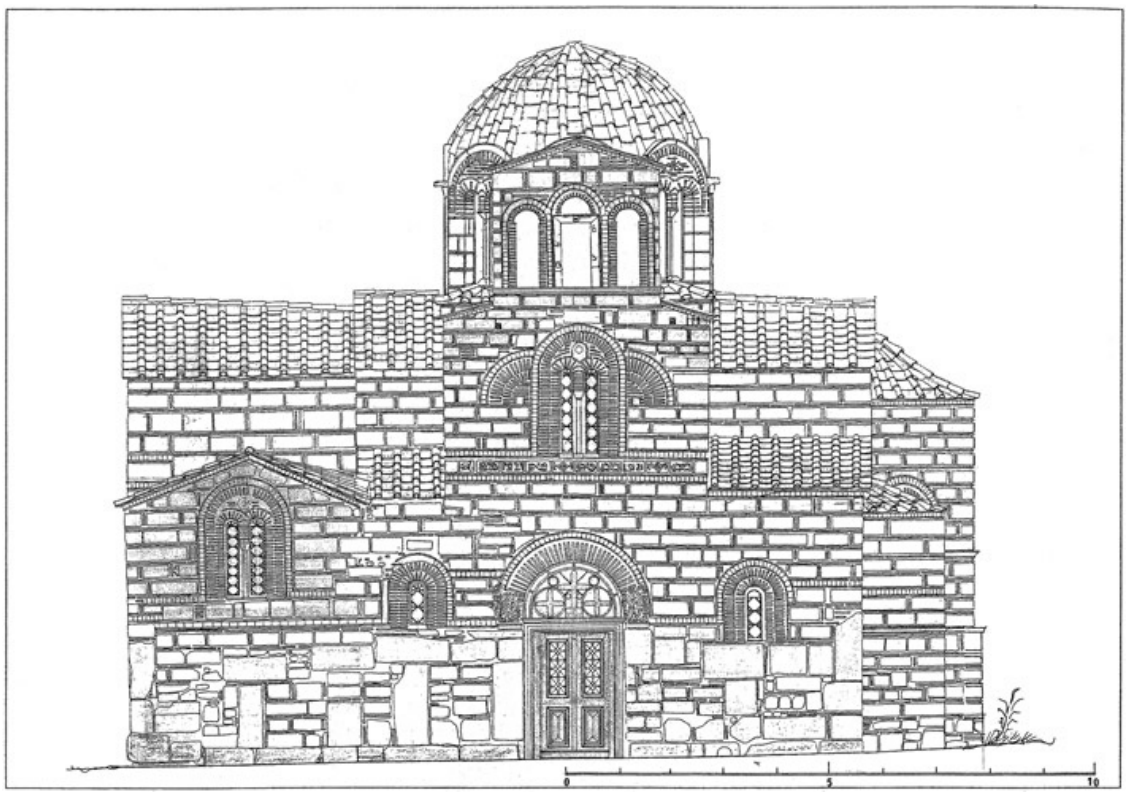

Figure 139 Hagioi Theodoroi. The south face of the church. Elevation. Drawing by Chr. Martinou. Archives of the Post Graduate Studies Programme of National Technical University of Athens.

Figure 140 Hagioi Theodoroi. The dome.

The arch above the south door of the church (Fig. 139) is very well preserved, but sections on either side are made of mortared rubble, a rough and ready construction made of small, irregular stones. These sections are matched with chamfered marble imposts.[16]

There is a stepped *crepidoma* aligned longitudinally along the south side. It is a mediocre construction, made from disparate carved stones.

In all the windows of the sanctuary apses, and in those of the dome (Fig. 140), there is ceramic Cufic decoration between the arches,[17] while in the three windows of the *bema* apse there were once ceramic bowls. The presence of windows and especially the double-light windows on all three sides of the apse are related to the *katholikon* of the monastery of Hosios Loukas. The string-course at the springing of the window arches (Fig. 141) is related to both churches at Hosios Loukas and represent the only known example besides those two.[18] What sets them apart is that the string-course of the Hagioi Theodoroi is chamfered and unadorned, whereas at Hosios Loukas

they have relief decoration. In the double-light windows we find double quadrant arches and dentil courses to the right and left of the opening.[19] One original marble door frame is preserved at the south entrance and has a slightly concave cornice set between two bead-and-reel moldings. The cornice at the base of the sanctuary windows is unadorned along its entire length. The style of its profile is *cavetto*, with a simple bead-and-reel pattern.

Figure 141 Hagioi Theodoroi. The *bema* apse from the northeast.

The double-light windows of the 'Athenian' dome[20] can be compared with those of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas,[21] the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Athenian

Agora,[22] the Taxiarchs of Charouda in the Mani[23] and the now-demolished Panagia in Levadeia.[24] The dome has elaborate marble gutters above the corner colonnettes, whose imposts are decorated with acanthus leaves.

According to Nikolakopoulos, the champlevé[25] ceramic plaques that form the frieze on the three cross-arms of the church are contemporary with the bowls[26] and can be dated to the first half of the eleventh century. The bowls are believed to be imported from Fatimid Egypt.[27] The plaques link the Hagioi Theodoroi stylistically with the Soteira Lykodemou church and with the Hagioi Asomatoi church near the Theseion, but not in terms of motifs.

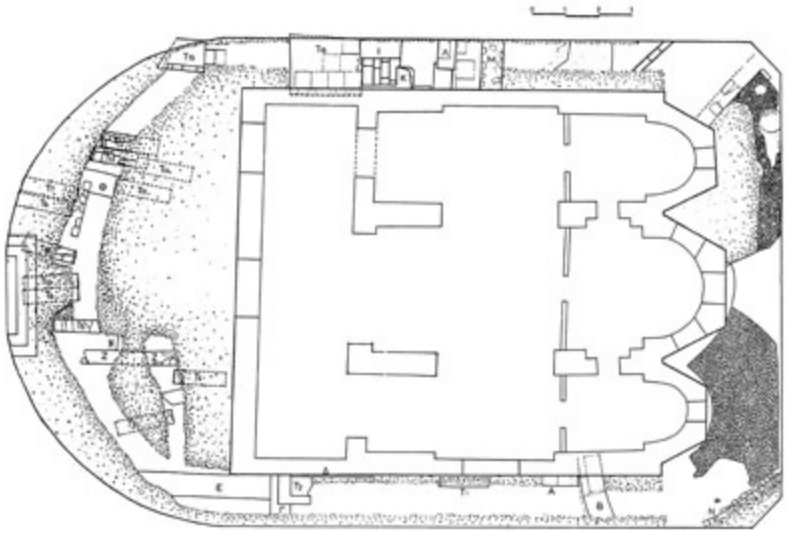

Figure 142 Hagioi Theodoroi. Findings around the church during the 1967 excavation. P. Lazaridis.

Figure 143 Hagioi Theodoroi. *Templon* architrave in secondary use on the modern belfry.

The excavations carried out in 1967 around the Hagioi Theodoroi[28] showed that the church had been erected on top of the ruins of older buildings, possibly a villa from the Roman period. Sixteen graves were also discovered (Fig. 142) which were clearly older in date than the church. The excavator Lazaridis did not mention Middle Byzantine buildings, whose presence would of course testify to the existence of a monastery around a *katholikon*. Other graves had been previously discovered[29] under the pavement of the church.

The very fine quality of the relief decorations of the marble *templon* in the church of the Hagioi Theodoroi – and the rarity of the motifs – make them

worthy of special attention. They are unpublished, and for this reason an extensive description of them is justified (Fig. 143–145).

Four chamfered pieces from marble architectural members were incorporated in the bell tower[30] above the south cross-arm of the church. It is certain that they belonged to the epistyle of the marble *templon* since their surfaces, including the lower ones, are decorated with typical patterns for epistyle coffers: alternating squares and circles inscribed in knotted double frames.

Figure 144 Hagioi Theodoroi. Detail of the *templon* architrave.

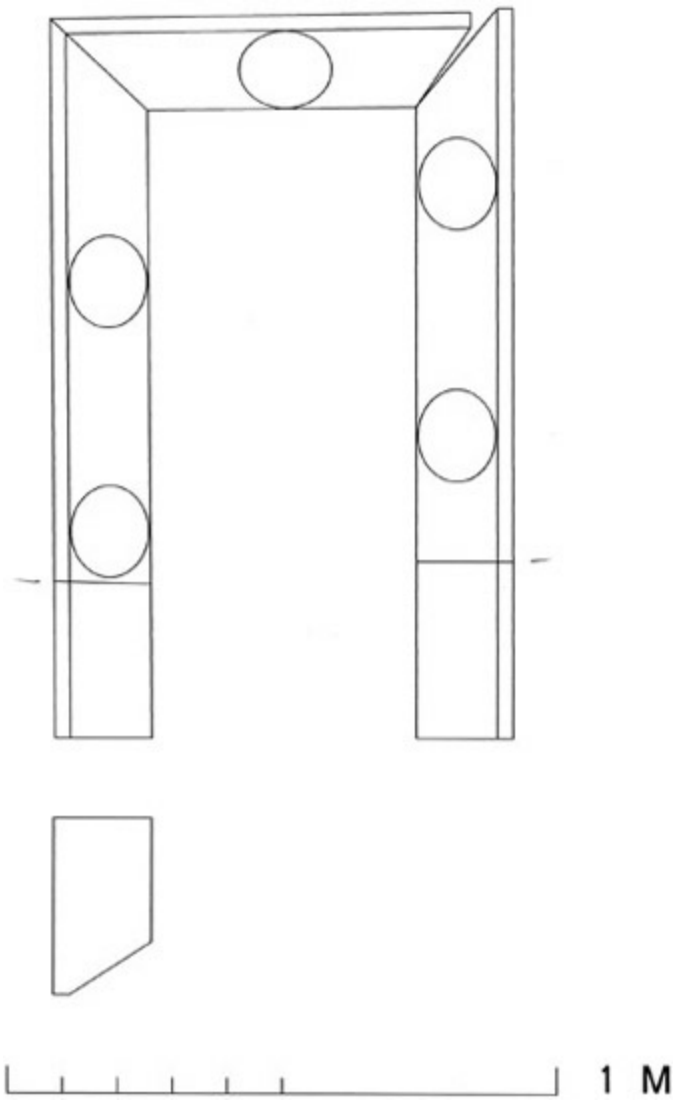

Figure 145 Hagioi Theodoroi. The fragments of the *templon* architrave on the modern belfry. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

The two larger sections of the epistyle, placed up-ended to the right and left of the opening, have similar designs: the horizontal piece has different patterns but is carved in the same style. All the scultpure is distinguished by extremely high-quality work, precise patterns, original motifs and stylistic unity. The decorative motifs are separated from one another by raised bosses with a diameter of 18 centimeters. On the oblique surface of the epistyle, six motifs appear, the first two of which are completely intact and measure 29 centimeters in length. The first has 3 × 2 figures inscribed in a square, and

each of the figures has eight pointed leaves. The second motif is configured by two half-palmettes each with four half-leaves, curled around twice in order to form a single, inverted palmette with five leaves. These figures are linked together by intertwined circles and are rendered with strict symmetry.

The bosses are of three sorts: a) a wreath formed of multiple bunches of greenery, b) perfo-rated, with unknown form (destroyed) and c) four swirling tufts. The four other patterns are as follows: on the horizontal section there are a) quatrefoil inscribed in a square, consisting of triple pointed leaves, b) shoot divided into folded tendrils with leaves, c) shoots with leaves, similar to b, in a small section of the epistyle at the lower right, d) quatrefoil inscribed in a square, consisting of triple pointed leaves. Given that the axial span of the surviving bosses is 0.46 meters, that the distance of the edge from the axis of the next boss is 0.47 meters, and that the opening between the *bema* walls is 3.70 meters, it emerges clearly that the epistyle had six bosses with an interaxial distance of 0.46 meters and one figure, perhaps a cross, also arranged on the axis, but which is not preserved.

Figure 146 Hagioi Theodoroi. The inscriptions on the west façade of the church.

The epistyle from the *templon* in the Hagioi Theodoroi church is difficult to date because (except for the composite palmettes) no comparable decorative motifs are found among Byzantine scultpure in Greece. The composite palmettes within interlaced [cut knotted] circles belong to a group of similar motifs known mainly from manuscripts,[31] but also in the sculptural work in the Panagia at Hosios Loukas,[32] in mosaics[33] and in metalwork, as on the door of the *katholikon* at the Megiste Lavra on Mount Athos.[34]

All of the above comparisons lead to a date at the end of the tenth, or

beginning of the eleventh, or the first half of the eleventh century.

With regard to the two inscriptions on the façade of the Hagioi Theodoroi church (Fig. 146), and the relationship between them, the reading of the date and, finally, the date of the church, there was a lively debate in the 1930s, with two articles by Megaw,[35] two by Xyngopoulos,[36] one by Konstantopoulos,[37] and one by Laurent.[38] The difficulty arises from the discrepancy between the date στφνη' (6558), that is, A.D. 1049, and the third indiction. Megaw had accepted a late date for the monument because he believed that the Panagia at Hosios Loukas (with which stylistic comparisons were drawn) belonged to the period between 1025 and 1050. It is almost certain that the church was built in 1049 and a mistake was made in the calculation of the indiction. There are typological and morphological indications supporting a date for the Hagioi Theodoroi even before 1049: a) the typological affinity among churches of the transitional type before 1000, b) the champlevé technique of the ceramic panels which are also found in the Soteira Lykodemou church,[39] c) the decorative bowls which are dated to the first half of the eleventh century,[40] d) the Cufic decoration on the tympana of the windows, *bema* and dome, e) the dentil course that surrounds the large inscription, as well as the friezes on the cross-arms,[41] and the carving on the icon screen, which are relatively early, as noted above.

Hephaisteion, or 'Theseion', or Hagios Georgios

Unfortunately, there is no full monograph dedicated to the Temple of Hephaistos – known by the name 'Theseion' – in the Early Christian and Middle Byzantine periods, even though it is frequently mentioned in the bibliography. We have already discussed the physical presence of the 'Theseion' in the context of the medieval city[1] and referred briefly to the graves inside and around the monument.[2] The almost complete absence of other sources and certain unanswered questions (to be touched on below) seriously complicate our understanding of the function and meaning of this monument for medieval Athenians (Fig. 147).

The Hephaisteion was one of the few buildings that escaped destruction by the Heruli in 267.[3] But it is not known when the roof and its entire supporting system were removed, along with the stylobates and the marble pavement of the *cella*. Since sections of all these architectural members have not been recovered, Travlos was correct in his belief[4] that they were removed in order to be reused in other constructions, perhaps even outside Athens. It is therefore likely that when the 'Theseion' was given over to the new cult it was only an empty shell in which changes were made at the west end, where an entrance was opened, and at the east end, where two columns in the *pronaos* were removed, a large sanctuary apse was added and the east wall of the *cella* was demolished.

Frantz[5] wrote at length about the date when the temple was reconsecrated as a church and links it to the date of the pilaster capitals found there.[6] The large sanctuary apse was later replaced by a smaller one, the same that survived until 1835 and is known from the drawings of Stuart and Revett[7] and various other depictions.[8] In all probability the replacement of the original apse can be dated by the wall paintings, perhaps seventeenth century, that were revealed by Orlandos.[9]

For the condition of the Theseion in the medieval period, the large barrel vault (Fig. 148) covering the *cella* is of greater importance. It measures 6.20 meters in diameter and is both unusual and larger than what is found in all other Athenian churches. The vault is constructed of small, partially dressed stones, without the use of brick and with liberal application of white mortar, on which the longitudinal planks of the formwork left their impression. The construction of the vault is somewhat careless, which led to the appearance of large longitudinal and transversal cracks. Its profile is not semicircular, but elliptical and slightly segmental.[10]

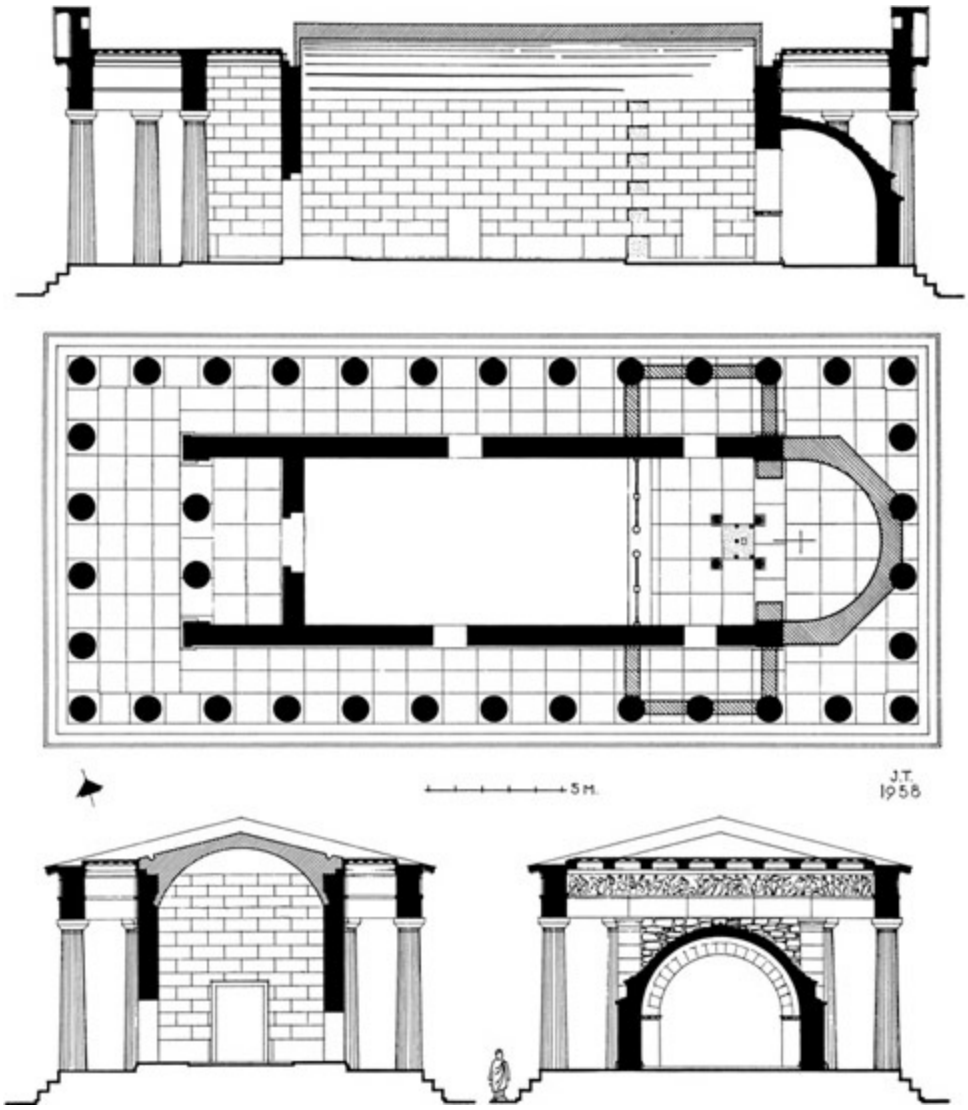

Figure 147 Hephaisteion (or Theseion) during the Middle Ages. Plan and three sections, restored. Drawing by J. Travlos.

The overall poor quality of the vault makes a date in the Middle Byzantine period unlikely. A fragment of a corner marble architectural member (Fig. 149) with an acanthus leaf carved in relief was embedded in the vault[11] and provides a terminus post quem for the construction, while a terminus ante quem is provided by the description by Spon[12] in 1678. A single saddleback roof covered the vault and stretched to the east and west parts of the church. To judge from the drawing by Pars, part of the roof was preserved until 1765.

Figure 148 Hephaisteion (or Theseion). View of the barrel vault over the nave. Interior facing east. Phot. S. Mavrommatis.

Figure 149 Hephaisteion (or Theseion). Marble fragment incorporated to the vault. Phot. S. Mavrommatis.

According to Travlos,[13] the vault was constructed during the conversion of the temple to a church, which he dated to the fifth century. Frantz[14] assembled all the divergent views: Sotiriou[15] placed the conversion after the ninth century, Orlandos[16] argued for the Middle Byzantine period, Koch[17] for the time of Basil the Bulgar-slayer, and W. B. Dinsmoor[18] found arguments to agree with Orlandos. Finally, Lawrence[19] pointed to similarities with twelfth- and thirteenth-century vaults of the Crusaders in Syria.

A solution to the problem of chronology may be aided by a new discovery: the subterranean, vaulted cistern of building E found in the excavation for the new Acropolis Museum preserves its semicircular vault in excellent condition.[20] The vault was made of small stones and abundant white mortar, on which the planks of the formwork left their impression. The similarity with the vault in the Hephaisteion is striking. The cistern is dated, as is Building E, just before the mid-seventh century[21] and was abandoned before the end of that century.

The re-roofing of the ancient temple after the removal of all the marble from the *cella* interior, perhaps after a period of abandonment,[22] probably

coincided with the conversion of the 'Theseion' to a church. This change may seem somewhat late, but the idea of a single barrel-vaulted basilica is in principal post-Justinianic, while the economic situation in Athens from the end of the fifth century until the reign of Constans probably was not one of particular prosperity, given what we know about coin circulation in medieval Athens.[23] The construction of the vault bears witness to the importation of foreign technical knowledge, and a later date.[24]

We lack satisfactory information about the general condition of the 'Theseion' after the medieval period. Neither carved architectural members from this period, nor traces of new pavement were found; from at least 1290[25] graves were situated in the earth floor of the *cella* interior. The view expressed by W. B. Dinsmoor that the cuttings for the ancient course XIII of the isodomic wall are related to the *templon*[26] does not correspond to the usual height of Middle Byzantine *templa*. And finally, no trace was found of the presumed Byzantine wall paintings of the church interior either on the walls or on the vault. The faint wall paintings, perhaps from the eleventh century, that were studied by Xyngopoulos ninety years ago[27] were found on the exterior of the *cella* walls, on the west and north sides. Orlandos[28] attributed the absence of wall paintings in the medieval church to the lack of natural light in the church interior.

Related to this is the question of the plaster in the building's interior. One layer of plaster just two millimeters thick (and preserved in fragments) covered the walls to a height of six courses, but was not found above this or on the orthostat. Dinsmoor believed that this plaster was Byzantine,[29] but the rough working of the marble with a pointed object in order to create an adhesive surface for the plaster proves that its date is classical.[30] In places, however, a second, thicker layer of plaster is visible that used straw for its binding material, which makes it possible that the second layer does belong to the Middle Byzantine period. No color is visible.

The two transverse structures on the north and south side of the *peristasis* and which appear on Travlos's well-known plans of the medieval Theseion[31] do not appear on the drawings of the church by Barskij,[32] Hope,[33] and

Hansen.[34] But they do appear in the photographs taken by James Robertson (1854) and Filippos Margaritis (1858–1862).[35] We should consider these as more recent, temporary constructions, made to serve the needs of the Central Archaeological Museum, which was housed from 1834 at the 'Theseion' and later demolished.

It is thought that the monument served as the *katholikon* of a monastery at least in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is mentioned by Michael Choniates[36] as Hagios Georgios in the Kerameikos, and also in a letter by Pope Innocent III in 1208.[37] In five of the Middle Byzantine graffiti transcribed by Antonin[38] we find mention of 'abbots of the monastery', which verifies that the 'Theseion' belonged to a monastery.[39] Unfortunately, the inscription that was on the pilaster at the entrance[40] does not further our knowledge. No monastery buildings have ever been mentioned.

The graffiti on the walls and columns of the Theseion have been discussed in many articles.[41] They consist mainly of names of Athenians in the Middle Byzantine period.

Hagios Thomas

The church of Hagios Thomas, located at Eurysakiou and Kladou Streets behind the Stoa of Attalos, was demolished in 1834 and was considered to have been a work of the Ottoman period.[1] It was a three-aisled basilica of medium size.

When in 1973 Chatzidakis[2] conducted a systematic excavation of the space around the monument, it became clear that the church had four building phases, of which the third belonged to the Middle Byzantine period (Fig. 150). According to the excavator, it was built over the remains of the second phase (a three-aisled basilica of the sixth or seventh century) by raising the pavement level and erecting walls over the remains of the older ones.[3] In this third phase, the floor was paved in stone, and it is conjectured that a marble *templon* was added. In the mid-seventeenth century, a new, radical transformation was effected by raising the pavement 1.5 meters and

reorganizing the entire space.

It is unfortunate that the surviving elements of the Middle Byzantine church are very few and it is impossible to reconstruct the church as it appeared at that time. Then, too, the church had three aisles and a narthex but the church type remains unknown, although a significant part of it still remains unexcavated. Two *thorakia* with a lozenge motif from the eleventh century[4] may have belonged to the *templon*, but the other carved elements are clearly from a much earlier date.[5]

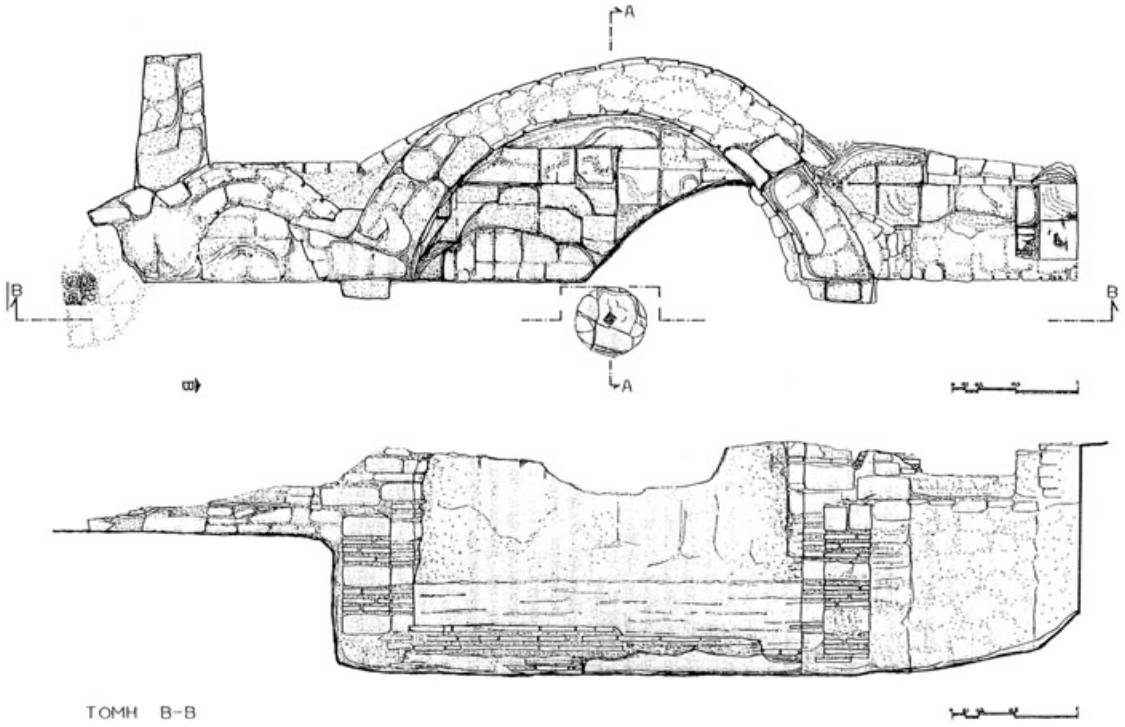

Figure 150 Hagios Thomas. Plan and section of the remains of the church. (M. Chatzidakis.)

Martyrion of Hagios Leonides (Ilissos basilica)

The subterranean *martyrion* of Hagios Leonides is attached to the north aisle of the large Early Christian Ilissos basilica that was excavated by Georgios Sotiriou[1] in 1919. The *martyrion* had been previously visited by Pittakis, who did not consider it important and referred to it as a simple underground space.[2]

The monument's identification as a *martyrion* of Saint Leonides was made by Konstantopoulos[3] when he connected it with a passage in Michael Choniates.[4] Michael describes the *martyrion* as a 'short walk outside the city', observing that contemporary Athenians had neglected it, while they should give special honor to it as a '*polyandrion*' that housed the relics of many martyrs at the same time. It is likely that the encomium was declaimed inside the *martyrion*,[5] which would have been in good condition at that time.

The *martyrion* was square in shape, measuring 3.80 × 3.87 meters (Fig. 151), and was extended by vaulted arcosolia on three sides. The fourth side was taken up by stairs leading up to the basilica.[6] The space was covered with a low, domical vault, whose soffit reached a height of 3.36 meters from the pavement: it was a space large enough to accommodate worshippers who would assemble for the celebration of commemorative services. Pittakis noted that the walls were covered with revetment of Pentelic and Hymettian marble, while Konstantopoulos visited early enough to see part of the domical vault still intact.[7]

It does not seem likely that a church had been built in the area of the basilica, since Middle Byzantine sculpture was not found in the area and, in addition, Choniates says that the Athenians in his day were ignorant of the martyr's importance.

Sotiriou dated both the basilica and the *martyrion* to the mid-fifth century. The small amount of architectural sculpture[8] can be dated one century later. In any case, the *martyrion* functioned as a shrine or chapel during the Middle Byzantine period.

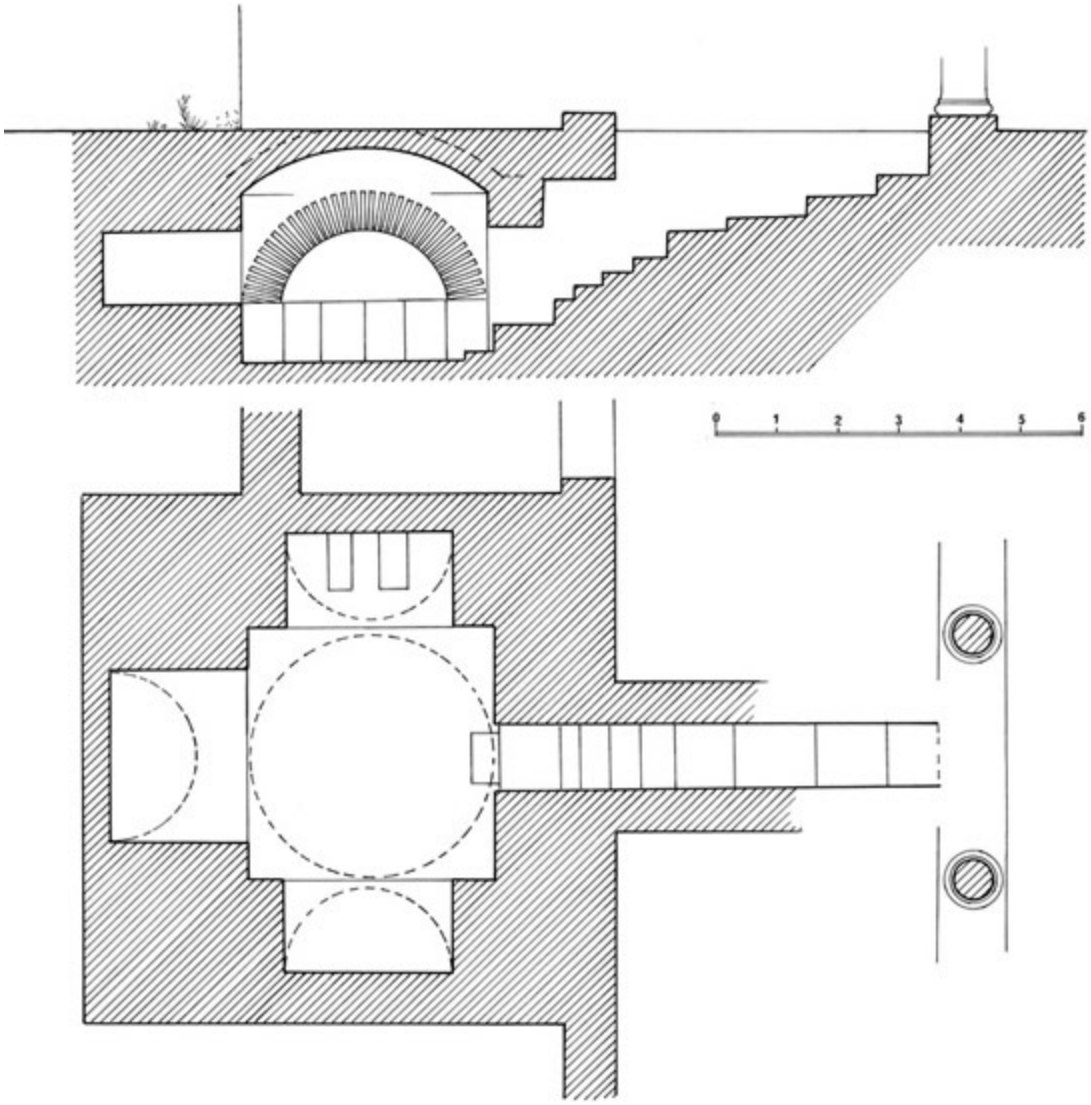

Figure 151 Ilissos Basilica. Martyrion of Hagios Leonides. Reconstructive plan and section based on measurements of G. Sotiriou.

Hagios Ioannes o Theologos, Plaka

The small church dedicated to St John the Theologian in Plaka was the focus in 1975 and 1976 of a very positive intervention to conserve and upgrade the monument, and many important publications followed.[1] In this context several preliminary observations were made, especially about the painted decoration of the church (Fig. 152).

The old ground plan and sectional view by Orlandos[2] was reconsidered in 2002[3] based on a plan by Karl Poppe[4] in 1840 that was drawn before the destruction of the *tribelon*[5] between the main nave and the narthex (Fig. 153).

Hagios Ioannes belongs to the two-columned cross-in-square, domed type with a cross-vaulted narthex and three three-sided apses on the exterior of the sanctuary. The *parabemata* are covered with barrel vaults and the corner bays with domical vaults.

The state of preservation is relatively good. The south and east sides have been absorbed into an adjacent property. The pavements are modern and the north entrance has been converted into a window. On the west wall (0.73 m thick), between the *naos* and narthex, are pilasters that reach to a height of 2.80 meters and appear clearly on the Orlandos plan. They obviously belonged to the *tribelon*, which survived until at least 1840. However, we do not know whether the *tribelon* arches were of the same height, or whether the middle section was raised. Its colonnettes have not been discovered.

On the exterior, the roofs follow the known pattern for cross-in-square churches. The system of masonry was cloisonné (Fig. 154), without ceramic decoration except for the top of the north cross-arm that terminates with upright bricks, some of which are cut bricks.[6] At the roof edges, dentil cornices are still preserved (although some have fallen). Consistent with the two-columned cross-in-square type, the uneven dispositions of the roof levels[7] are visible on the north side of the church.

A characteristic architectural form found at the Theologos church is the projecting blind arch located over the lintel of the two entrances to the church[8] (Fig. 155, 156), an architectural form also known as a ‘compact propylon’. They are supported on marble corbels and have a gabled roof and arches of thin bricks. The western example has a slightly horseshoe shape and its supports are Early Christian *spolia*, possibly imposts from small columns.

The dome (Fig. 157) is ‘Athenian’ with marble colonnettes at the corners and semicircular chamfered arched cornices on its eight sides. But here the dome is somewhat removed from

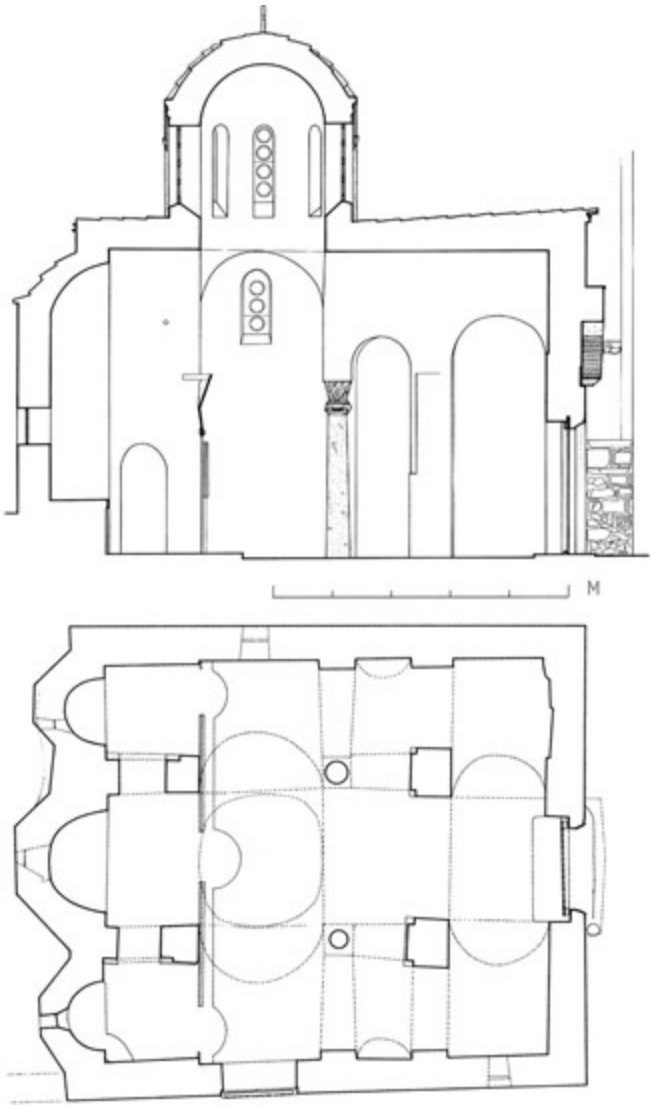

Figure 152 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Plan and section. Actual state. Drawing by S. Paraskevopoulos. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

the original model, because the protruding gutters do not spring from the colonnette imposts, but are placed considerably higher.

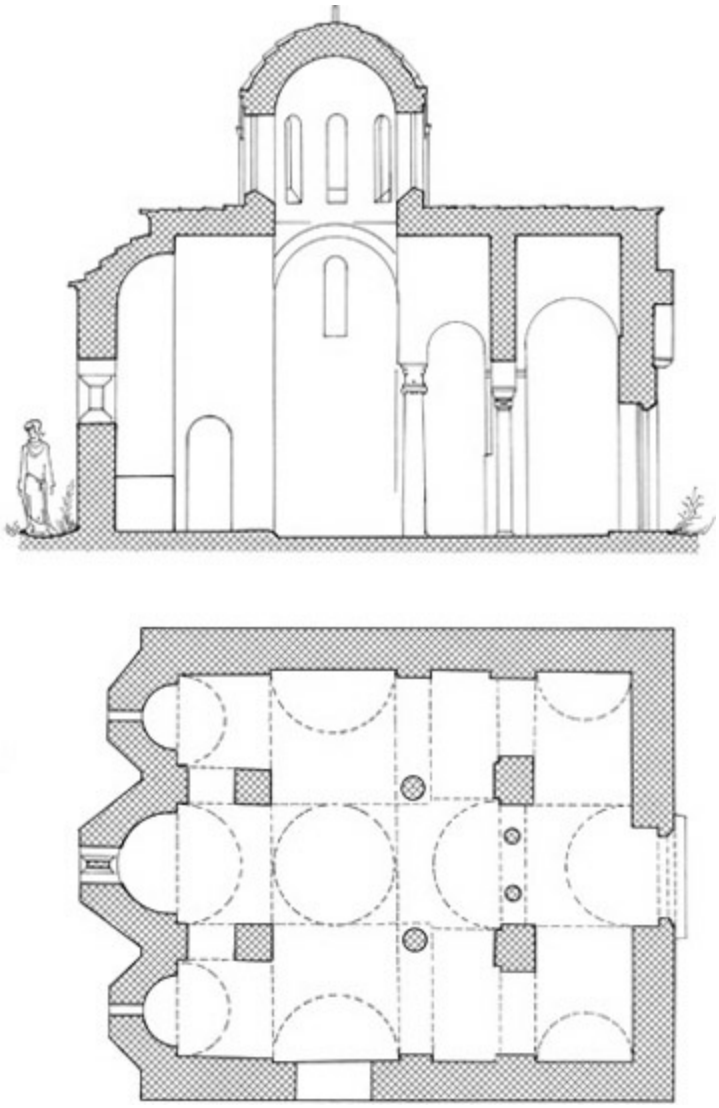

Figure 153 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Restored plan and section.

Figure 154 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Actual state of the north façade. Drawing by S. Paraskevopoulos. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

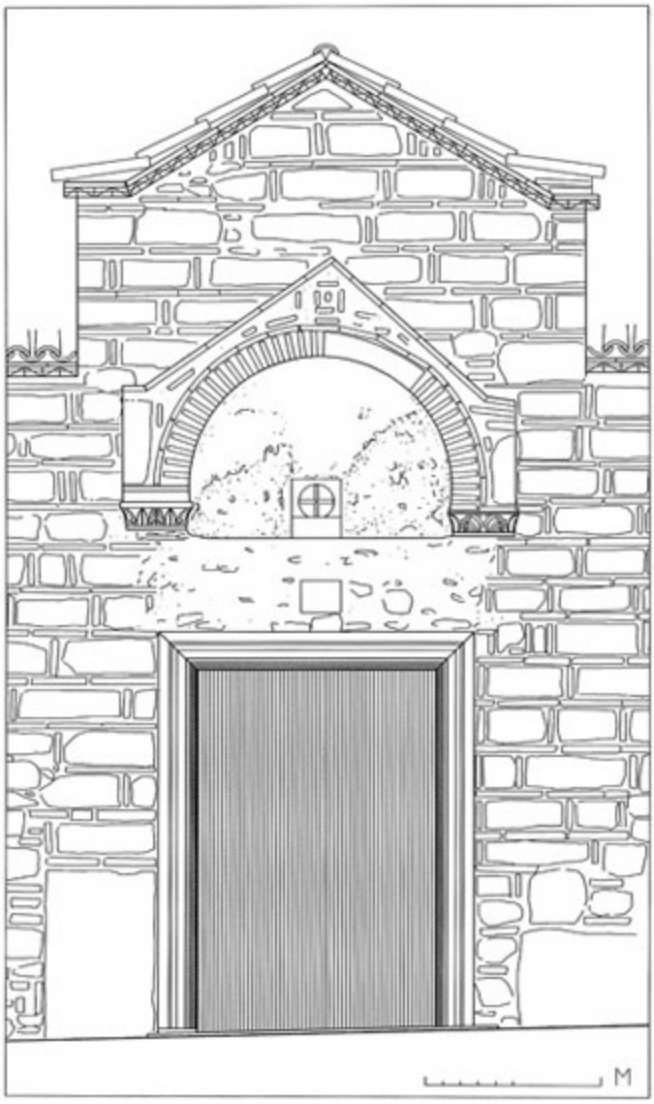

Figure 155 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Part of the west façade of the church. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

The marble door frame of the west entrance does not have a cornice and in all likelihood it was shortened at some point in time.[9] The quality of the carving on the molding is mediocre (Fig. 237E). The gray marble columns of the main nave are monoliths. Their bases are not visible, but may exist under the modern pavement, and the double capitals placed one atop of the other are *spolia* (Fig. 158). The lower capitals are Ionic and the upper Corinthianizing. The southern Ionic capital is of special interest as it has volutes and a concave abacus on all four sides. One side of the Corinthianizing capital placed above

it is only partially worked, and the corners are decorated with acanthus leaves between which is carved a palmette. On the north column, the upper zone of the Corinthianizing capital is adorned with reed leaves.

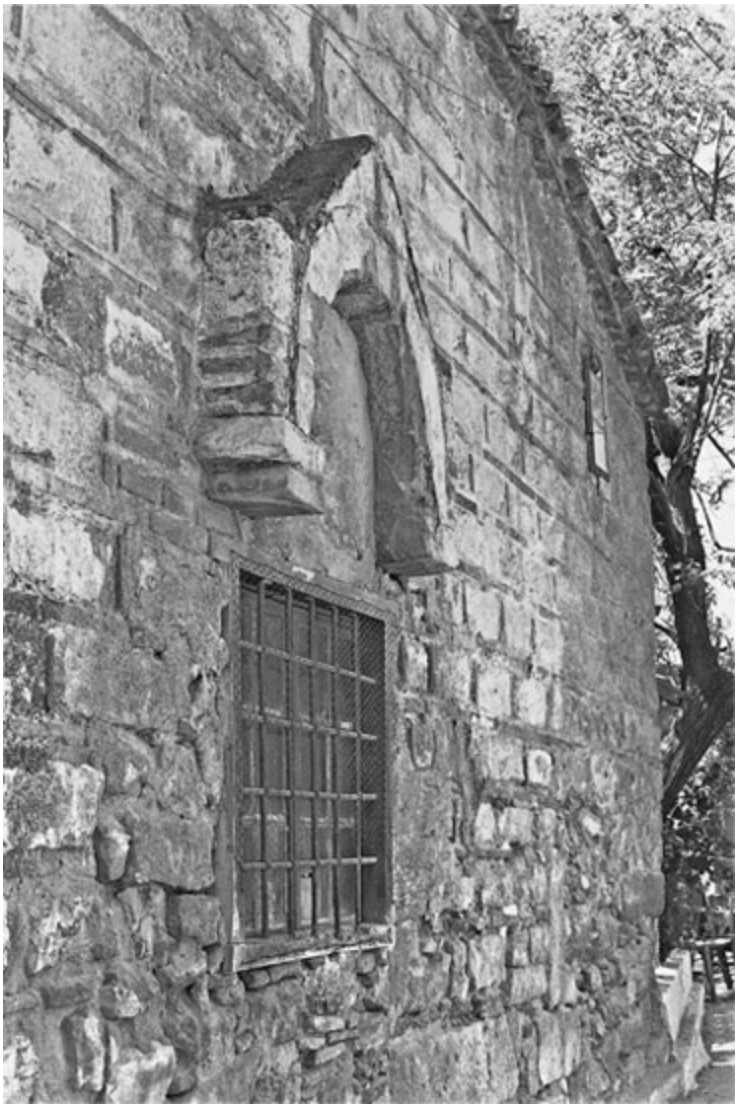

Figure 156 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Arch over the blocked north door.

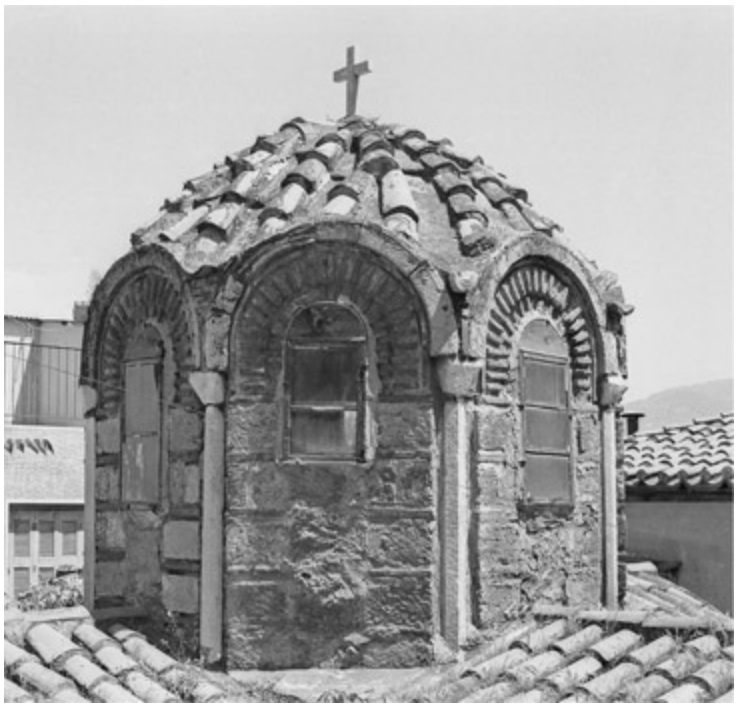

Figure 157 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Dome.

With regard to its construction, it is worth noting that the Theologos church has acoustic jars in the pendentives supporting the domes, as well as drawing attention to the small recess of the arches in the openings between the *bema* and the *parabemata*. The altar is modern masonry and the icon screen is wooden and also modern.

As for the date, Megaw did not include the church in his final catalogue,[10] but the cut bricks and absence of ceramic decorative elements point to the twelfth century (Fig. 159). A bronze coin[11] from the reign of Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118) provides a terminus post quem for the church, while the highly valuable wall paintings[12] belong, without doubt, to the thirteenth century. However, the great similarity between the Theologos and Hagios Petros of Kalyvia-Kouvara churches,[13] both in terms of type and the characteristic elements of the *tribelon* and the shrines over the lintels (the so-called ‘compact propylon’), make a date at the end of the twelfth century quite probable.

Figure 158 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. The capitals of the columns in the main nave.

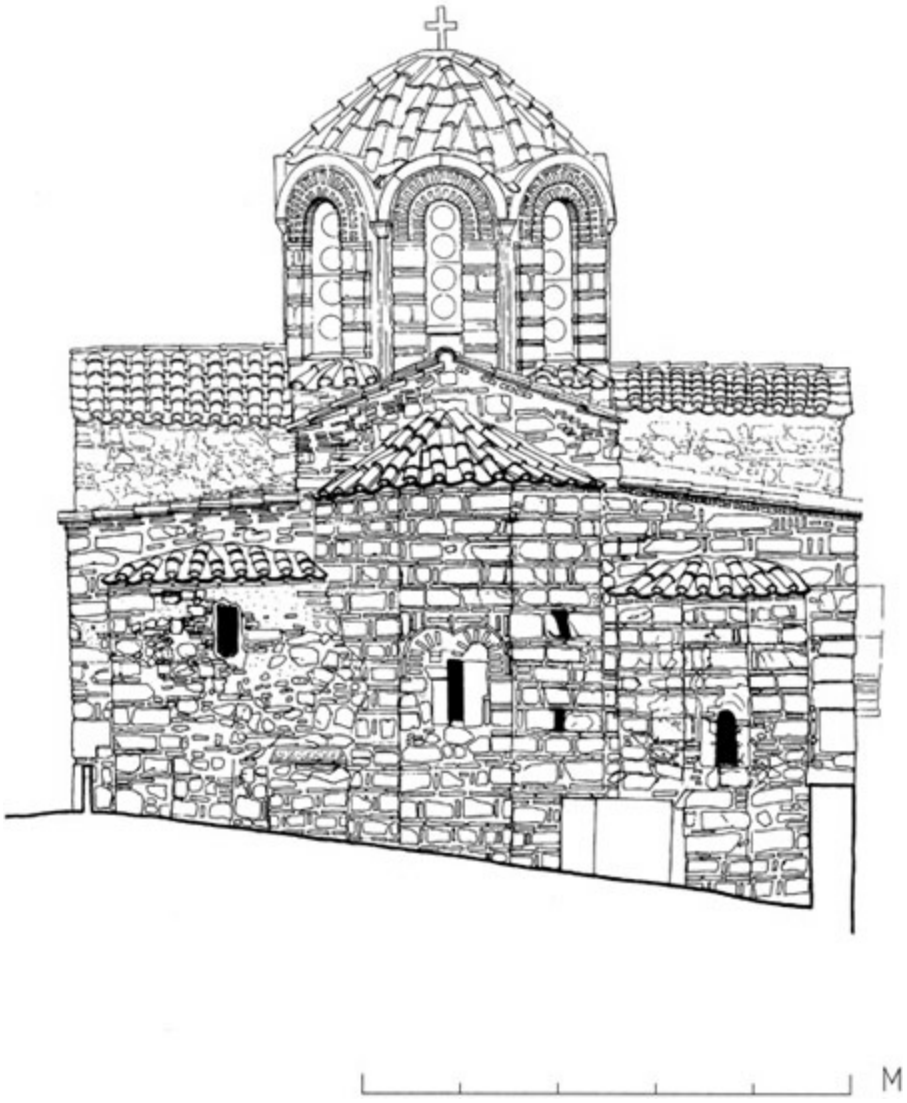

Figure 159 Hagios Ioannes Theologos, Plaka. Actual state of the east face. Drawing by S. Paraskevopoulos. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

Hagios Ioannes o Prodromos

We find the following description in the *Praktikon*[1] of the Athens region: 'in the castle, in the vicinity of the Tzynkanisterion … a field … [there is] to the east the church of the Prodromos, to the west the path … to the north the royal wall.'

This means that the church dedicated to John the Baptist, the Prodromos, or Forerunner of Christ, was located very near and inside the Valerianic walls of Athens, on its north side.

The editors of the *Praktikon* identified the monument with that of Hagios Ioannes stin Kolona[2] where there was a Post-Byzantine chapel. But on the old maps of Athens, Hagios Ioannes o Prodromos is identified at the east end of Theatrou Street and on Sokratous Street.[3] According to the Staufert register (1836) it measured 11.50 × 20 meters and had a colon-nade at the west end.[4] The church was demolished after the War of Independence and is not mentioned in Orlandos's *Eureterion* (1933).

Comparison of plates IV and XI in Travlos's *Poleodomike* (*Πολεοδομική*) shows that the later Haseki wall in this area coincided roughly with the course of the older Valerianic or Royal wall, and that the church was located behind a low tower in the wall, some 220 meters west of the so-called 'Menidi Gate'.

In Fauvel's general view of Athens (Fig. 160),[5] the church of the Prodromos is clearly shown in precisely this position. It was a cross-in-square church (the north cross-arm is clear) and had a high 'Athenian' dome. A pre-1204 date is confirmed by the reference in the *Praktikon*.

It is worth noting that among the letters of Michael Choniates there is one addressed to the abbot of a Prodromos monastery.[6] Lambros supposed that this was some monastery in Aetolia[7] because it is mentioned that the original letter to which Choniates is replying was sent from Kalydon. But we cannot exclude the possibility that the sender was the abbot of the Athenian monastery, self-exiled as was Choniates, after the disaster of 1204.

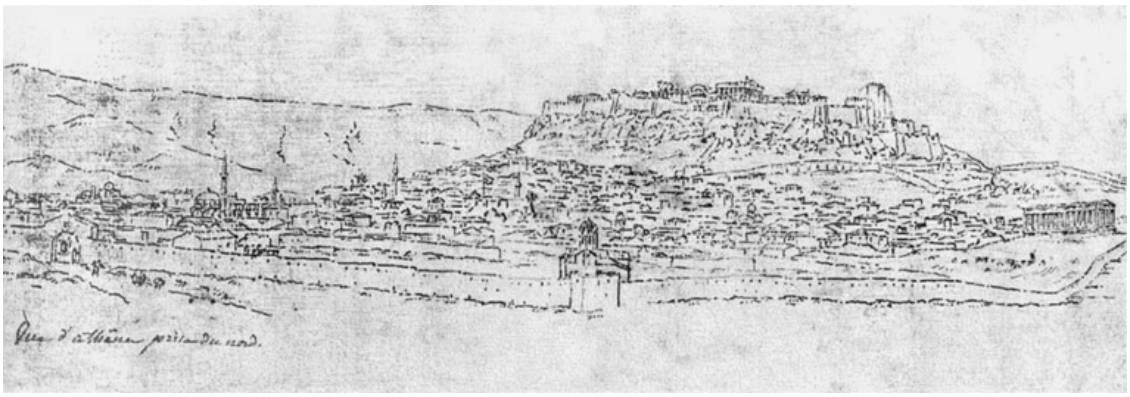

Figure 160 General view of Athens from the north, circa 1780. Drawing by L.F.S. Fauvel. Paris, Louvre Museum. The Byzantine church of Hagios Ioannes o Prodromos can be seen at the center of the picture.

Hagios Ioannes on Vouliagmenis Street

After the demolition of modern outbuildings that had accumulated around the church of St John on Vouliagmenis Street[1] – once a *metochion* of the monastery of St John Kynegos[2] – it was confirmed that part of it belonged to a Middle Byzantine church. The aboveground sections of the sidewalls and the barrel vault were part of the monument's Post-Byzantine phase, but the apses of the *bema* and *parabemata*, and the blind arch inside the south side, probably preserve elements from the original church. Unfortunately, the unsightly plasterwork that covers the monument's exterior[3] prohibits any further observations.

The excavation showed that Hagios Ioannes had four building phases and three successive layers of pavement, the first of which was laid in the twelfth century.[4] To this phase also belongs the marble stylobate of the *templon*, which stands in situ. The building's antiquity is reflected in the marble *spolia* in the *bema* apse and part of the Middle Byzantine door frame.[5]

It was not possible to determine what type of church it was in the first phase. It was probably single-aisled with a total width of 5.60 meters in the sanctuary.

Hagios Ioannes Mangoutes

The original church of St John Mangoutes, which is dated by an inscription to 871, was rebuilt, or remodeled, or acquired a new *templon* in the twelfth century.[1] From this church nothing survives except for three elaborately decorated, but seriously amputated, *thorakia* (Fig. 161–163), now exhibited in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.[2] The church was drawn after the War of Independence by Couchaud,[3] Durand,[4] and Hansen.[5] Featuring clearly Frankish typological and morphological elements, Hagios Ioannes was constructed on the ruins of the earlier church and incorporated in its west façade the three relief-carved panels from the *templon* of the older church (Fig. 164). In its turn, this church was destroyed in 1835.[6]

Figure 161 Marble panel from the *templon* of Hagios Ioannes Mangoutis. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum (T. 293 B). Phot. Byz. Museum.

Figure 162 Marble panel from the *templon* of Hagios Ioannes Mangoutis. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum (T. 294–117). Phot. Byz. Museum.

We are not in a position to say anything about the architecture of the Middle Byzantine church of Hagios Ioannes. The eight-line metric inscription[7] that accompanies two of the *thorakia* holds great interest because, on the one hand, it confirms that they belonged to the church of Hagios Ioannes[8] and, on the other, it provides us with the name of those who renovated the church: Germanos Sporgitis and his children. It is obvious that Sporgitis belonged to the small, local aristocracy of Athens since he is also mentioned in the *Praktikon*[9] as a landowner.

Figure 163 Marble panel from the *templon* of Hagios Ioannes Mangoutis. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum (T. 293α). Phot. Byz. Museum.

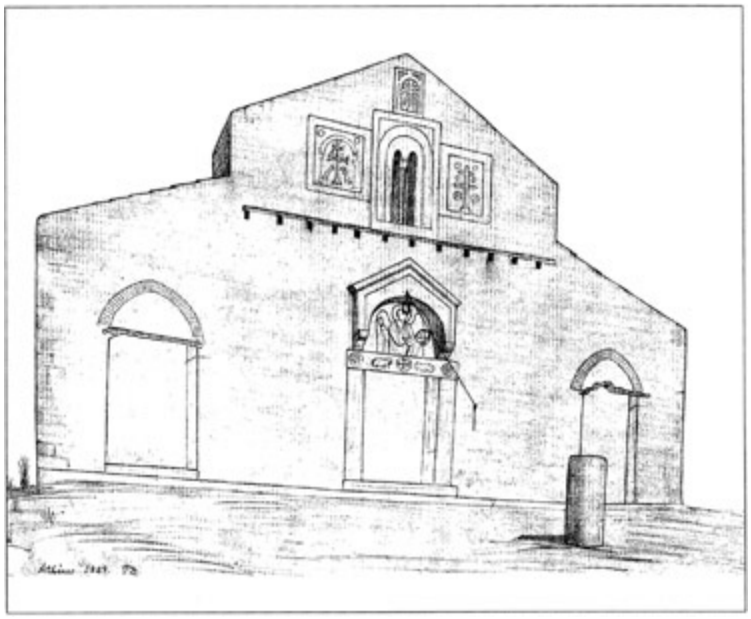

Figure 164 Hagios Ioannes Mangoutis as restored after 1204. The three Middle Byzantine marble panels can be seen on the façade of the church. Drawing by P. Durand (circa 1840). Athens, M. Charitatos Collection.

Kaisariani

Michael Choniates refers in a letter to the monastery of Kaisariani (Fig. 165) and other monasteries in the wider area with the phrase 'around the edge of honeyed Hymettus [are] not unpleasant monasteries (*phrontisteria*)'.[1] The Kaisariani monastery is preserved until the present day almost entirely intact and in excellent condition, and its *katholikon* is one of the most distinguished in terms of quality among the Middle Byzantine monuments of Athens. There are abundant references to the monument in the bibliography,[2] as well as depictions by visitors from the past and present,[3] and at least three monographs have been dedicated to the monastery.[4] In the absence of epigraphical evidence, the date of the *katholikon* has to be arrived at by approximation, and nearly all[5] the external testimonies refer to the monastery during the period of Ottoman rule.[6] The superb wall paintings that cover the main nave and narthex also belong to the Post-Byzantine period.[7]

The *katholikon* belongs to the usual complex, four-columned, cross-in-square, domed type church (Fig. 166) with a later, also domed, narthex and a vaulted, basilical chapel on its south side. The *katholikon* interior is possessed of grand and harmonious proportions. Some of the details testify to its exquisite quality, both in terms of morphology and construction, such as the arrangement of the bricks in the tympanum of the double-light sanctuary window (Fig. 167), the precision of the structure, as well as the austerity of the dome and the large arch on the north side which is built of large, finely carved voussoirs (Fig. 168), preserving the ancient conception of homo-centric fasciae[8] and lending a clearly classical tone to the whole.

Figure 165 Katholikon of Kaisariani. View from the southeast.

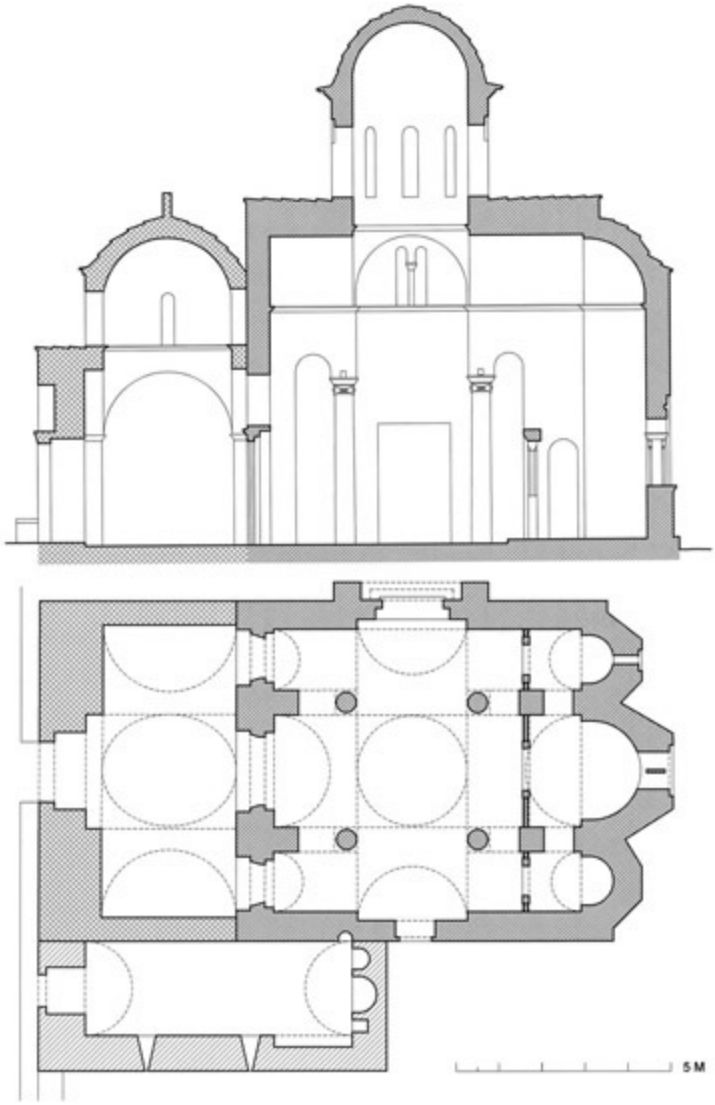

Figure 166 Katholikon of Kaisariani. Plan and east–west section. Actual state.

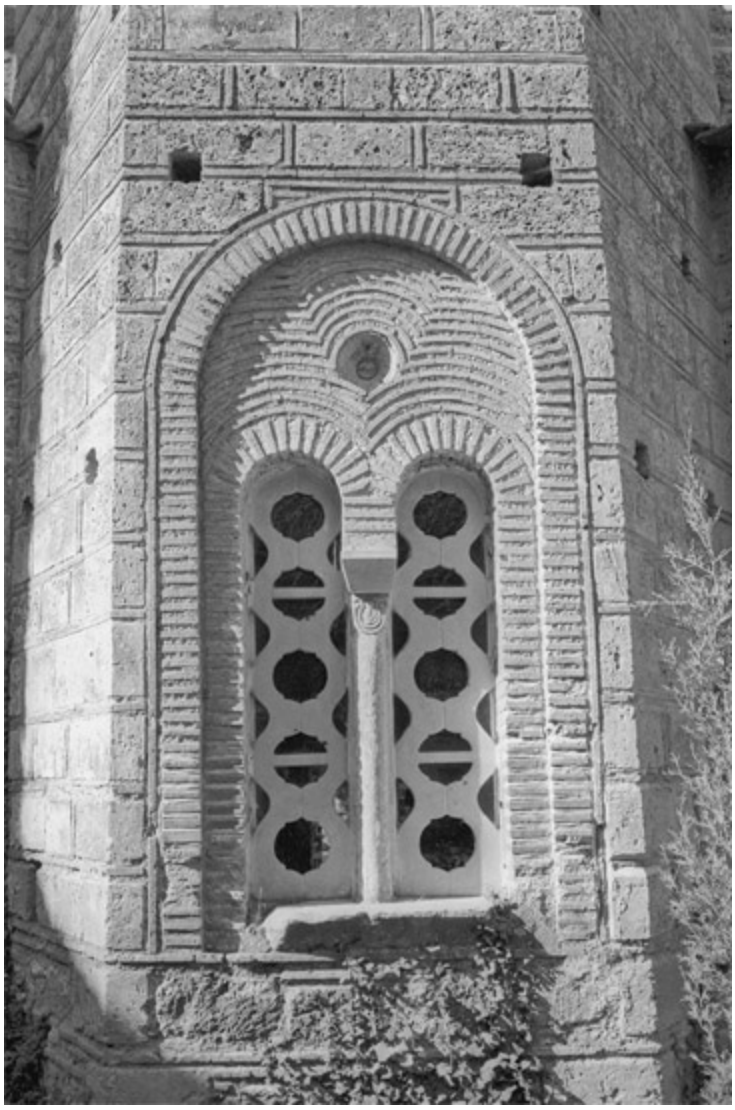

Figure 167 Katholikon of Kaisariani. The window of the *bema* conch.

Figure 168 Katholikon of Kaisariani. The north gable.

Figure 169 Katholikon of Kaisariani. The marble *templon* after restoration.

The marble *templon* (Fig. 169), restored in the 1950s,[9] is contemporary with the church, but the four marble columns with Ionic capitals in the main nave are *spolia* from Late Antique buildings. Incorporated into the chapel and scattered around the monastery are many carved architectural members from different periods,[10] but this does not amount to proof that an Early Christian basilica[11] once stood on the same site.

Megaw[12] dated the Kaisariani *katholikon* on technical grounds (with a terminus ante quem of 1209) to the last quarter of the eleventh century, and this date has received general acceptance. But several factors,[13] based on additional, new observations, make it more likely that the *katholikon* should be counted among the monuments belonging to the first half of the twelfth century.

The Kaisariani monastery presents special interest as a monastic complex thanks to its good state of preservation. Even though some of the buildings were renovated in the Ottoman period, the overall arrangement remains Byzantine and the outer, defensive enclosure wall that surrounds a square space seems to have been the original wall. In a drawing of a monk by Barskij[14] we can see the alterations made after 1745. The same drawing provided the basis for several reconstructions made in the monastic cells in the 1950s. In addition to the *katholikon*, the monastery's Byzantine bath is also preserved (with some modifications[15]), as is the partially restored vaulted monastic refectory[16] and kitchen,[17] which is covered by a dome. It remains unknown where the fine library of the Kaisariani monastery was housed.

Kapnikarea

The church dedicated to the Koimisis, or Dormition, of the Theotokos (Fig. 170), more usually known as Kapnikarea, is the most famous Byzantine monument of Athens. It stands in a very good state of preservation at the heart of the city's historic center and is the university church.[1] However, in this case there is no systematic monograph, but only a mass of references of secondary importance, as well as depictions, and these do not fill the need for

careful architectonic documentation of the monument.[2]

We will not occupy ourselves here with the problem of the monument's name[3] or its history after the War of Independence.[4] The oldest architectural drawings by Couchaud,[5] Monneret de Villard,[6] and those that appeared in the *Algemeine Bauzeitung*[7] provide information about the modifications made to the exterior of Kapnikarea during the last century and were used by the older studies of Millet,[8] Xyngopoulos[9] and Orlandos.[10] Given that the shape of the church remained unchanged, the drawings, plans and photographs of the exterior in the nineteenth century are not of particular interest. Neither information about the building's older history nor inscriptions[11] exist.

Figure 170 Kapnikarea. View from the southeast.

With regard to typology, Kapnik-area belongs to the complex cross-in-square, domed church type (Fig. 171), with a tri-partite sanctuary and a narthex covered by barrel vaults.[12] The *naos* does not have a strictly square shape, but its proportions are 1 to 1.7. One idiosyncrasy of the Athenian churches lies in the configuration of the three apses of the *bema*,[13] with semicircular apses on both sides of the

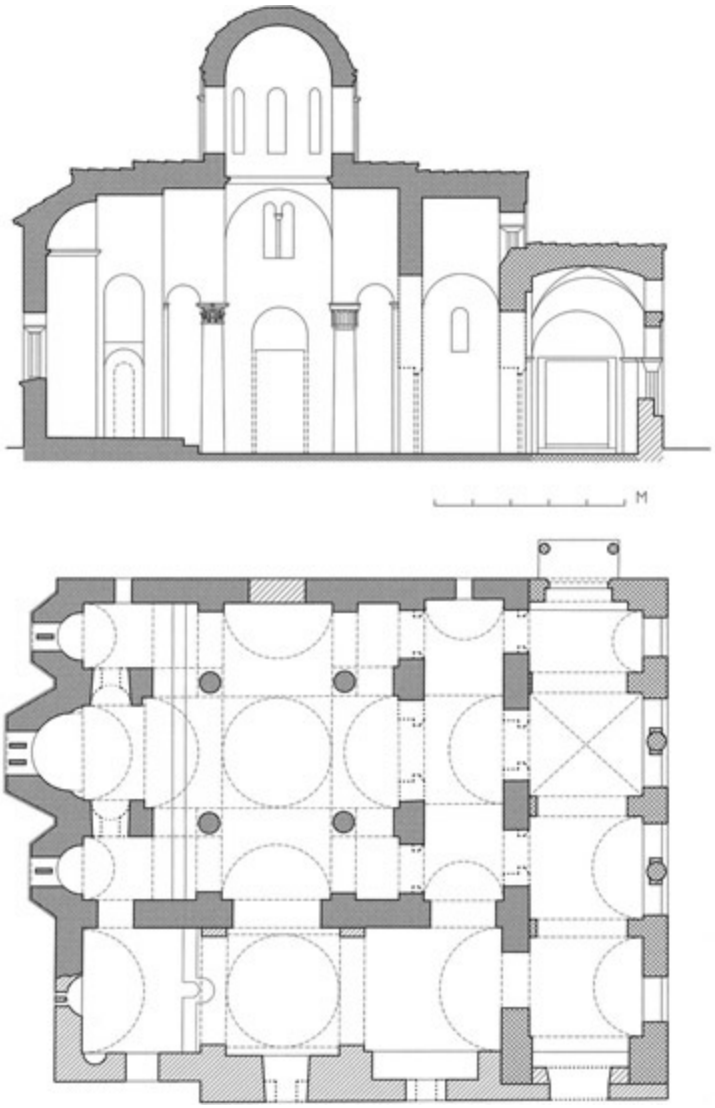

Figure 171 Kapnikarea. Plan and east–west section. Actual state. Based on a drawing by B. Demou (National Technical University of Athens Archives). Dotted lines define destroyed parts of the church.

altar.[14] The four corner bays are covered by raised cross-vaults which approximate to pendentive domes. A single-aisled, domed chapel dedicated to St Barbara was added to the north side of the church, as well as an open stoa[15] (later converted into an exonarthex) on the west.

The comparison of old ground plans shows the alterations to the interior that were made when Kapnikarea became a parish church and they tried to unify and augment the functional space. Between the *naos* and the narthex, the narthex and the stoa, and the *naos* and the chapel, part of the walls with

the corresponding medieval door marble frames was demolished and replaced instead with large arched openings. Both the north door[16] and the windows fashion. At that point[17] it seems that they removed the original interior plaster and it was replaced with the neoclassical decoration in oil paints that survives until the present day in the chapel.

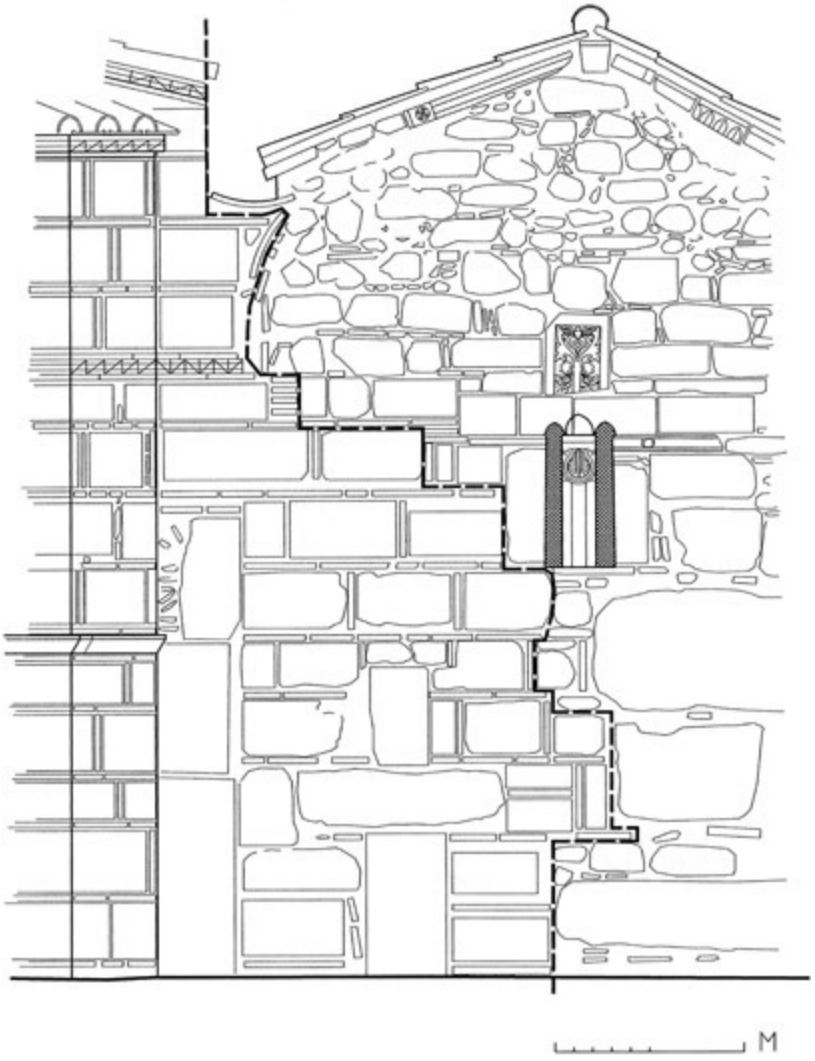

Figure 172 Kapnikarea. Part of the east wall. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

There is a general impression that the chapel of St Barbara is later, probably from the Ottoman period. However, part of the east wall belongs to the original building phase of the Byzantine church: the cloisonné masonry (2.50 m long and 4 m high) is merged in a regular fashion with the masonry of the

main church building and is comparable to it from every point of view (Fig. 172). At a height of roughly 4 meters and in the passage from the north wall of the church we can discern the base of an arch that opens northwards.[18] In other words, it is clear that the Byzantine church had an extension at the position where the chapel exists today, but we do not know in what manner. Similar observations can be made about the west end[19] of the chapel as well.

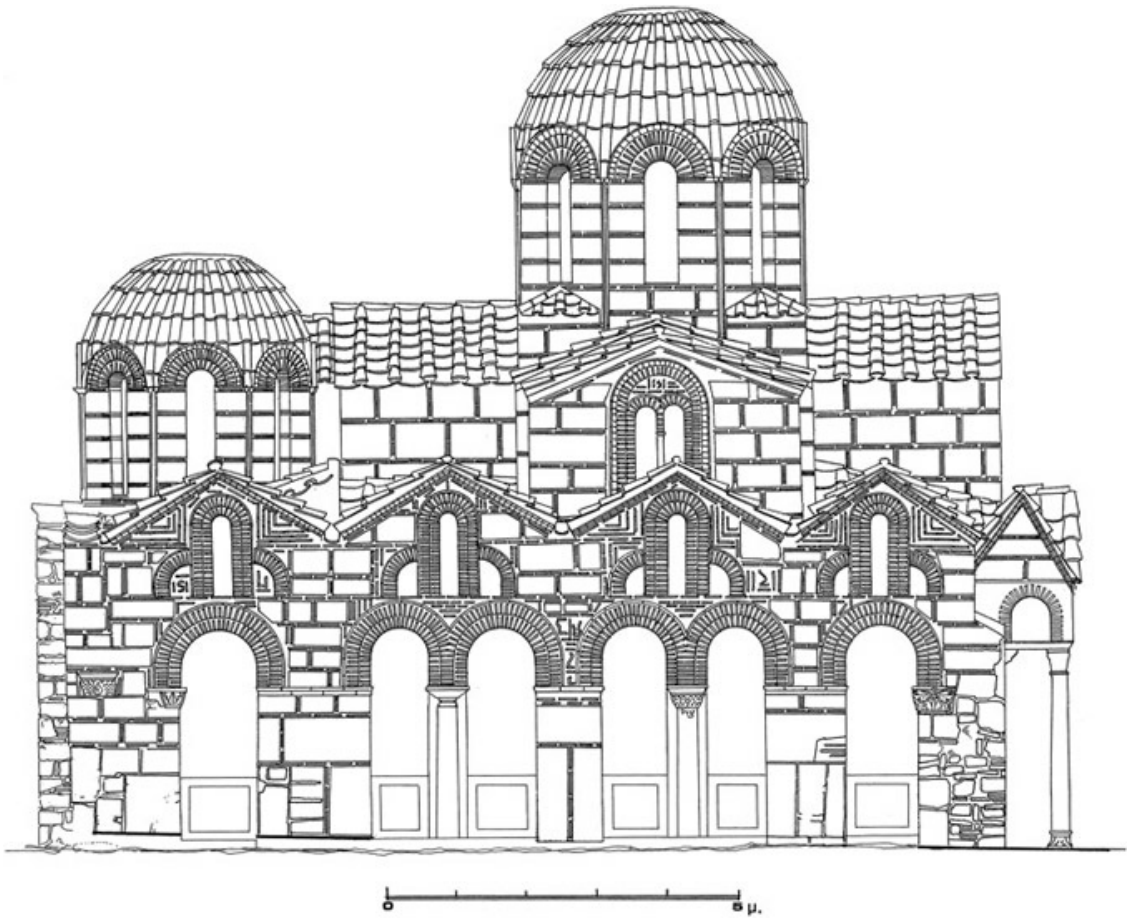

Figure 173 Kapnikarea. The west façade. Drawing by B. Demou (National Technical University of Athens Archives) with few additions.

Matters become less clear at the chapel's long north wall; in its rough masonry can be seen some large ashlars, reused here for the second or even third time. Modifications have been made in the north end of what is today the exonarthex too (Fig. 173). That this was originally an open stoa[20] with freestanding columns is also clear from the plans published in the *Algemeine*

Bauzeitung in 1850. Correlations with other, similar stoas have led scholars to a date in the twelfth century,[21] as is also the case for the two-columned propylon[22] at its south end (Fig. 174). It is not known whether the intercolumniation of the stoa was originally closed with panels.

The good state of preservation of Kapnikarea allows us to comment also on its morphology. The masonry is cloisonné married at the bottom with large upright ashlars.[23] Unusual features are the gables in both the exonarthex and the propylon, distinguished by their steepness. The dome (Fig. 175) has all the characteristics of the so-called 'Athenian domes', with marble arched cornices and protruding gutters.[24] The dome of the chapel (Fig. 176) is once again 'Athenian', but with pseudo-cloisonné masonry employing low proportions, dentil instead of marble cornices, and colonnettes in secondary use.

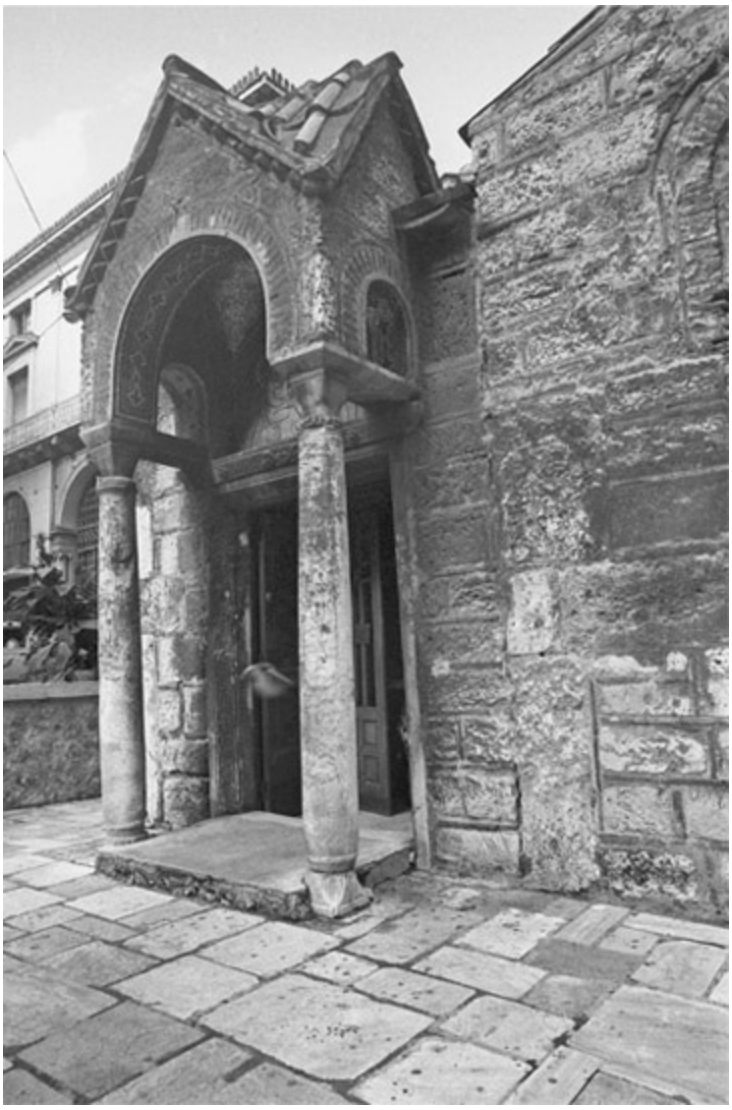

Figure 174 Kapnikarea. The propylon of the exonarthex. View from the southeast.

Figure 175 Kapnikarea. The dome of the church.

Figure 176 Kapnikarea. The dome of the chapel.

The south door of the *naos*, walled in today,[25] has a horseshoe-shaped arch of well-cut, porous stone voussoirs and a homocentric dentil course. In the corresponding door in the propylon, we find an unusual arrangement of elements composing the marble door frame: between the orthostats and the horizontal element there is no 45-degree joining, as usual,[26] but a simply supported horizontal member with the corresponding moldings and their intersections at a 45 degree angle.

Megaw[27] has studied the windows of the church, especially the triple-light window in the *bema* (Fig. 177) but also those in the stoa/exonarthex, in order to determine their chronology. He has also studied their pseudo-Cufic ceramic decoration.[28] It should be noted that in a recent study[29] some of the Cufic characters at Kapnikarea were considered readable.

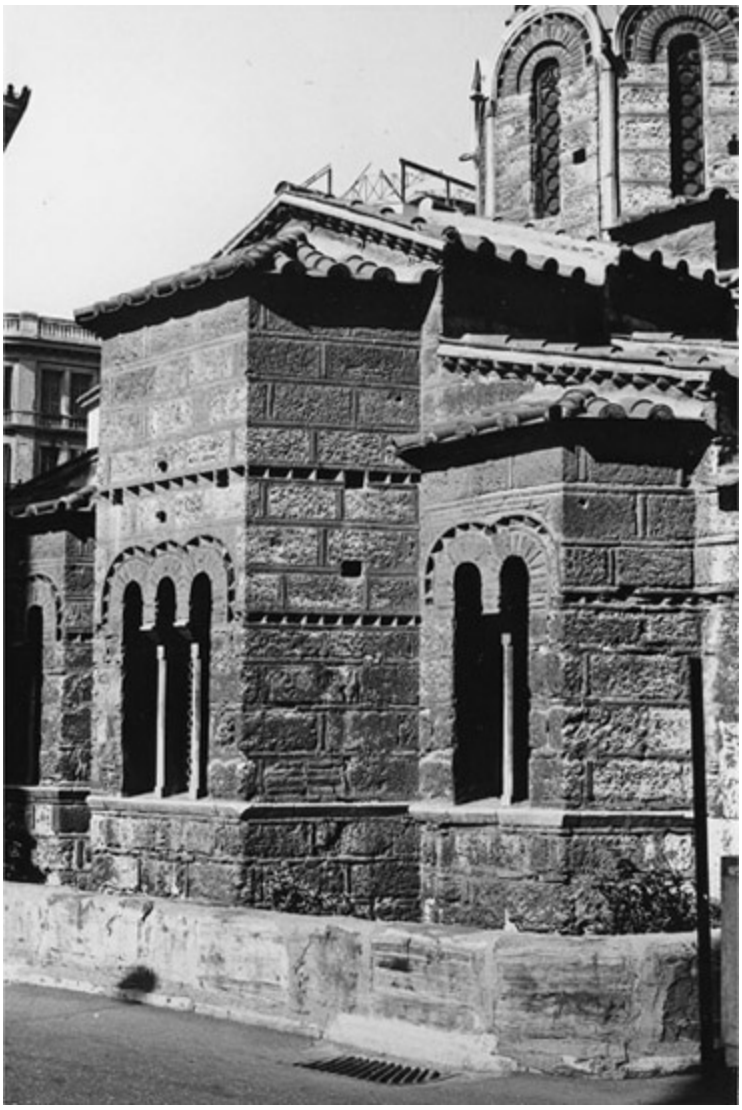

Figure 177 Kapnikarea. Partial view of the east façade.

The *spolia* embedded in the monument are also interesting. The four columns of the main nave do not have bases. The northeastern column has a monolithic shaft of Karystian marble, but is in a poor state of conservation and has the initials X.M. carved in it. The column capital is Corinthian, the type commonly made by marble carvers in Prokonnesos, and it is in very good condition. The shafts of the three other columns consist of two drums and are made of granite or gray marble. Their capitals are all different. The southeastern capital has an integrated neck which measures roughly 10 centimeters in height. It is Corinthianizing with eight leaves in each row and

a concave abacus on all four sides. The acanthus(?) leaves are poorly formed. Its dating is unclear and it may have been repaired in the nineteenth century. The northwestern capital is small, squat and Corinthian, with four acanthus leaves and a concave abacus, and it is obviously Early Christian. The support for the arch above is clumsy: it has an excess of approximately 12 centimeters on the east side. The southwestern capital is Corinthianizing with reed leaves, a square abacus and a high, unadorned impost. The acanthus leaves in the lower zone are soft. It probably belongs to the Middle Byzantine period.

In the façade of the stoa/exonarthex, two more rare types of Early Byzantine capitals have been incorporated:[30] they are impost capitals with zigzag friezes and bosses with monograms.[31] Similar capitals survive in Rhodes,[32] Megara,[33] in museums outside Greece,[34] and also in Constantinople.[35]

It should be noted that attempts have been made[36] to prove that the golden ratio was used in the plan of the Kapnikarea church, a practice that would have been highly unlikely.

The very good condition of the church bears witness to its fine original construction. And while it has undergone repeated repair and conservation, the masonry and vaulting demonstrate that the construction is of the finest quality, a fact also discernable in the care taken, even down to the smallest details.[37] One peculiarity of the chapel that should be mentioned is the fusion of the pendentives with part of the circumscribed sphere for a height of at least 30 centimeters.

With regard to the chronology, Megaw's view[38] that it was built in the third quarter of the eleventh century has been accepted. The stoa/exonarthex and two-columned small propylon probably belong to the first half of the twelfth century, as have been noted above.

The chapel of St Barbara is a work of either the Frankish or Ottoman period[39] and occupies the position of another building whose form and function are unknown to us, but was an extension of the main church.

The modern wall paintings of Kapnikarea are the work of Fotis Kontoglou.[40]

Monastery of Kynegos ton Philosophon. Katholikon

The monastery of St John the Forerunner at the northern foothills of Hymettus, known as the monastery of Kynegos ton Philosophon,[1] not only preserves its *katholikon* and portal in excellent condition (Fig. 178), but is also one of the few monuments in Athens about which there are inscriptions and references in Byzantine texts. Previous research was concerned mainly with the written documentation and less with the monastery's architecture and art.

Thanks to the epigraphical evidence, the monastery *katholikon* can be dated with precision[2] to 1205, and for this reason the building is a priceless comparandum. Set at the outer limit of the Middle Byzantine period, the monument presents certain, mainly morphological, divergences from the city's other churches and, together with the noteworthy sculptural elements in the *katholikon*, the divergences make the church very important.

From the four inscriptions that survive[3] and from indirect information in the letters of Michael Choniates[4] we can reconstruct the history of the monastery's foundation[5] and the relationship of its abbots to clerical and educated families of the period.

Figure 178 Monastery of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos. View of the katholikon from the southeast.

The oldest depictions of the *katholikon*[6] do not reveal elements that are

unknown to us, as the building is in such fine condition still today. The church is a small,[7] cross-in-square, two-columned, domed type (Fig. 179) with square corner bays covered with raised cross-vaults and a projecting apse in the *bema*. The arches that span the columns (or pillars in the sanctuary) and the walls in order to form the cross-vaults are supported on corbels that spring from the walls.[8]

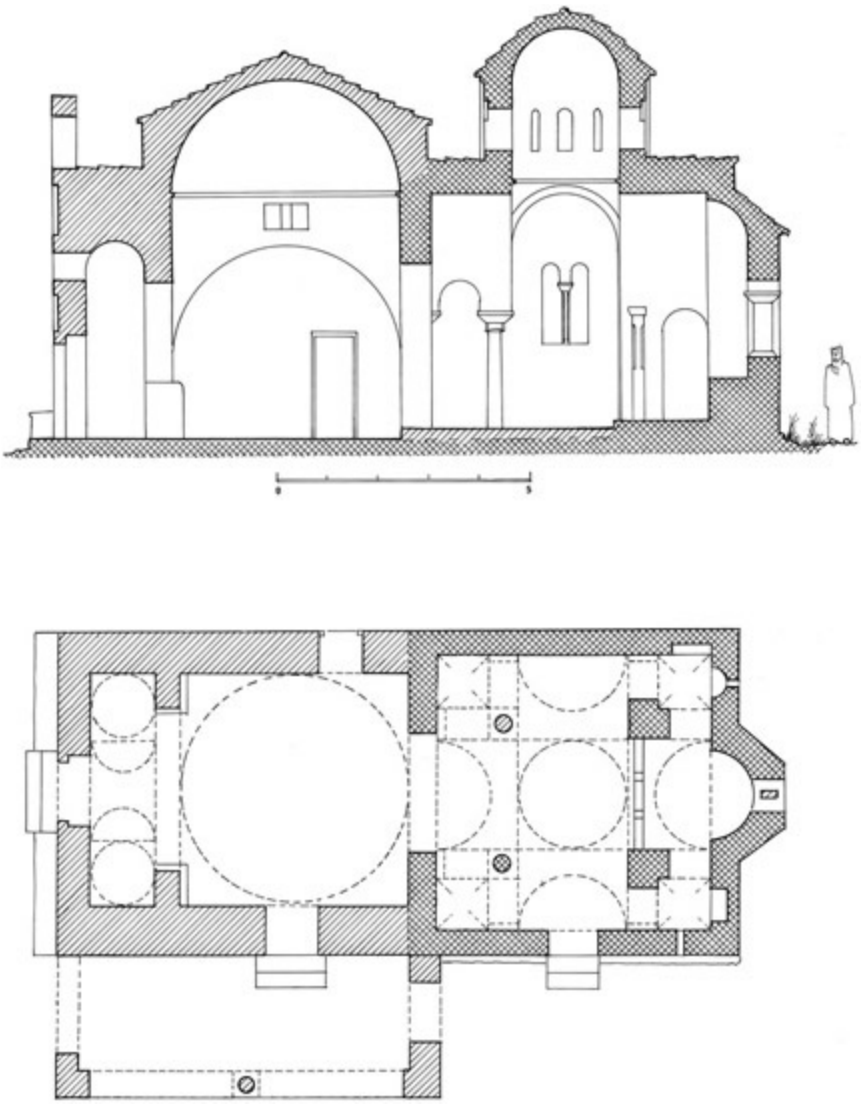

Figure 179 Katholikon of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos. Plan and east–west section. Revised from A. Orlandos, with some additions.

Later, probably in the Ottoman period, a wide and somewhat unusual[9] *lite*

was added which was covered by a small blind dome, and also a stoa with a wooden roof was built on the south side of the *lite*.

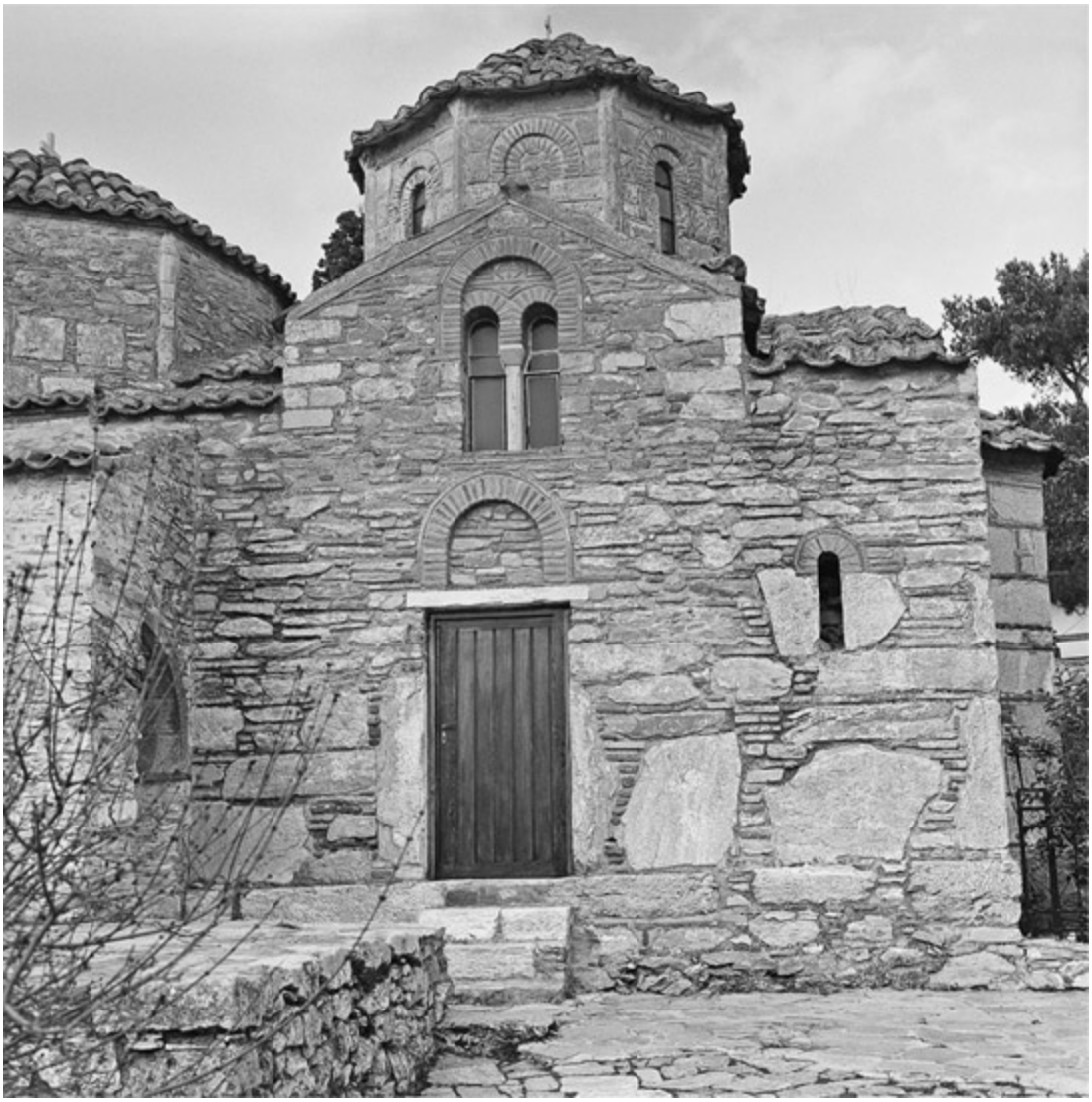

Figure 180 Katholikon of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos. South face of the church.

The church rose from a *crepidoma* and has ashlar masonry only in the *bema* apse and the dome. The other wall surfaces are constructed from semi-hewn flat stones and brick in carefully constructed layers (Fig. 180) and, at the bottom, some larger stones with clean surfaces, like orthostats with an irregular outline. There are no dentil friezes or cornices.[10] The dome has straight chamfered cornices of porous stone (Fig. 181), and the imposts of the

corner colonnettes are integrated, as in other twelfth-century examples.[11] The two columns in the interior are marble, in secondary use, and have Ionic capitals and imposts (Fig. 182a). For the pavement they have used the live rock, which has been leveled, smoothed and supplemented with mortar. It was covered with marble tiles in around 1960.

Because of the small size of the *katholikon*, it is most likely that the marble *templon* did not stretch as far as the *parabemata*. The *diakonikon* is differentiated from the *prothesis* because a) it has a small blind arch rather than an apse, b) it is closed by a wall in which a small door measuring 1.66 meters was cut, and c) the cross-vault that covered the space is 45 centimeters lower than that of the *prothesis*.

Figure 181 Katholikon of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos. South gable and the dome.

The church's vaults and pendentives are constructed from small, short bricks that are visible in the arch faces where the wall paintings have fallen off. We should imagine the same for the elevated cross-vaults of the corner bays. From the wall paintings on the first layer, possibly dating to the

thirteenth century, only fragments survive. The second layer is seventeenth century and a considerable amount is preserved in good condition.

Figure 182 Katholikon of Hagios Ioannes Kynegos. a. Column capital, b. Pseudo sarcophagus slab over the west entrance.

The sculptural decoration of the Kynegos monastery is of superb quality. One frequently published[12] fragment comes from a cornice from a door frame on which is carved the well-known inscription dated 1205. It is decorated with the two-layered technique typical of this period and can be found today in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens. It is adorned with elaborately rendered cabochons and birds on a background of low relief. The epistyle of the *templon* is decorated with pseudo-Cufic relief decoration[13] and similar birds (pheasants?). Another architectural member with heart-shaped motifs[14] may come from an epistyle. On the façade of the *lite* is incorporated a marble pseudo-sarcophagus (Fig. 182b) with the familiar motif of three crosses,[15] but this specimen differs in technique from the other sculpture and is perhaps later.[16]

The monastery's arched gate is preserved intact[17] and is contemporary with the *katholikon*.

Conservation work and presentation[18] of the monument was undertaken in the 1960s. At that time the discovery was made of important wall paintings dated to the early eighteenth century and a few of the original paintings, which were, however, in poor condition. The *templon* was restored in 1972.

Hagios Loukas monastery. Katholikon

At the site of the church of Hagios Loukas in Patissia, a work of E. Ziller, were the remains of a Byzantine church that was excavated by Pittakis[1] in 1860. He noted laconically: 'Here were uncovered the remains of a large church whose side-arms are paved with mosaic. The body of the church [is paved] with large tiles of Hymettian stone. Here stood a monastery with the name of the Apostle Luke and the foundations seem to be those of this monastery.' Clearly what we had was an Early Christian basilica,[2] on top of which was constructed a smaller Byzantine church[3] – the *katholikon* of a small monastery – that was already in a ruined state. Both the remains of the basilica and the later church were leveled in order to build the new church of St Luke in Patissia. Unfortunately, we have no information about the architecture of the Middle Byzantine church.

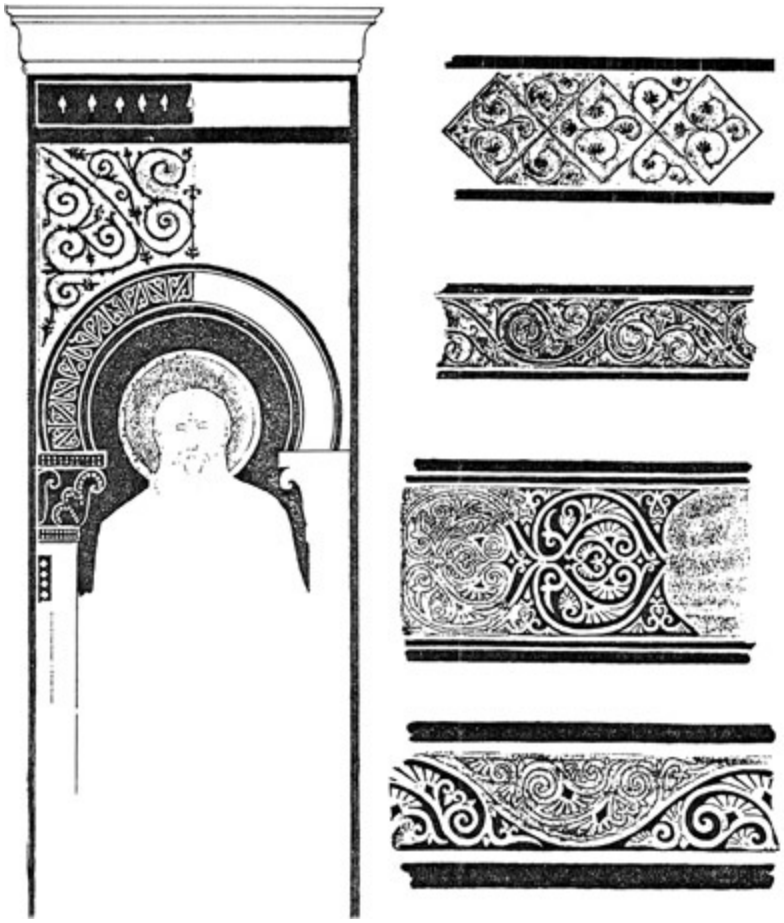

Figure 183 Hagios Loukas of Patissia. Motifs from the painted decoration. Drawings by Karl Poppe (1840).

The monastery is mentioned in the letter of Innocent III,[4] which means that it existed before 1208. It clearly served as a monastery in the mid-seventeenth century.[5] The mention of an ancient inscription[6] on the lintel of the church entrance testifies that in 1860 the church was not in a fully ruinous state.

A series of decorative motifs (Fig. 183) that were copied by the architect Carl Poppe and remain unpublished bear witness to the artistic value of the Middle Byzantine monument and provide some help with chronology. Poppe[7] came to Athens in 1840 and subsequently traveled in mainland Greece and in the Peloponnese. Among his drawings are three pages labeled 'Athen Closter Lucca' with copies of decorations from the church wall paintings, partially unfinished, but certainly the products of careful and competent study.

On one of the pilasters that was crowned with a concave, marble(?) cornice, the saint was depicted frontally below a carved horseshoe arch and flanked by colonnettes. Rich, pseudo-Cufic decoration on a dark ground adorned the arch face. Higher up, the pilaster was decorated with an intricate rinceau with small leaves.

On the second and third pages of Poppe's drawings we find motifs from the friezes set out in rows. There is one isolated pseudo-Cufic example, repeated from the pseudo-Cufic motifs on the first page, and a rinceau with little leaves on a light ground.

On the third page, besides a four-part ensemble of shoots with leaves, he illustrates the well-known motif of heart-shaped palmettes emerging from shoots inverted to form smaller, internal palmettes, also heart-shaped.

The abundance of the motifs attributed to a single church and the fact that most appear on a white or light ground stimulate doubts about the authenticity of the documentation and the suspicion that some of them are variations or the architect's own reconstructions of damaged decorative motifs. In any case, the motif on the first page with the horseshoe arch and the pseudo-Cufic decoration is particularly interesting because it can be related to an exceptionally original work, the icon frames in the first phase of the *templon* at the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas,[8] as well as the *thorakion* (?) at Corinth,[9] a work dated to the tenth century. Also suggestive is the coincidence of a horseshoe arch and Cufic letters in the light of theories about

Arabic artistic influences on Middle Byzantine art in southern Greece.[10]

Hagia Marina near Thesion

The small, cave-like church carved into the live rock of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 184) was dedicated to Hagia Marina and was thought to be Post-Byzantine.[1] But the clear reference to it in the *Praktikon*[2] as 'the [church of] Hagia Marina and the deep-rooted rocks' makes it certain that the monument existed in the Middle Byzantine period, while the discovery of wall paintings from the thirteenth century[3] confirms its greater age.

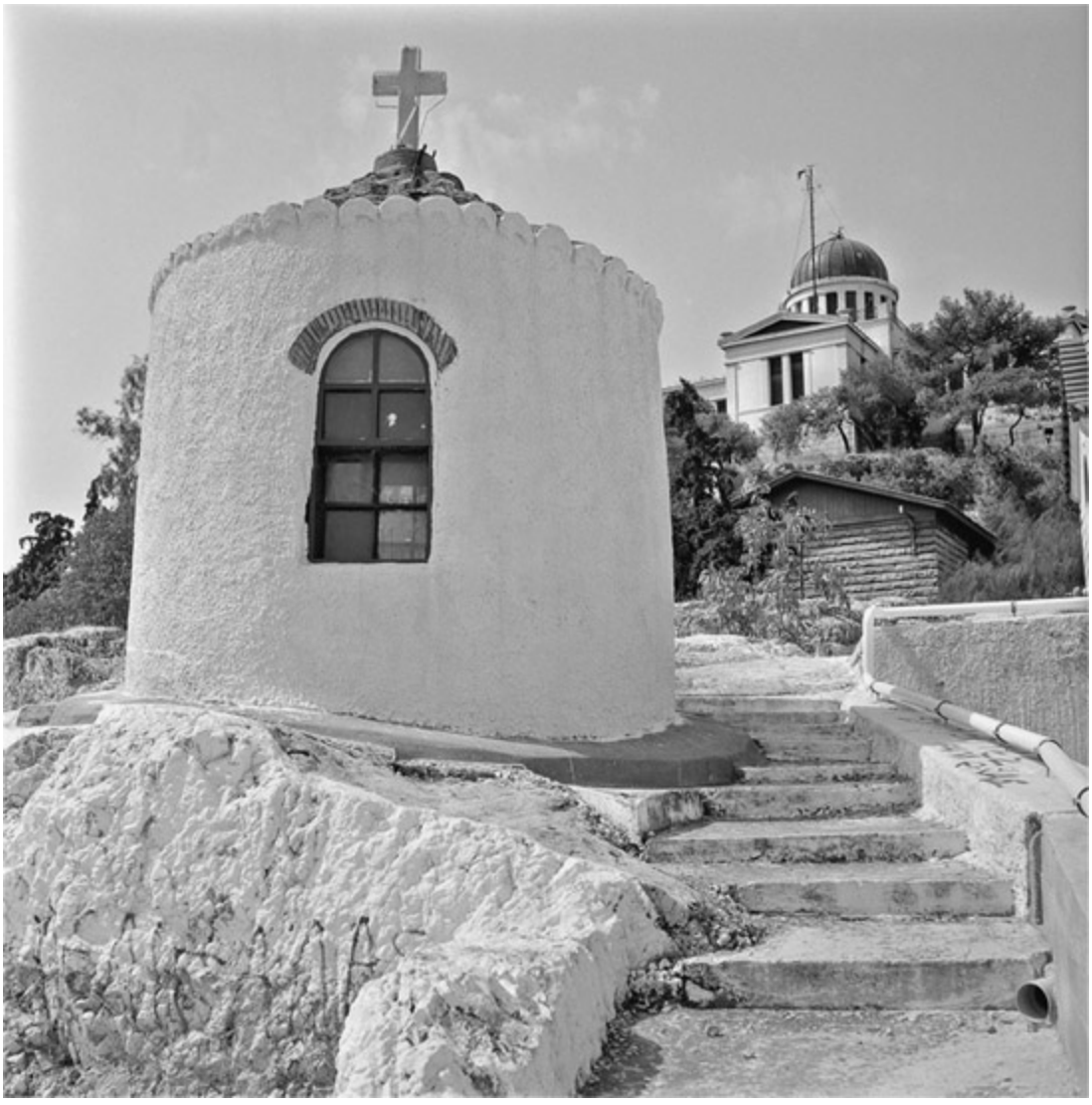

Figure 184 Hagia Marina. The dome from the east with the Observatory in the background.

As noted, the small space is cut into the natural rock;[4] its plan is amorphous, with an equally amorphous sanctuary apse at the east end (Fig. 185). There is no *templon*. A small, shallow niche cut into the rock was used as the *prothesis*. The dome is supported internally on four arches – also carved from the live rock – the vertical surfaces of which are not level, nor are their diameters exactly identical. However, between them are formed regular pendentives and, partly carved from the rock, the circular baseline of the dome that takes the form of a full circle, measuring two meters in diameter. The dome,[5] which projects roughly three meters above ground level, seems to have been rebuilt in the Ottoman period,[6] perhaps with recycled material from the original dome, because the bricks are visible between the stones on the interior.

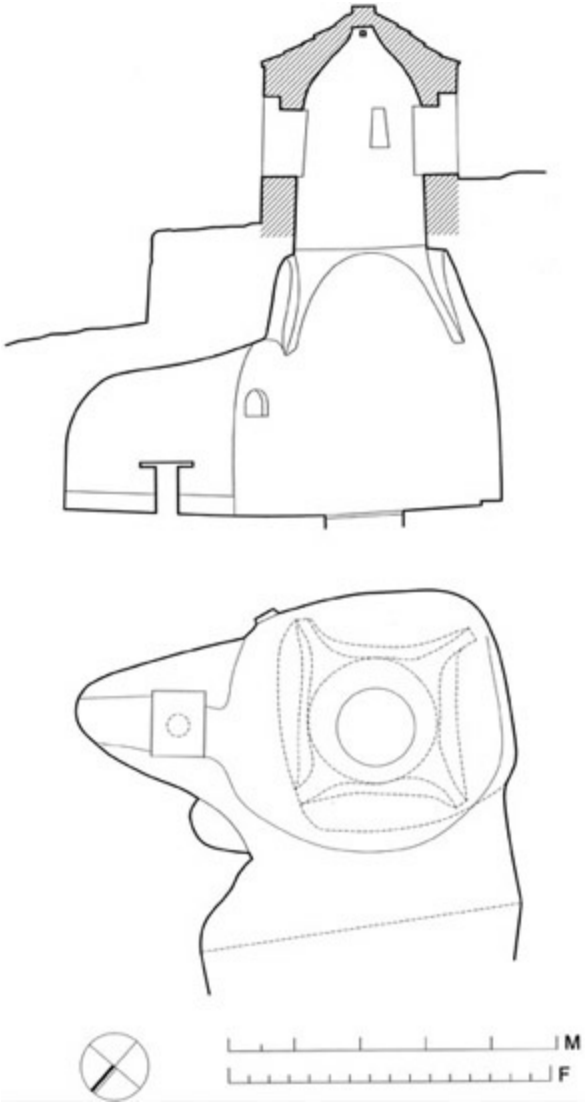

Figure 185 Hagia Marina. Plan and east–west section. Actual state. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

Information about the appearance of the Hagia Marina church in the early nineteenth century is provided in various drawings by contemporary architects.[7] On the north side of the domed cave there was a single-vaulted building, without a sanctuary apse, that had its entrance at the east end (Fig. 186). In all likelihood this served as a sort of narthex for the Byzantine chapel, and the small square windows make it very probable that it was added in the Ottoman period. A small bell tower with a single arch was constructed over the dome and was preserved until 1964.

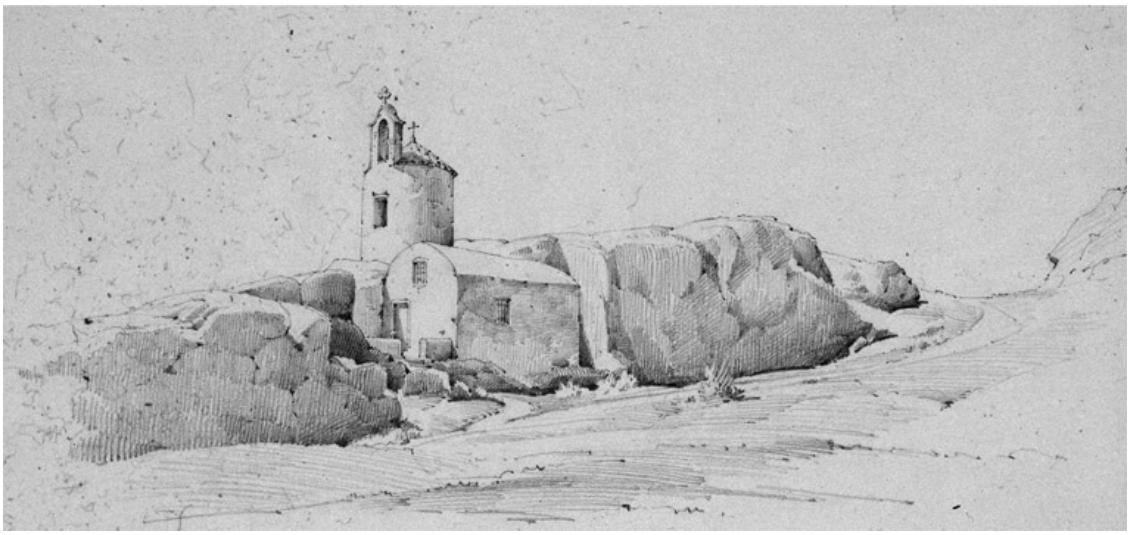

Figure 186 Hagia Marina. View from the northeast. Drawing by A. C. Stilling, 1853. By kind permission of the Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

The form of Hagia Marina changed completely in the 1920s when a large new church[8] was erected after the additional building to the north was destroyed. Around 1880 a small church had been erected to the west of the additional structure,[9] and that too was demolished. Restoration work on the wall paintings took place in 1986.

Megale Panagia

In a relatively recent article,[1] the present author reinvestigated the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, known commonly as the Megale Panagia, that was demolished in 1885 after suffering various vicissitudes.[2] This reconsideration confirmed that, to a significant extent, the church that survived in good condition until the War of Independence was Post-Byzantine, while its northern section belonged to the twelfth century (Fig. 187). The new reconstruction of the monument changes very little what we know about the Byzantine church,[3] which was small, single-spaced, domed, and occupied an inner corner of part of the tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian, which was (and is today) well preserved.

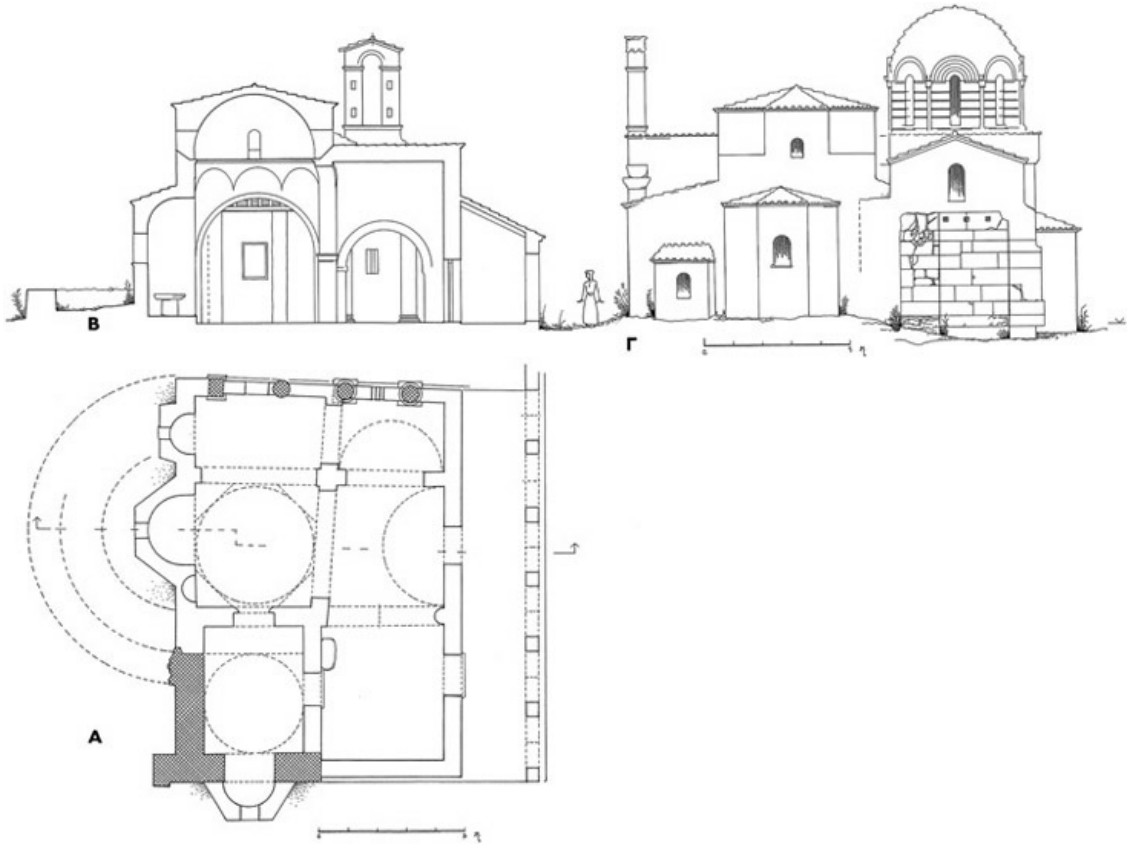

Figure 187 Megale Panagia in Ottoman phase. Reconstructive plan, section and elevation of the east end.

It is not known whether the Byzantine church of the Panagia had a narthex that was razed when an addition was made in the Ottoman period. The dome's diameter was just 3.50 meters, with disproportionately high proportions[4] (Fig. 188) and, by contrast, the sanctuary had a low apse, only 3.40 meters from the pavement.[5]

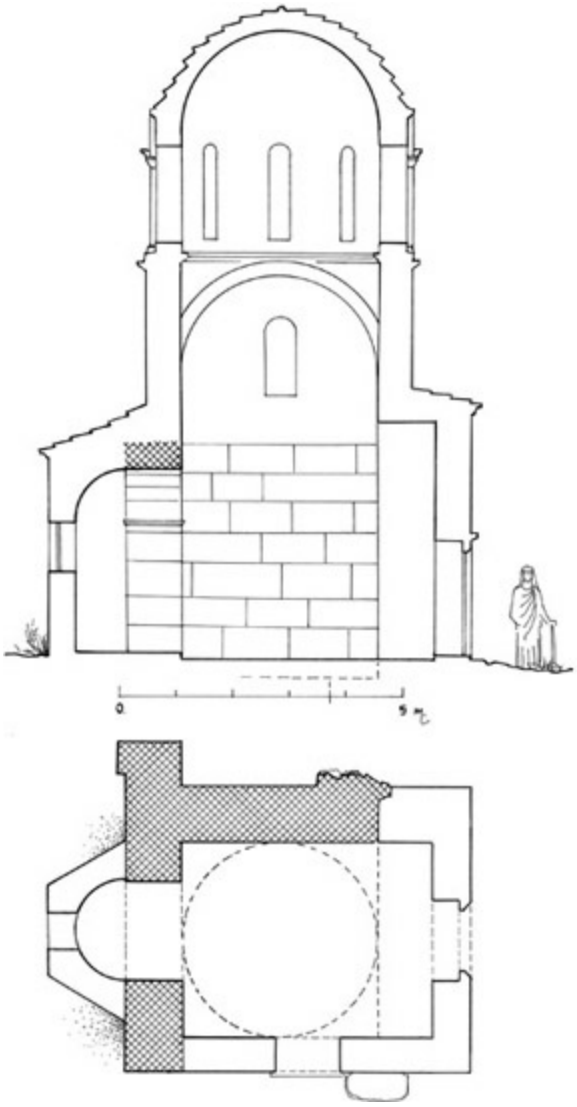

Figure 188 Megale Panagia in Middle Byzantine phase. Reconstructive plan and section.

Only a few comments can be made about the architectural form and decoration. Except for sections of ashlar masonry belonging to the Early Christian tetraconch, we know nothing about the construction and form of the other walls. On the west end there was a door with a heavy lintel.[6] Thanks to the drawings made by Couchaud,[7] some information about the shape of the dome was preserved: it was an 'Athenian', eight-sided dome with colonnettes at the corners and animal-shaped gutters, while the masonry was of porous stone ashlars with rows of *dis-epsilon* decoration that ran around the marble arched cornices on all sides.

The various carved elements found in the excavations cannot be attributed with certainty to the Byzantine Megale Panagia.[8] The wall paintings copied before the church was destroyed[9] all belong to the Ottoman period.

As for the chronology, on the sole criterion of the 'Athenian' dome,[10] the monument has been included among those dating to the twelfth century.[11]

Metamorphosis tou Soteros, Plaka

The Middle Byzantine church dedicated to the Transfiguration,[1] located on the northern foot of the Acropolis (Fig. 189), preserves today only a section of its original construction because it underwent extension on both its west and east sides[2] in order to increase the interior space. The fine state of preservation of the dome and north side makes it possible to date the church to around 1100, or in the twelfth century, in other words to the same period as the other Athenian monuments considered here.[3]

Figure 189 Metamorphosis, Plaka. View from the Acropolis.

It is a simple, small,[4] two-columned, cross-in-square church without a narthex, similar in typology to the Taxiarchs church in the Roman Agora (Fig. 190). On the south side there is a rock-hewn space in the form of a chapel. In the usual fashion, along the length of the church there are vaults in both the east and west cross-arms and in the corner bays. An arched opening in the north wall was closed with a partition of lesser thickness made of fieldstones. Its slightly pointed arch[5] indicates that some of the alterations were made during the Ottoman period and not after the War of Independence. In the course of the restoration work carried out in 1966[6] it was confirmed that the underground room on the south side was once a sort of crypt accessible through an arched opening that was connected to the south cross-arm. At an undetermined date, this space was enlarged by the creation of a much larger room.[7] Also during the same restoration work, vaulted tombs[8] were

discovered beneath the pavement as well as some meager fragments of wall painting that were not dated.

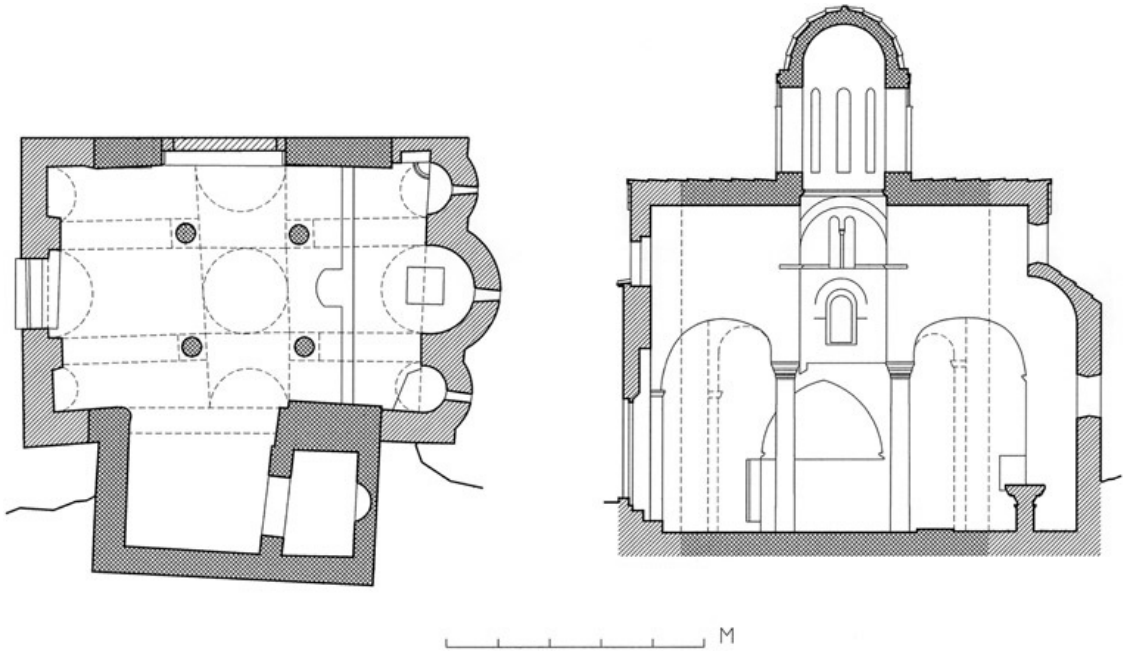

Figure 190 Metamorphosis, Plaka. Plan and east–west section. Actual state. Dotted lines define the original disposition of the church.

The late date (fourteenth century) attributed to the church by Xyngopoulos had prevailed until 1970. After careful analysis of the cut-brick ceramic decorative elements on the north face[9] and their comparative dating,[10] the church is considered much earlier. The concave horizontal cornice at the level of the colonnette imposts on the 'Athenian' dome (Fig. 191) provides indirect evidence of its connection to the dome at the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas, which can be considered its prototype.

Figure 191 Metamorphosis, Plaka. Dome.

Figure 192 Metamorphosis, Plaka. Main façade.

Figure 193 Metamorphosis, Plaka. View from the east. Drawing by M. C. Stilling, 1853. By kind permission of the Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

Otherwise, the Metamorphosis (Fig. 192, 193) appears today as a humble monument, with very little carved decoration (part of a chamfered cornice at

the springing of the vaults[11] and a *slab* with a foliate cross[12]). The monolithic columns[13] have very simple capitals with abacus, echinus with spiral fluting, scotia and carved astragal. The columns and capitals are clearly in reuse, *spolia* most likely from a Roman building.

Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas

The value of the church of Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas in Plaka (Fig. 194) as an architectural monument became clear in 1979–1980 when the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities made a drastic intervention including conservation and stabilization in order to return the monument, to the extent it was possible, to its original condition.[1] Like other Athenian Byzantine churches, the monument was altered when converted into a parish church in the nineteenth century: the narthex, west wall and part of the south wall were demolished and the church was extended southwards (with a single-aisled chapel dedicated to St Paraskeve) and westwards with a spacious hall, partly two-story (Fig. 195). At the east end, the *bema* apse and the pilasters to either side of it were rebuilt and the projecting parts of all the apses were covered with a single buttress.[2] The outer faces of the walls and the dome were covered with plaster after the openings were walled in and new entrance made in the west hall.[3]

Once the restoration work was finished in 1980, Kounoupiotou-Manolessou published an article presenting much of the material discovered and other useful information, primarily about the medieval history of the church.[4] Other publications of minor significance followed.[5] Here an attempt will be made to understand the monument's architecture and the reconstruction of its original form. Important for this purpose is the publication of a drawing by L.F.S. Fauvel[6] (Fig. 196) with a view of the church from the southwest before the demolitions and modifications made in the nineteenth century. Another drawing, by L. A. Winstrup,[7] was also made before these changes, but unfortunately does not aid our investigation.

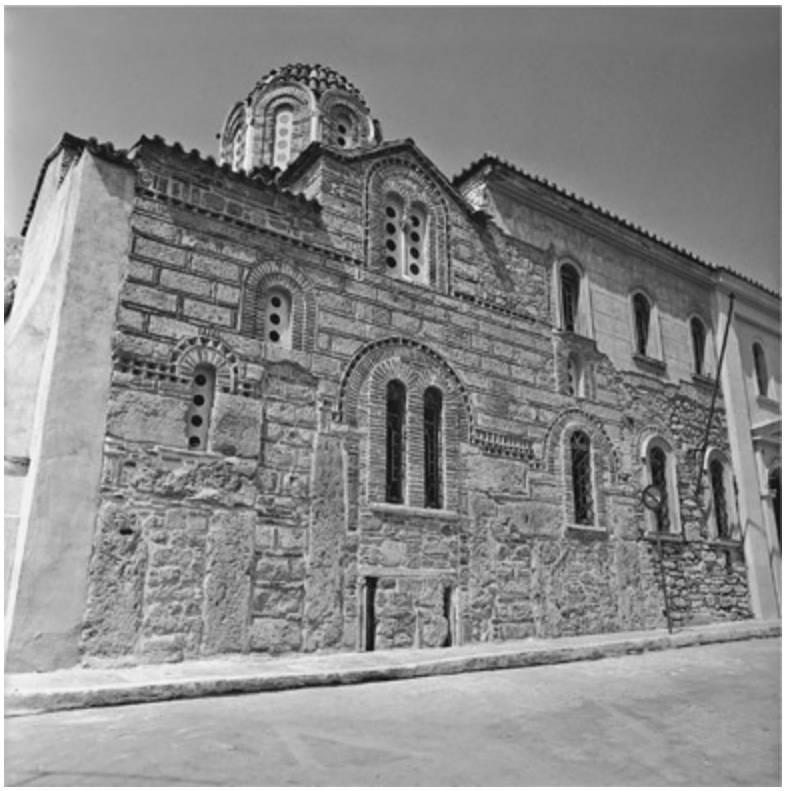

Figure 194 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. North façade of the church after the restoration.

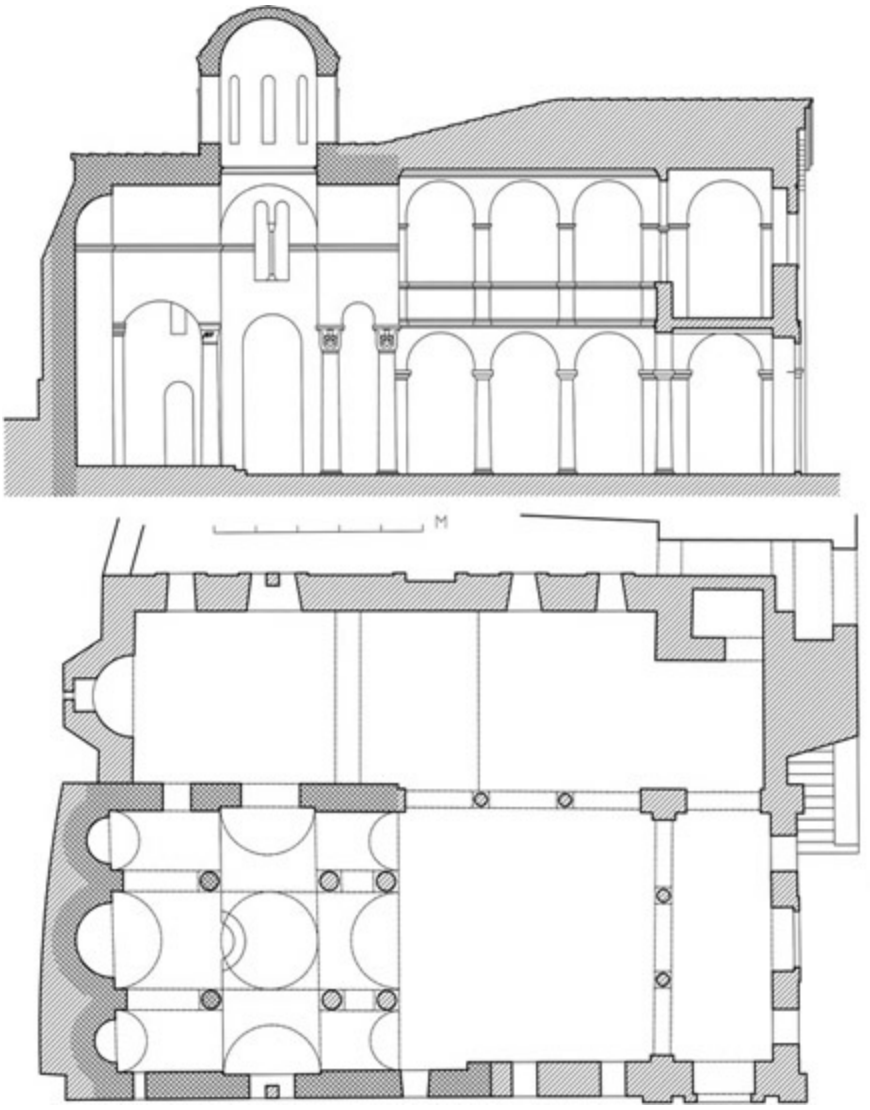

Figure 195 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Plan and east–west section. Actual state.

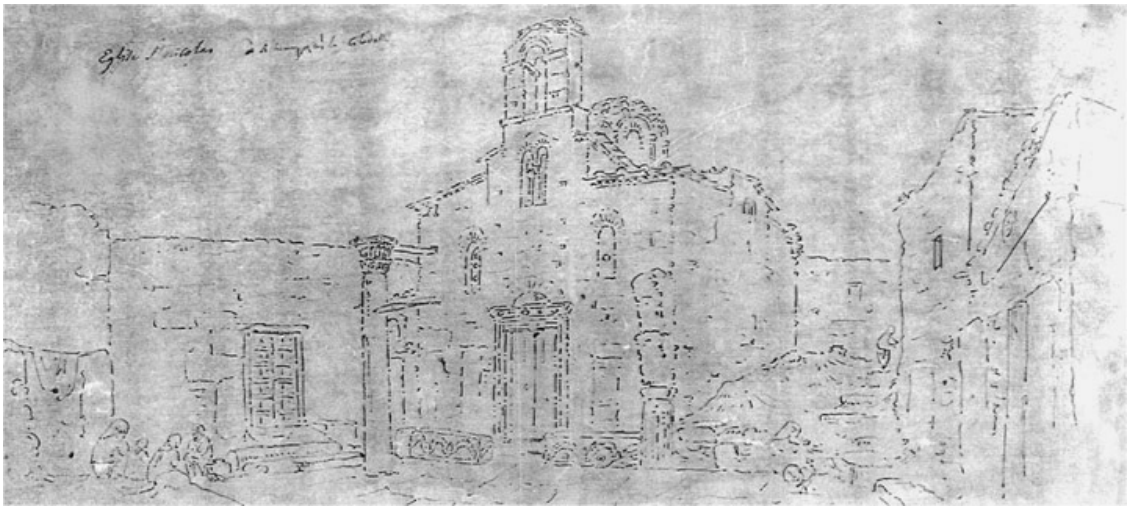

Figure 196 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. View from the southwest, circa 1800. Drawing by L.F.S. Fauvel, Archives of the Louvre Museum, Paris.

As should be clear from the above, it is possible to describe the outside of the monument and comment on its morphology only with regard to the north side and the dome (Fig. 197). The western boundary of the original construction is very clear but the eastern, by contrast, is not since it has been covered with the plasterwork of the buttress. The north cross-arm, which has a saddleback roof broken at the edges and a corresponding dentil cornice, still has ceramic Cufic decoration[8] on the tympanum of the double-light window, in the spaces between the arch and cornice, and between the ashlars of the masonry. Their arrangement is not symmetrical. In the lower section of the cloisonné masonry there is little Cufic decoration. On the left side of the cross-arm the uppermost course of the masonry has been repaired.

Figure 197 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Dome after restoration.

The two large arches in the lower zone are horseshoe-shaped and constructed entirely of brick. Except for a row of curvilinear bricks, the arches are surrounded by a dentil course that runs horizontally at a level lower than the base of the arches.[9] In the zone with orthostats there are two triads of upright porous stones. On account of the small size of the church, they do not form crosses. That the massive stones originated in an ancient building is clear from the cuttings for dowels and clamps.

The large opening in the north wall was closed with a more recent double-light partition made from brick, but sections of the original marble door are preserved in situ. The door had an opening of 1.08 meters, measuring 0.78 meters from side to side of the door frame. The two sections of the door frame have moldings and their lower sections are preserved at the level of the threshold, a fact that provides us with the precise ground level of the original church.[10]

In the interior, the arches between the eastern columns and the sanctuary wall have been reworked as segmental arches. Worthy of note is the masonry of the north wall, near the *prothesis*, which is cloisonné on both the inner and outer wall surfaces.

The double-light windows of the cross-arms are preserved intact and in excellent condition. The south cross-arm has modern plaster and paint, while the outer side of the impost is adorned with a cross carved in relief.

Hagios Nikolaos is located inside the Post-Herulian wall and was reached from the north, probably from the medieval Tripodon Street. In Fauvel's drawing the church is shown free-standing inside a closed courtyard with a simple enclosure wall to the north and buildings on the south side, whence the ascent towards the Acropolis began. The general disposition was probably similar in the Middle Byzantine period.

The west façade of the church, which was totally destroyed, was located at a distance of approximately 5.10 meters from the transverse axis of the church. There probably was a cross-vaulted narthex. The longitudinal vault of the cross reached the west wall and was covered with a saddleback roof, as is familiar from other Athenian churches. There were double-light windows in the west arm (and in the transverse arms), and also lower down in the

western corner bays there were smaller single-light windows. Over the cross-arm rose a simple, arched belfry[11] of the usual Athenian shape. The roof of the southern corner bay was inclined westwards, while the northern one (clearly modified) was inclined northwards.

A marble door frame with moldings and a chamfered cornice dominated the west façade. To the right and left of the entrance were low benches, clearly made of ancient architectural members with decorative reliefs of garlands. At a short distance from the west façade stands an unfluted column without a base, but crowned by a Corinthianizing capital with reed leaves. It does not appear to have any obvious organic connection to the church. There are some horizontal wooden beams that bridge the gap between the church and the column, and they appear to be the remains of later, makeshift constructions.

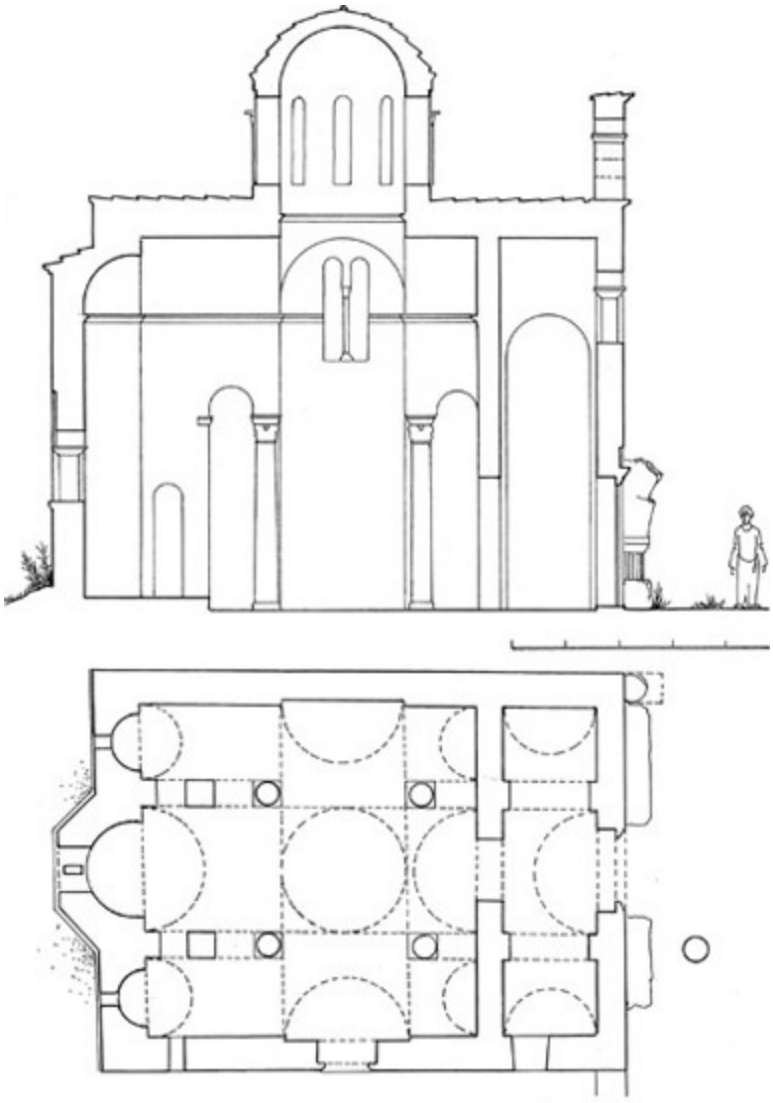

Figure 198 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Restored plan and east–west section of the church.

On the right end of the façade project the remains of a wall and perhaps an arch, at the lower part of which was incorporated part of the shaft of a column with fluting. One could conjecture that they belonged to a later exonarthex that was destroyed already in 1780, or some sort of stoa.

The south side of Hagios Nikolaos appears unarticulated, with the only interesting feature being the cross-arm with a double-light window. This confirms that the main façade, like the access to the church, was on the north side.

In the reconstruction here offered (Fig. 198), the given elements are the

four-columned *naos*[12] and the northwest exterior corner of the building that stands 5.10 meters from the transverse axis of the church. The two columns to the west are today disfigured by paint, while the capitals have been remodeled with plaster decoration. Probably the original columns and capitals have been hidden in this way. The small conches in the *parabemata* and the longitudinal vaults in the sanctuary are original or, more probably, they were rebuilt partially along what remained of the original structures in the north wall.

The relatively large space of 1.80 meters between the columns and the pilasters of the sanctuary is not what we normally find in Byzantine churches. If we presume there were piers measuring 50 × 50 centimeters and corresponding arched openings between the *parabemata* and the *bema*, we would have a plan of logical proportions for a semi-complex[13] variation of a cross-in-square, domed church. The external form of the three apses in the sanctuary remains problematic. The large arched openings in the direction of the chapel were not there originally, according to Fauvel's drawing.

Figure 199 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Fragment of marble epistyle.

It is logical to accept that the second pair of columns that was added when the church was enlarged was supported on the foundations of the wall that was destroyed, in which case the width of the narthex would have been 1.70 meters. The single vault of the west cross-arm and narthex is akin to that found in small churches, such as the Asomatoi in Theseion.

The door frame on the north side has also been discussed. There was a similar door frame with a simple cornice at the west entrance. Fauvel's

drawing suggests that its width was about 1.50 meters.

Figure 200 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Roman capital, in secondary use, supporting the altar.

Of the carved architectural members that survive in situ or incorporated in the walls of Hagios Nikolaos, Kounoupioutou-Manolessou published the two capitals[14] of the central four columns, fragments of a *templon* epistyle[15] (Fig. 199) and a lintel[16] with the well-known motif of a *ciborium*. To these may be added three column capitals: a) a large Corinithianizing capital with reed leaves in the upper zone, dating to the Roman period, that today is used as the base of the altar (Fig. 200). It is 0.65 meters high; its abacus measures 0.62 × 0.62 meters and is preserved in excellent condition. This capital is probably the one Fauvel shows in his drawing on top of a freestanding column; b) a small Corinthian capital built into the south wall of the chapel; c) an Ionic capital, probably Roman,[17] with a triple *balteus* on its *pulvinus* that was incorporated into the buttress at the east end of the church.

Figure 201 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Column capital.

The two capitals on the eastern columns in the *naos* (Fig. 201, 202), although they have been seriously damaged by thermal fractures, are perhaps worthy of further study because they are original Middle Byzantine creations and revive forms from the Early Christian period: they have a) four splayed acanthus leaves at their corners; b) a concave abacus; c) a perimetric astragal at their lower edge; and d) a thick element on the abacus, an echo of the palmette found on ancient capitals that here has taken the form of a mask. We may also note that the capitals have simple, chamfered imposts and exhibit small divergences in their carved motifs on each side, for the sake of variety.

Figure 202 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. Column capital.

Naturally, these are not impost capitals[18] with pseudo-floral decoration, but simplified Corinthian with one band of acanthus leaves. In this way they diverge from the other prototypes from the same period, such as the historiated capitals in the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas,[19] which have a pair of angels but no axially represented mask. The masks derive from antiquity and reappear in Byzantium as supplementary elements – they have been described as 'cultural implications of a classical figure'.[20] An ancient origin can, of course, also be found in the spiral column[21] that supports the masks and the relief-carved astragal on the lower part of the capital. In parallel, however, the symmetrical tendrils that are skillfully rendered on the body of each capital belong to the Middle Byzantine period.

The possibility of studying the morphological elements of the church that opened up after 1980 allows for a better[22] attempt at dating the monument.

The Cufic patterns between the cloisonné masonry and on the cross-arm and in the tympanum of the double-light window, without the appearance of cut bricks, can be compared with those found at the Hagioi Apostoloi and Soteira Lykodemou churches. The large horseshoe-shaped arch above the north door is reminiscent of similar solutions implemented at Kapnikarea and in the church of the Hagioi Asomatoi in Theseion.

A mid-eleventh-century date fits both the sculptural carving with geometric figures on the *templon* epistyle, as well as the similarities in the inscription[23] to others dated in the tenth or mid-eleventh century.

For information concerning the name of Leo Rangavas and his connection to other known historical figures, one should consult the publications of Kounoupiotou-Manolessou.

Homologetai/Hagioi Pantes in Ampelokepoi

The ruins of the *katholikon* of the Homologetai monastery[1] were excavated in 1922 by Georgios Sotiriou. The finds from the excavation were never published.[2] A photograph from the west, taken more or less along the axis of the church (Fig. 203), gives a general picture of the excavated remains and permits us to extract useful information about the church. A second photograph shows the masonry of a section of wall. A small ground plan and longitudinal section drawn by Orlandos[3] confirm the observations about the surviving, original parts of the church.

Figure 203 Homologetai or Hagioi Pantes. The ruins of the Byzantine church before the restoration, 1957. View from the west. National Technical University of Athens Archives.

The sanctuary apse survives together with its semidome, part of a vault belonging to the north cross-arm, as well as the vault over the northeast corner bay with its corresponding pier. Also preserved is part of the north wall[4] and a broken column shaft. All of the other walls of the *katholikon* rise barely above pavement level. Large, ancient stone blocks still stand in situ(?) to the west of the church and others in a row to the south where they may have formed the façade of a wing of cells, or of the monastery refectory.

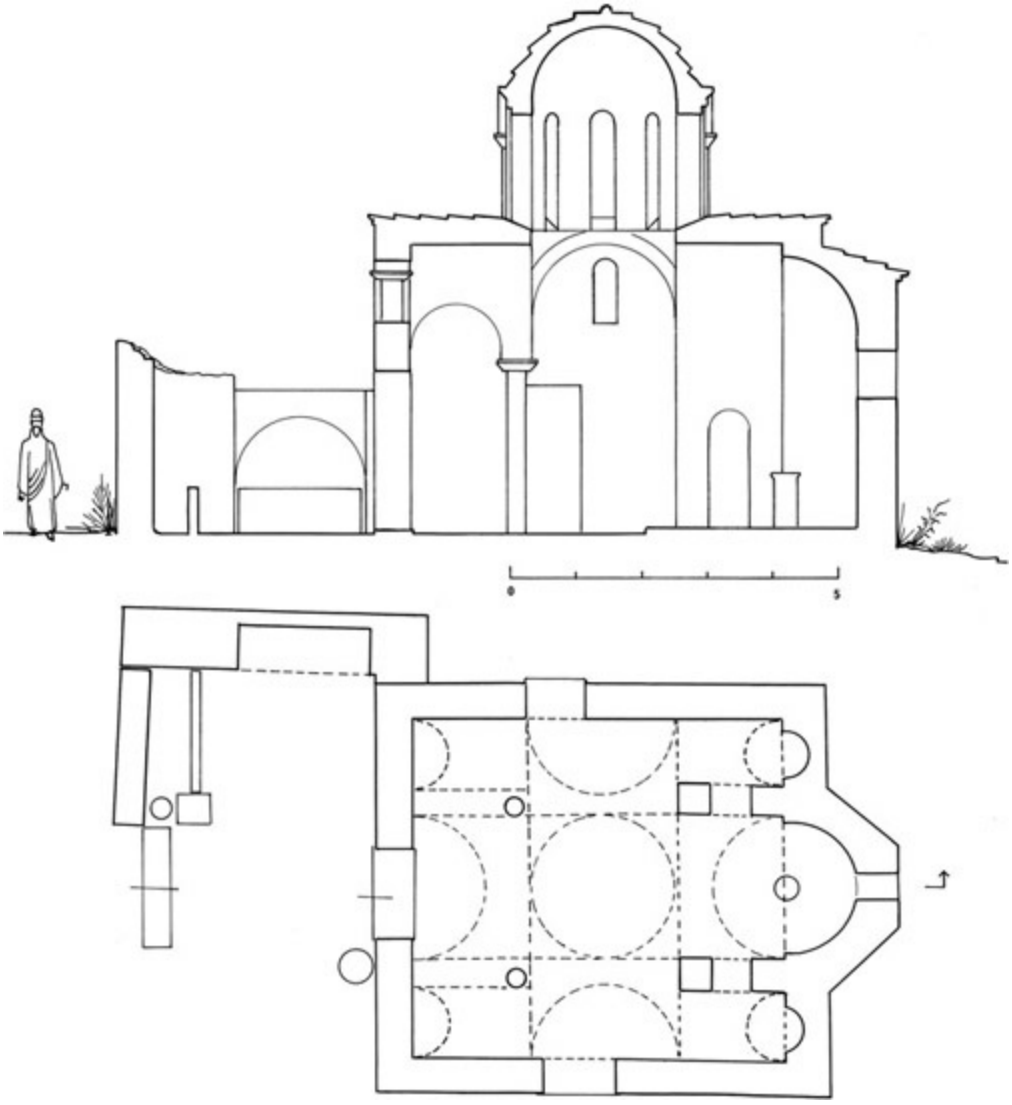

Figure 204 Homologetai or Hagioi Pantes. Restored plan and east–west section.

In 1957, the missing sections were reconstructed[5] (Fig. 204) so that the Homologetai *katholikon* could be used as a parish church. The architects involved with the project were O. Fintikakis and A. Koutsogiannis, although the work is ascribed to Orlandos.[6] The column shaft and colonnette of the altar were used in the reconstruction, but the reconstitution of walls and domes was made without indication of their original form, and no distinction was made between the authentic and new parts of the building (Fig. 205).[7]

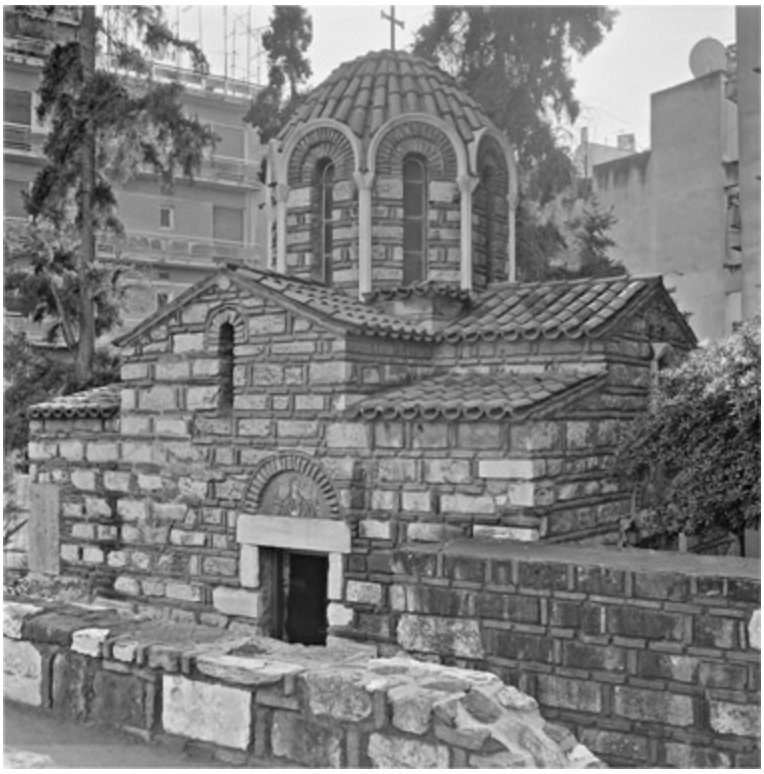

Figure 205 Homologetai or Hagioi Pantes. Actual state of the church. View from the northwest.

The surviving cloisonné masonry of the north face was imitated in the other church walls. The dome was made to follow the usual 'Athenian' type, with marble colonnettes at the corners and marble, chamfered semicircular cornices. The openings (windows on the cross-arms and doors on the north and west) were made in imitation of other Middle Byzantine Athenian churches. The remains of the narthex and the ruinous arcosolia and their graves were left as they were. For capitals in the interior they used marble *spolia* found in the course of excavation,[8] and others were incorporated in the walls and in the small, modern bell tower. The column shaft, measuring 2.50 meters in height, was reused. In front of the monument and all around it there were large stone blocks, perhaps once incorporated in the narthex wall, as well as marble *spolia* from a classical building – these were studied by Korres,[9] who provided a detailed new drawing[10] of the church's ground and site plans.

On the basis of what was visible in the pre-restoration photograph and the surviving elements, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction, but one in which

the modern sections are not taken into consideration. With the springing of the large arches at 3.35 meters above pavement level and their diameter measuring 2.20 meters, we can establish the maximum height of their intrados at 4.45 meters. The circular baseline of the dome was about 20 centimeters higher, as the thickness of the arches had the same measurement. If we consider that the tracing of triangulation in the transversal section[11] of Homologetai church can be accepted, then the greatest interior height of the dome was 7.80 meters (not 8.40, as in the reconstruction by Orlandos). The corner bays are represented with longitudinal vaults, and the dome is thought to have been the usual Athenian type. The shapes and sizes of the openings, except for the small window in the sanctuary apse, are hypothetical.

Before 1957, not only did parts of the Middle Byzantine church remain, but at some point in time a large part of the east façade and the sanctuary apse had been reconstructed in a very makeshift fashion with simple rubble masonry that incorporated Middle Byzantine sculpture and used horizontally arranged bricks to surround the stones in a disorderly manner. The small sanctuary window did not belong to the original Middle Byzantine phase.

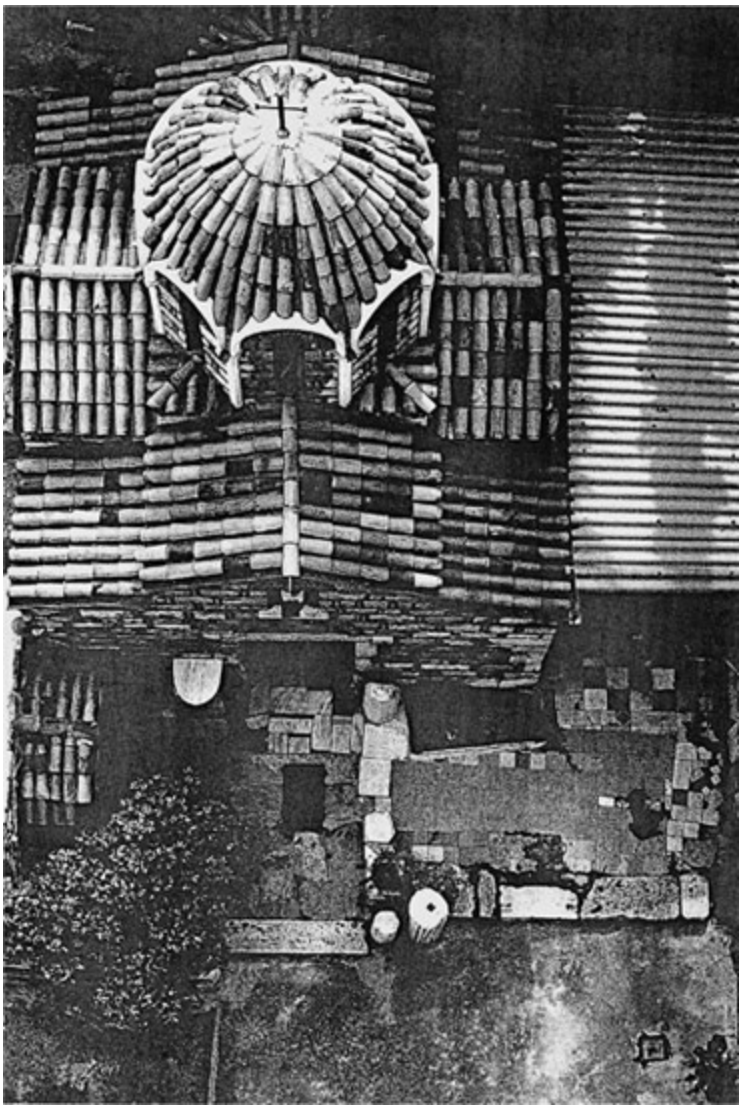

Figure 206 Homologetai or Hagioi Pantes. Actual state of the church. View from above.

The only indication of the church's chronology is the small section of cloisonné masonry on the north side. The letters of Michael Choniates[12] to the abbot provide a terminus ante quem for the monastery's foundation.[13] Combined with the form of the masonry, this evidence makes it very likely that the church was erected in the eleventh or twelfth century.

The modern additions to the reconstructed church have disfigured its south side. On the west side are preserved the remnants of a later narthex (Fig. 206), approximately 3 meters wide, whose southern section was razed to the ground. In what remains of the structure there are two arcosolia: still in situ

on the south is a slab from a pseudo-sarcophagus[14] with the well-attested motif of three crosses. But the sculpture is not of equal quality to work dating to the twelfth century in Athens, so it probably dates to the thirteenth century. In one of the arcosolia in the narthex must have been buried (as Orlandos also conjectures) Theophylaktos, of the Belissariotes family, a young relation of Michael Choniates[15] who died in Athens.

The Homologetai church was the *katholikon* of a monastery about which we have several indirect references in the correspondence of Michael Choniates.[16] Nothing survives of the monastery buildings. When, according to the parishoners, the adjacent plot was built over in 1959, it was reported that ruins of buildings with storage jars, *spolia* etc. were discovered. In a photograph from 1922 one can see the façade of buildings with large, upright blocks of stone, possibly Middle Byzantine, about which we have already spoken.

Moni Petraki/Petraki monastery. Katholikon

It is considered likely that the *katholikon* of the Asomatoi Taxiarchs, known today as Moni Petraki (Fig. 207, 208), has been in continuous use from the tenth century to the present day, with a brief period of abandonment between 1500 and 1673. Clearly, this continuous use was accompanied by repairs and alterations. Some of these are attested in inscriptions and documents, although these refer to the period from 1673 onwards.[1]

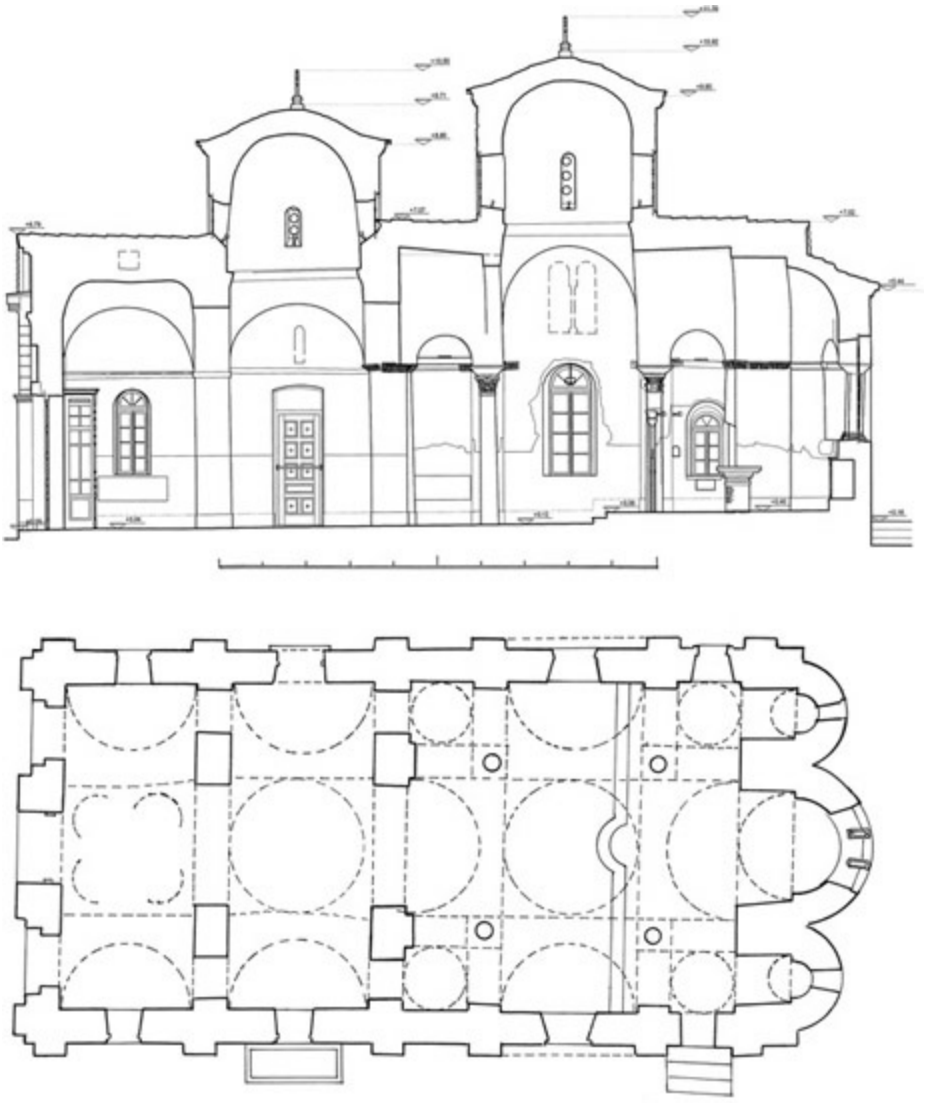

Figure 207 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. Plan and east–west section. Actual state. Drawing by P. Koufopoulos and M. Myriantheus.

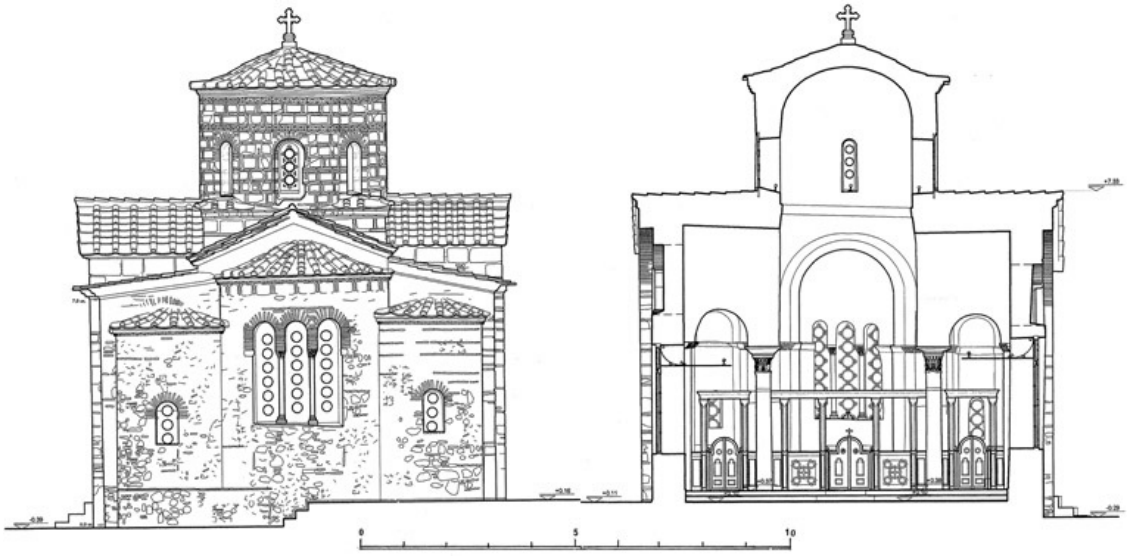

Figure 208 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. Elevation of the east side and north–south section. Actual state. Drawing by P. Koufopoulos and M. Myriantheus.

The two published studies about the architecture of the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki are flawed by serious mistakes concerning the building's architectural type that are indirectly related to more general problems connected with the development of church construction in Greece.

M. Sotiriou[2] considered that between the *bema* and the *parabemata* there were openings, and for this reason she classified the monument among the complex four-columned, cross-in-square, domed churches.[3] Careful observation combined with older[4] and more recent[5] plans show that such openings do not exist, nor did they ever, and consequently the *katholikon* belonged among the simple four-columned type, distinguished by an elongated *bema* and *parabemata*. The mistakes in Sotiriou's research were adopted by various scholars (Orlandos,[6] Frantz,[7] Vokotopoulos,[8] Bouras,[9] and Travlos[10]).

Stoufi-Poulimenou[11] considers that originally the church was a transitional type with longitudinal walls in which there were small, arched openings. The later cutting away of the lower part of the pilasters on either side of the *bema* in order to widen the space inside the sanctuary (see the longitudinal section by M. Biris[12] and the new plan by P. Koufopoulos) was understood by Stoufi-

Poulimenou as part of an arched opening (Fig. 209). The view formulated by Stoufi according to which the four columns of the main nave belong to a second phase of construction has not been accepted by other scholars.

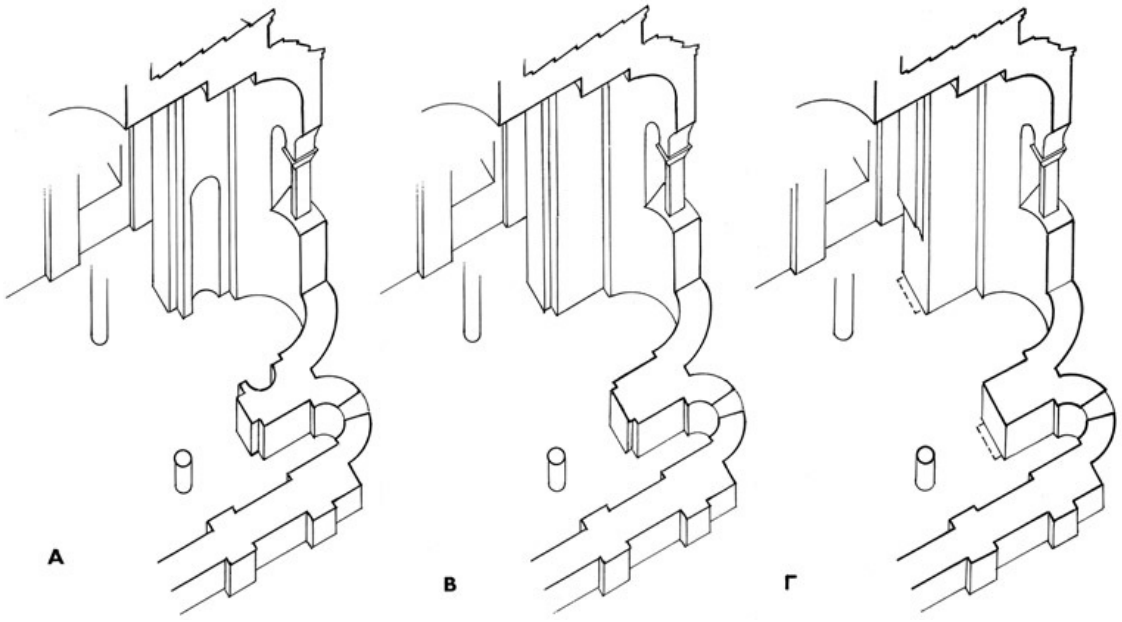

Figure 209 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. Three successive phases of the sanctuary. Isometric projection.

The typological peculiarity of the 'complex four-columned church with a compact *bema*', according to Velenis,[13] or a simple four-columned church with extended *bema* and *parabemata* is met on Mount Athos and in Serbia.[14] Two additional Athenian churches – Hagia Aikaterine and Sotera Kottakis – have the same typological peculiarity.

This clarification of the typology and also of the monument's date, which for other reasons was considered to be relatively early, indirectly solves the problem of the innovation in the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas,[15] in other words it helps us to understand the introduction into Greece of the complex four-columned, Constantinopolitan, domed, cross-in-square prototype. And while the type of *katholikon* of Moni Petraki does not correspond to this type, other elements can be noted that are not native and show influences from the imperial capital. But it is necessary first to make some observations about the original form of the *katholikon.*

According to an inscription dated 1804, the narthex was added to the *katholikon* at that time (Fig. 210). However, the arrangement of the marble string-courses on the west wall of the *naos* suggests that the pilasters on either side of the opening were always freestanding; in other words, the narthex existed from the beginning but had fallen into ruin by 1804. It remains problematic both how the narthex was roofed and how wide it was, even though it is most likely that the narthex was built on the original foundations.

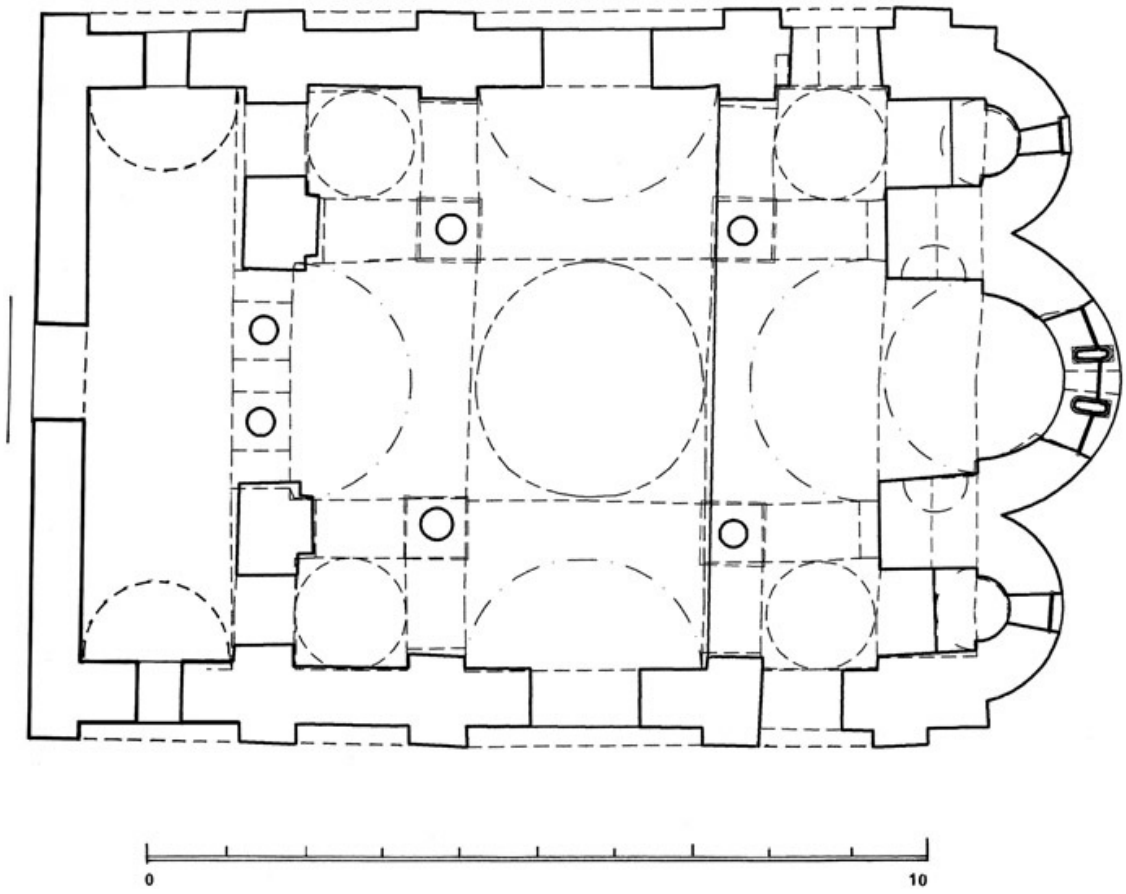

Figure 210 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. Original plan restored. Drawing by M. Koufopoulos and M. Myriantheus.

The clear difference in the masonry (carefully constructed rubble masonry interspersed with brick was used in the lower courses and on the entire east wall, while we find incomplete cloisonné masonry at higher levels) is evidence that a large-scale repair was made at a late date. In the course of this repair, the parts between the arches on the long sides were elevated as pilasters up to

the cornice, the whole of which replaced another, made of flat stones (Fig. 211). Modifications are plainly visible at the openings in the transverse arm: the original doors were filled in at some point with small stones and brick. Their thresholds are preserved in situ. Later, arched windows were opened, but significantly smaller than the original doors (Fig. 212). It is nearly certain that the dome belongs to the monument's second phase, even if it is comparable to the dome of the Profitis Ilias church in Staropazaro,[16] whose date is ambiguous, but relatively early.[17]

Consequently, it is plain that before it underwent the more drastic changes of the Ottoman period, there was the original construction phase of the Moni Petraki *katholikon*, as well as a second one in the Middle Byzantine period. Quite possibly this second phase was in the twelfth century, as

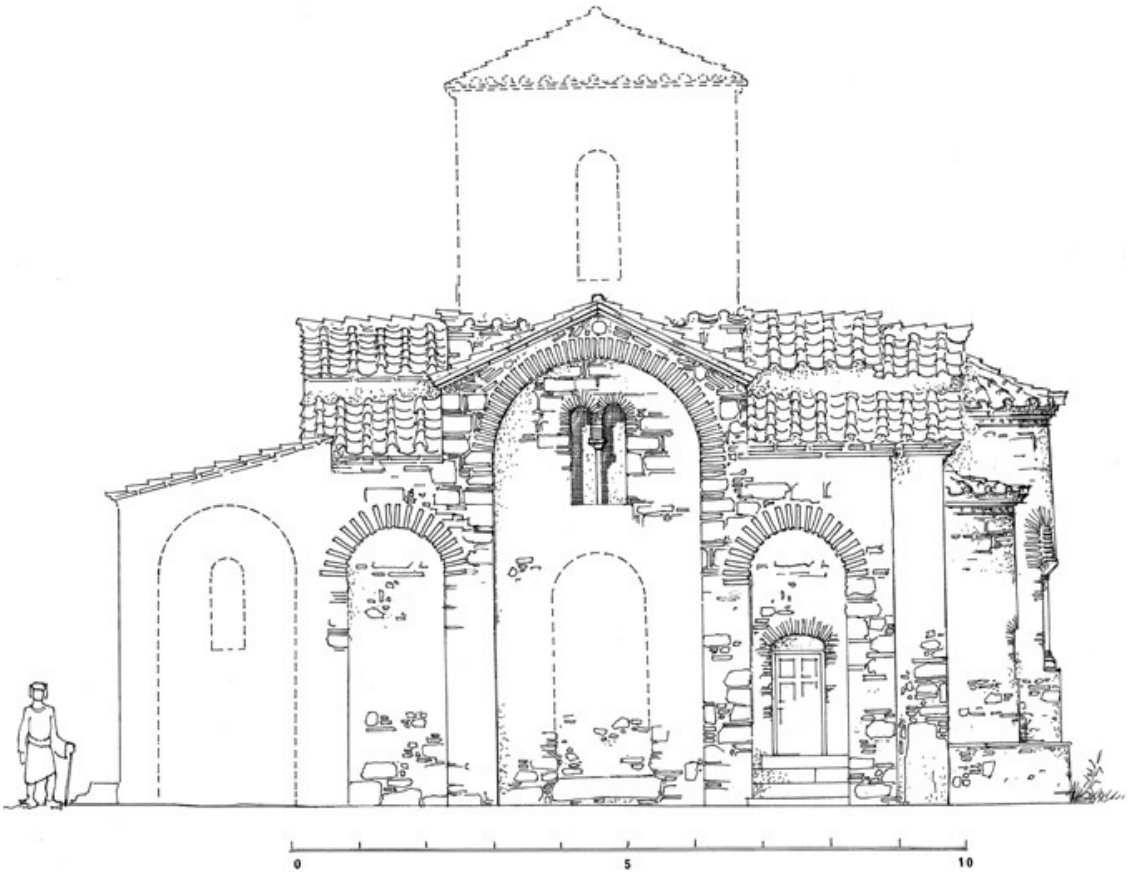

Figure 211 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. Original form of the south face based on measurements by M. Biris.

Figure 212 Katholikon of the Petraki monastery. The north main door. The three different phases are obvious.

is consistent with the well-known heavy lintel[18] found today in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens which comes from the monastery and can be dated to the Komnenian period.

Returning to the non native elements of Constantinopolitan origin in the *katholikon*, we may note the following: a) the equality of the two axes and the completely square form of the *naos*; b) the domical vaults in the four corner bays and their delineation in relation to the pilasters; c) the radial layout of the jambs and the colonnettes of the triple-light *bema* window;[19] d) the triple-apse sanctuary; and above all e) the articulation of the lateral faces of the arches and the correspondence of the internal to the external pilasters. The indigenous Greek elements are most pronounced in the second phase of the *katholikon*, in the cloisonné masonry in the upper part of the walls and the dome.

The four columns supporting the dome are *spolia* in secondary use, with the exception of one capital (of the southeast column, which differs from the others), and their imposts. Their bases are not visible but may exist under the modern pavement.

The chamfered string-courses at the bases of the vaults are entirely decorated with simple acanthus leaves and small, well-spaced Greek crosses. Their style is very simple and lacks the maturity of Middle Byzantine sculptural decoration of southern Greece, but can be said to resemble the archaic sculpture at the Koimesis church in Skripou, or at the church of Hagios Gregorios in Thebes from the ninth century. The carving on the imposts of the *bema* colonnettes in the Moni Petraki *katholikon* is adorned by work of the same hand as that on the string-courses.

Once again, with regard to the problem of dating[20] the two Byzantine phases of the *katholikon*, we may consider the following features together with the foregoing discussion of the decorative sculpture – the semicircular shape of the three exterior apses of the sanctuary, the 'arcade pattern'[21] triple-light window in the *bema*, the absence of brick jambs in the same window, the absence of dentil courses in the walls and the extremely simple masonry in the lower parts of the walls – and accept the view that the first phase of the *katholikon* belongs to the tenth century,[22] perhaps to the first half of that century.

The changes that were made, probably during the twelfth century, were indeed radical. It appears that the longitudinal vaults[23] had collapsed and were rebuilt, as were the upper parts of the walls, except at the east end. It may have been then that they added the masonry in the two conches on either side of the altar and, naturally, the dome was rebuilt. We have already mentioned the probable renovation of the *templon* in the twelfth century.

Orlandos[24] and Lazaridis[25] have published notes about the modern interventions in the *katholikon*.

Sotera of Kottakis

The church dedicated to the Metamorphosis/Transfiguration of the Savior (Fig. 213), known as the Sotera of Kottakis, which is located on Kydathenaion Street, underwent the usual disfigurement common to Athenian churches (in 1834, 1856 and 1908) in order to meet the needs dictated by the growing congregation. What remains of the Byzantine monument is, basically, the *naos* and the sanctuary; the west end and partially the sidewalls were demolished and new structures covered whatever else remained, except for the east façade of the church and the dome.

The Kottakis Sotera is a domed, cross-in-square church. After the demolition of the west wall and the west vault, a large vaulted hall was added in two stages, as well as side aisles covered with small transverse vaults. In this way the church was transformed into a longitudinal three-aisled basilica (Fig. 214) with a transept and a disproportionally small dome. On either, two chapels were formed.[1]

Figure 213 Sotera of Kottakis. Partial view from the southeast.

The complete absence of studies and documentation before the modifications[2] limits the possibilities of observation and obstructs the reconstruction of the church (Fig. 214). With regard to the position of the west wall of the *naos*, it is worth noting that the first pair of arches belonging to the extension has much smaller openings than all the others. Clearly a section of the west wall, in the form of a pier, was preserved in its original position. There is no evidence to suggest that there was once a narthex in the church's original form. We know nothing about the shape of the vaults that covered the two corner bays of the *naos*, but may conjecture that they were similar to

those on the east side. These are square in plan and have pendentive domes. The barrel vaults of the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* are considerably lower; they terminate at the eastern supporting arches of the domical vaults.

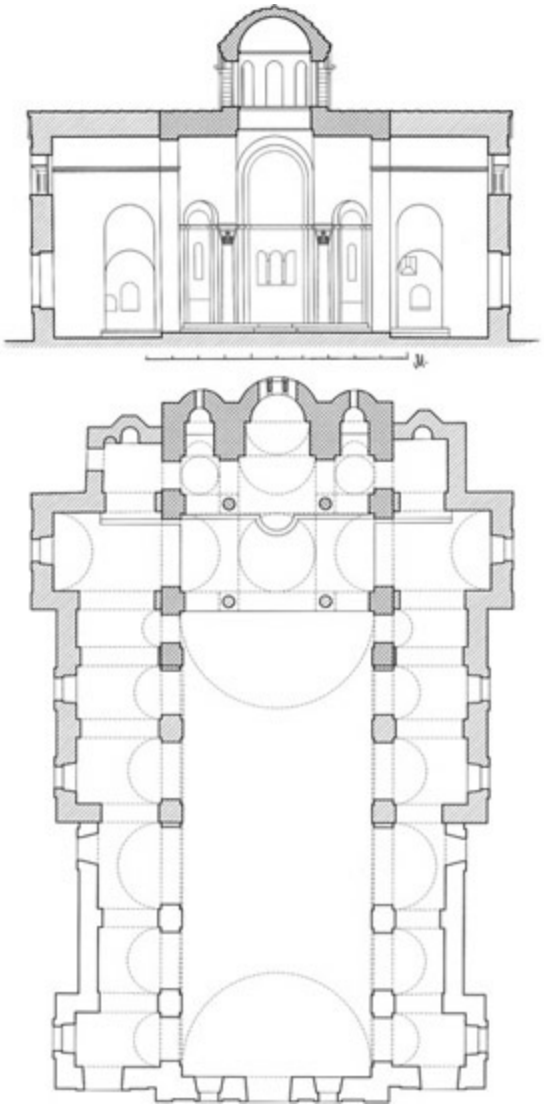

Figure 214 Sotera of Kottakis. Plan and north–south section. Actual state. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

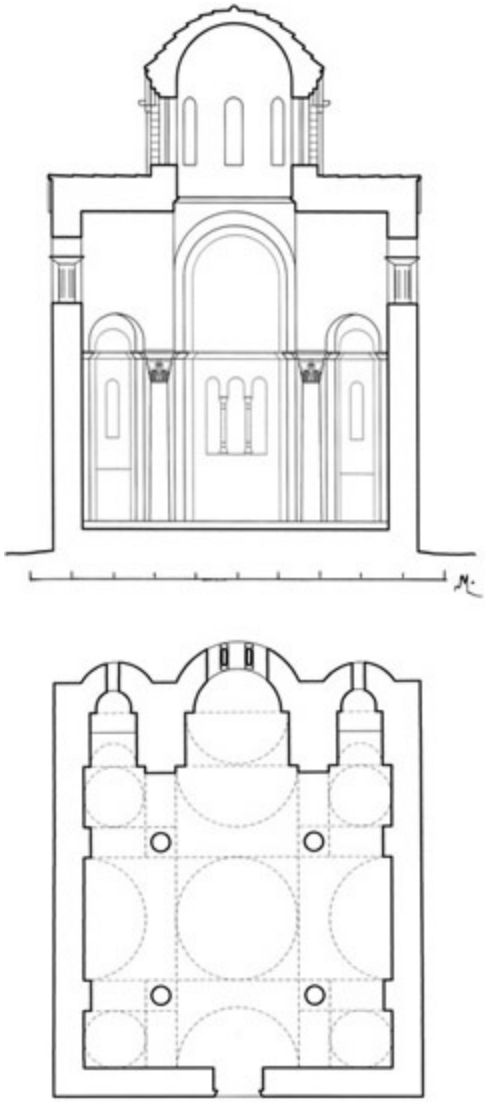

Figure 215 Sotera of Kottakis. Restored plan and north–south section. Drawing by K. Aslanidis.

The *bema* apse has especially high proportions.[3] In the sanctuary there is a chamfered string-course at the height of the column imposts, but not at the springing of the half-dome of the apse, with the result that the apse seems even higher. No string-course survives in the dome between the pendentives and the tympanum. Instead, more recent string-courses have been installed at the height of the base of the eight windows and at the springing of the dome.

The shafts of the two columns on the west side have been replaced with new ones.[4] The capitals of the two columns on the east side are Corinthian, from the Roman period, again with high proportions and with prominent

cracks from thermal fractures. Their volutes have been cut down and reworked.[5] On one column, in the place of a capital an inverted Ionic base has been used. The original pavement is not preserved, or has been covered with new paving.[6]

As for its typology, the Sotera of Kottakis is a complex, cross-in-square, domed church with an elongated sanctuary.[7] In other words, it belongs to the same variation we find at Hagia Aikaterine, and it is assumed that both follow the typology of the Moni Petraki *katholikon*.[8] The apses of the *bema* and *parabemata* are semicircular on the exterior. The square form of the corner bays lends the general impression of a square plan to the main body of the church as well.

There is very little that can be said about the architectural forms of the church, mainly concerning the east end and the dome. The *bema*[9] apse has a large triple-light window without a surrounding arch (arcade pattern), but its jambs are not of brick. A simple dentil course runs around the window arches and continues around the conches of the *parabemata* where it surrounds their single-light windows. A chamfered cornice bridges the column imposts (decorated with rosettes), and the three parts of the window are closed with horizontally arranged brick-work that forms a recessed partition. The masonry of the three apses is well-made with ashlars in courses of equal height and an intervening brick course, without, however, being cloisonné masonry. The apex of the apses has a dentil frieze and a dentil cornice.

Figure 216 Sotera of Kottakis. Dome.

The dome is typical ‘Athenian’ (Fig. 216), with eight single-light windows. The thin bricks that form the arches do not reach all the way down the dome, but to just slightly lower than the springing of the arches. The surrounding chamfered marble cornices reach to the same height and from the space between them project simple waterspouts.[10] The external face of the dome’s tympanum is of cloisonné masonry with seven courses of unequal height. Remnants of the original(?) window frames can be seen in two of the windows.

In the sanctuary we find a chamfered string-course only at the height of the column imposts and not at the springing of the semi-dome in the *bema* apse, with the result that the concave surface with the depiction of the Panagia Platytera seems disproportionately high.

The destruction or covering over of the sidewalls, as well as the demolition of the entire west section of the church, seriously limits our ability to reconstruct the church’s original form. We will focus on the ground plan and horizontal section, whose specifications can be deduced with certainty from

the *naos* and the sanctuary; while it is reasonable to assume that the west wall was erected, at some point in time, between the two modern piers, at a distance of 1.50 meters from the columns.

On the sole basis of these elements at the east end, the date of the Sotera of Kottakis church can only be estimated approximately. Xyngopoulos's[11] vague dating to the eleventh or twelfth century was improved on by Megaw,[12] who took into account the shape of the triple-light window and the use of dentil courses. The form of masonry and the rounded exterior apses in the sanctuary also bear witness to its early date. Consequently, we accept[13] the view of Vokotopoulos[14] that we find here an imitation of the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki and that the Sotera of Kottakis church should be dated in the last decades of the tenth century. In any case, the austerely square form of the main body of the church and the shape of the 'Athenian' dome testify that the Sotera church post-dates the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas, although the possibility cannot be excluded that the dome was repaired after the original one had collapsed.

Soteira Lykodemou

The extensive repair to the Soteira Lykodemou church[1], which was seriously damaged in the War of Independence, was undertaken around 1850 by the engineer Telemachos Vlassopoulos with the scientific supervision of Archimandrite Antonin. Within the context of the prevailing ideas of that period, the work was highly successful. However, the restoration inspired from its very outset a lively debate about the authenticity of the Soteira Lykodemou church as a Byzantine monument and posed an obstacle to its systematic, scientific study. A recent work[2] attempted to resolve the doubts and finally clarify which parts remained intact; and this work does indeed offer material for a better understanding of the Byzantine form of the church and which elements were reworked.

A drawing by Fauvel[3] offers a picture of what the church looked like before the War of Independence. Drawings of the church in ruins, before its repair,

were made by Bindesbøll (1835),[4] Lenoir (1840)[5] and Couchaud (1842).[6] All of the drawings provide useful information, especially that by Durand (1842 and 1847),[7] which is the most detailed and shows the interior of the church. Unfortunately, the drawings by Vlassopoulos, on which the reconstruction was based, have not been found.

Subsequent scientific investigations, notes, references and comparisons are insufficient, as are the drawings of plan and section by Schultz[8] that were published later. Moreover, the extensive entry in Xyngopoulos's *Mnemeia Athenon*[9] (Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν) is not based on original research. The church was the *katholikon* of a monastery, as is attested by later texts.[10]

We have no written evidence for the Soteira church. However, there are at least twenty-one graffiti that were transcribed and published by Antonin,[11] one of which refers to the death of the church's original founder and provides a terminus ante quem of 1031 for the monument. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the church was surrounded by the (previously discussed) extension of the residential area into the area that is now the National Gardens and Syntagma Square. However, in modern depictions it appears isolated, outside the city limits.[12] It is very likely that the earthquake of 1705 left the church on the verge of collapse and made necessary the clumsy additions that are attested in the pre-restoration drawings (Fig. 218): the windows were filled in, as well as eleven of the twelve openings at gallery level that supported the dome.[13] New wall paintings[14] appear to date from this time.

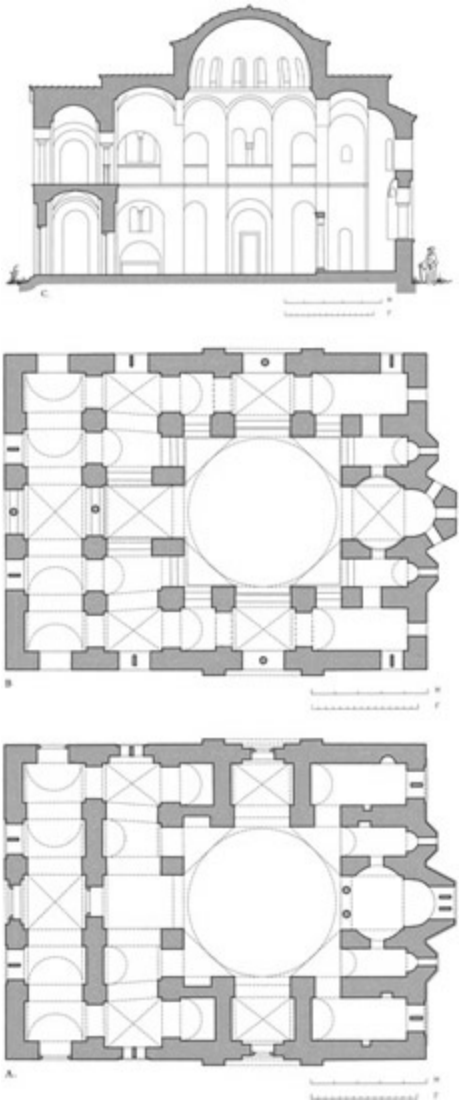

Figure 217 Soteira Lykodemou. Reconstructive plans (at ground and at gallery level) and east–west section.

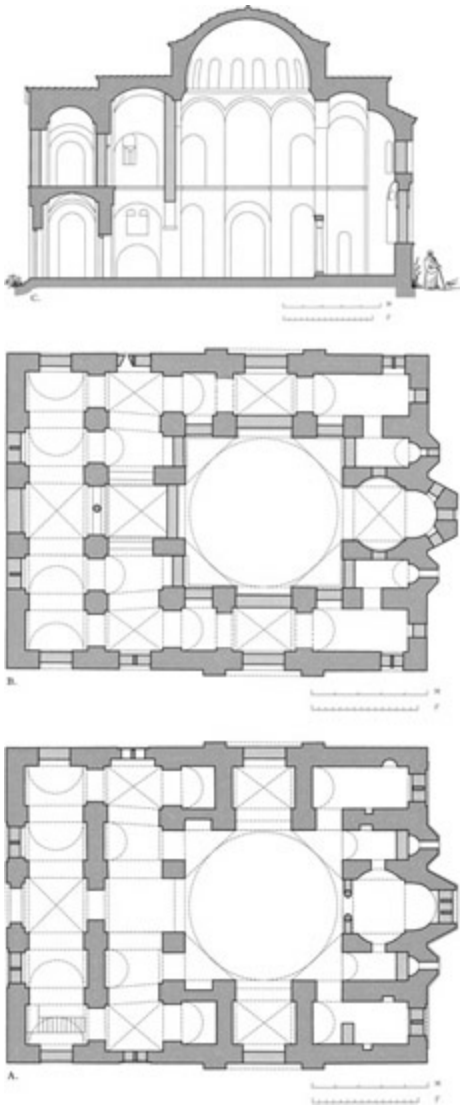

Figure 218 Soteira Lykodemou, as before 1820. Reconstructive plans (at ground and at gallery level) and east–west section.

During the War of Independence, bombs from the Acropolis destroyed part of the dome, the west façade, the vaulting on the west side and part of the sidewalls. A drawing by Vlassopoulos that was published by Lampakis[15] shows the dome in its destroyed state. Today the damaged section is distinguishable only with difficulty from the authentic parts.[16] It is certain that in the course of the repairs all the compromised elements were removed, including the dome and the newer interior walls that supported it. They were rebuilt on the remains of the original walls, using as a guideline for the

vaulting the levels that were preserved at the east end of the church.[17]

In 1847 the Soteira Lykodemou church was granted to the Russian Orthodox parish of Athens. A heavy icon screen replaced the original *templon*, and wall paintings by Thiersch now covered the interior. A Neo-Byzantine bell tower was erected to the west of the church.[18]

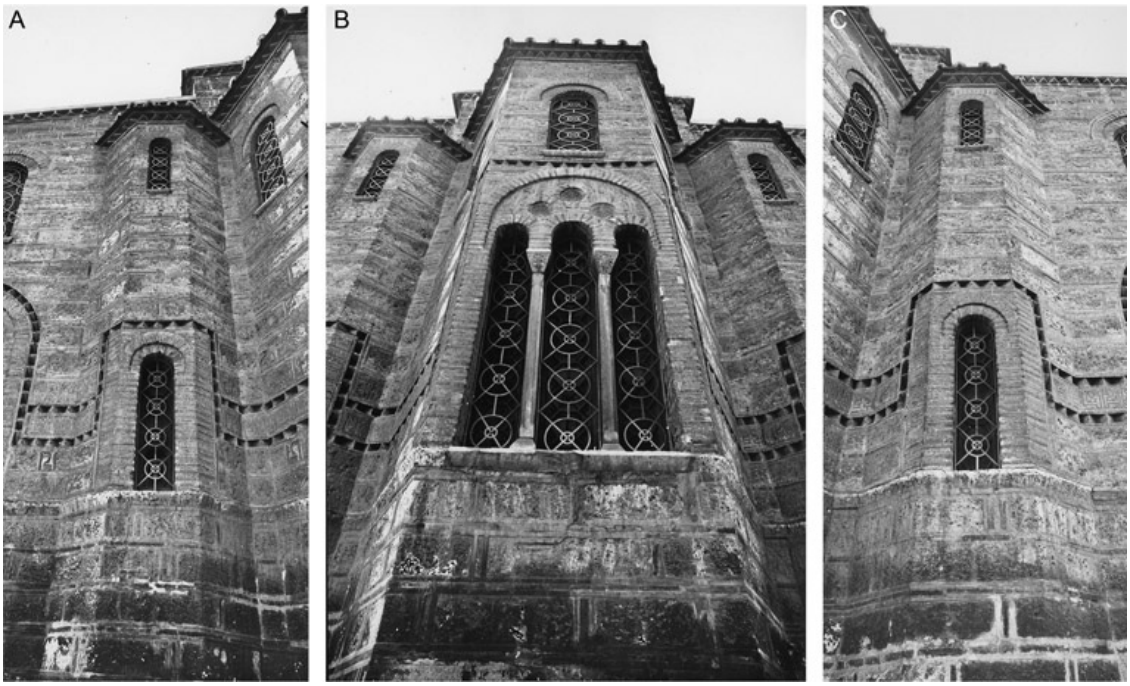

Figure 219 Soteira Lykodemou. The conches of the *diakonikon*, of the *bema* and of the *prothesis*.

The Soteira church represents in Athens the so-called 'Mainland octagon' or 'Greek cross octagon' type (Fig. 217),[19] with a gallery above the side aisles and narthex. The *bema* flanked by shallow conches gives the impression of a triconch and together with the *parabemata* forms the sanctuary. At the level of the gallery above the *prothesis* and *diakonikon* are formed chapels with three-sided apses on the exterior (Fig. 219). Unfortunately, we do not know the original nature of the non-weight-bearing walls in the interior and whether they created secondary spatial units; neither is it known with certainty what shape was assumed by the vaulting that supported the galleries. Moreover, we are ignorant of how one ascended to the galleries, although it is most likely that there was an independent external staircase. In

the narthex, to the left of the entrance, there is an arcosolium that must once have marked a grave.

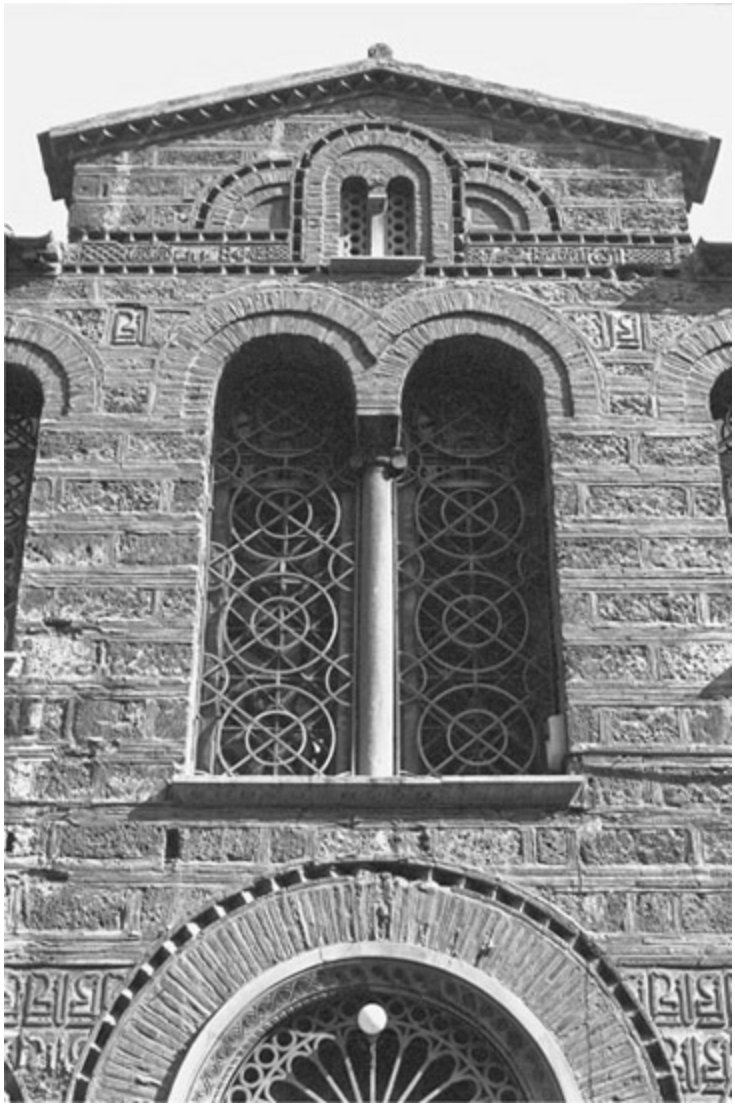

Figure 220 Soteira Lykodemou. South gable.

The well-preserved morphological and decorative elements in the eastern part of the church permit us to make substantial observations associated with the early date of the church, and of more general interest. As in other monuments of the same architectural type, a pair of pilasters spanned by large arches externalizes the cross-arms and dominates the sidewalls axially, while at the level of the galleries there are large double-light windows separated by

columns (Fig. 220). The dome, as shown in the drawings by Vlassopoulos[20] and Durand,[21] was shallow; a tympanum was visible only on the exterior, with single-light windows whose arches penetrate the dome. The *bema* apse has a triple-light window at the lower level and a single-light window on the three sides at the gallery level. The *parabemata* conches and those of the overlying chapels are fused and project as tall, slender apses on the east façade.

There are relatively few marble elements in the church, and they are limited to the columns of the three double-light openings and the colonnettes of the windows. Their imposts are decorated with crosses and rosettes.[22] The shape of the *templon* that was removed between 1843 and 1847[23] is recorded in a rather clumsy drawing by Lenoir.[24] Nothing of the original pavement has survived. The marble *crepidoma* that runs around the building is an addition by Vlassopoulos[25] and did not exist in the church's original form.

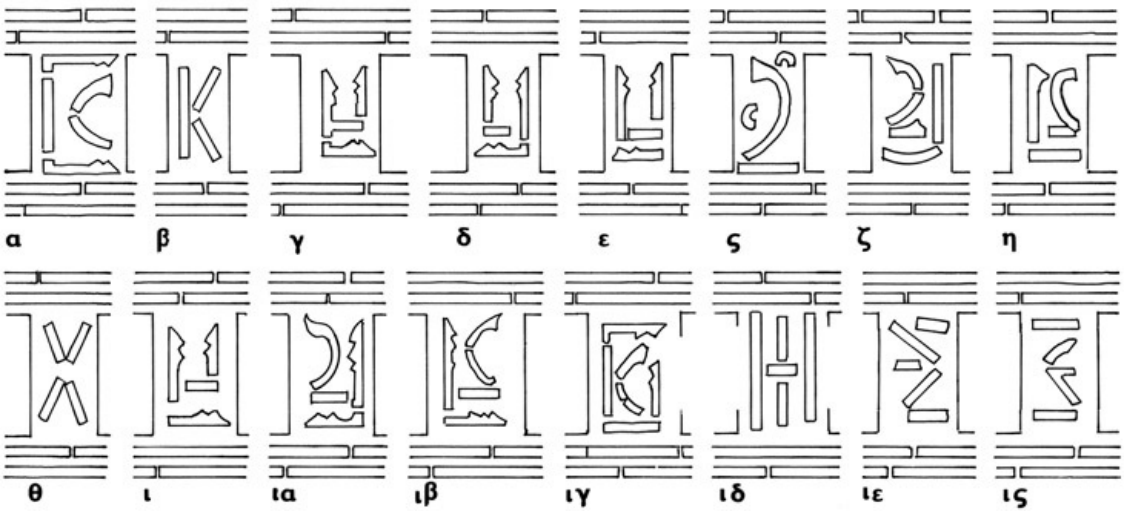

Figure 221 Soteira Lykodemou. Cufesque brickwork ornaments of the walls.

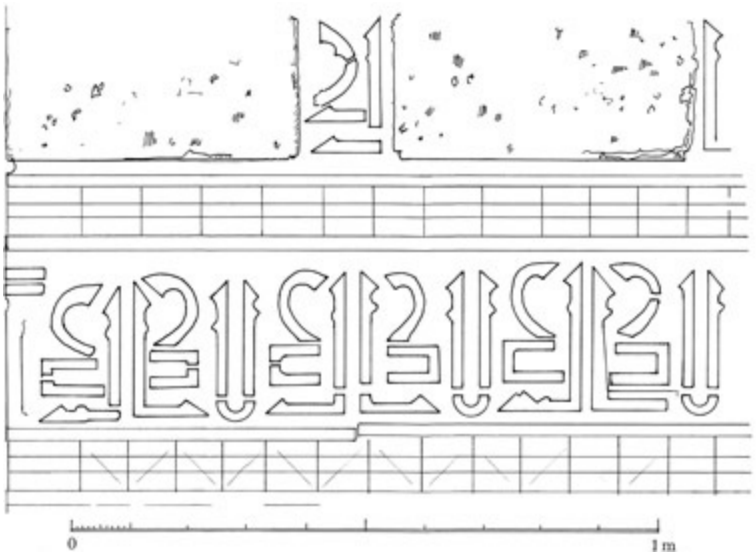

Figure 222 Soteira Lykodemou. Cufesque brickwork frieze (detail).

Figure 223 Soteira Lykodemou. Original (?) wall paintings of the church. Hagios Stephanos and Hagios Ioannes Theologos.

The masonry is cloisonné with ceramic decoration (Fig. 221) and, to a lesser degree, simple upright bricks set between the courses of porous stone ashlars. The horizontal rows of brick are usually double. The decoration is pseudo-Cufic,[26] but there is also a significant amount of simpler decoration formed by different combinations of bricks. Of greater interest is the pseudo-Cufic frieze (Fig. 222) that runs between the dentil courses at a low level on the sidewalls.[27] The frieze is composed of ceramic plaques with the motifs protruding slightly from the ground, which is filled with white mortar – a technique similar to that found in champlevé carving. Comparable decorative plaques in imitation of the originals have been incorporated in the restored west façade.

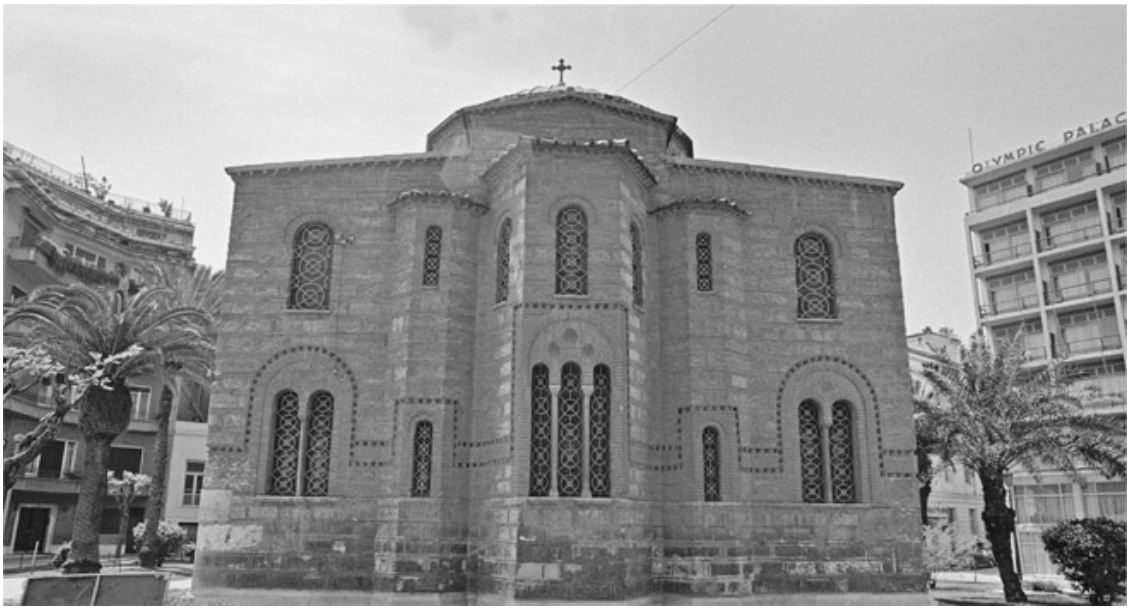

Figure 224 Soteira Lykodemou. East facade.

With regard to construction, the Soteira offers little information, since the vaulting is restored and the walls and apses are covered with modern wall paintings. Very little survives of the Middle Byzantine painted decoration (Fig. 223). We possess only indirect indications of the iconography on the dome[28]

from the drawings made by Lenoir and Durand. The Post-Byzantine wall paintings are better known, again thanks to Durand.[29]

All of the above, concerning both typology and morphology, confirms the monument's direct relationship with the two churches at Hosios Loukas. The Soteira Lykodemou is the oldest and most faithful copy of that monastery's *katholikon*. Besides most of the morphological elements, it is the proportional relations[30] that attest the direct connection between the Soteira church and the *katholikon* (Figs. 224, 225). And the ceramic decoration with the pseudo-Cufic letters and the frieze confirm a direct link with the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas. Megaw had drawn attention to these parallels already in 1933. The Soteira Lykodemou and the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Athenian Agora bear witness to the direct influence of the monastery in Phokis on the architecture of Athens and, subsequently, of Greece more generally.

Figure 225 Soteira Lykodemou. View from northeast.

Taxiarchs church in the Roman Agora

The church dedicated to the Taxiarchs, or Archangels, in the Roman Agora, like the neighboring church of Profitis Ilias, was demolished in circa 1850,[1] both victims of the Athenians' ignorance and their zeal for meeting the needs

of everyday life.[2] The central position of this monument, its close proximity to the Archegetis Gate of the Roman Agora, and its fine condition meant that both measured and perspective drawings were made of the church, thereby providing us with a very good picture of its appearance.

A relatively recent study[3] of the church mentions nine drawings that were made before 1850. Two more can be added to these: by L.F.S. Fauvel[4] and L. Lange.[5] The fullest depictions are by the Danish architect M. Bindesbøll[6] (Fig. 226) and by the Frenchman Gailhabaud[7] (Fig. 227), which when combined offer nearly complete data about the church. A further source of information consists of the marble architectural members of the Taxiarchs church that were incorporated into the modern church of the Panagia Gregorousa built on the same site. These include columns, window colonnettes and a sarcophagus of exquisite quality,[8] which was built into the parapet of the gallery in the new church.

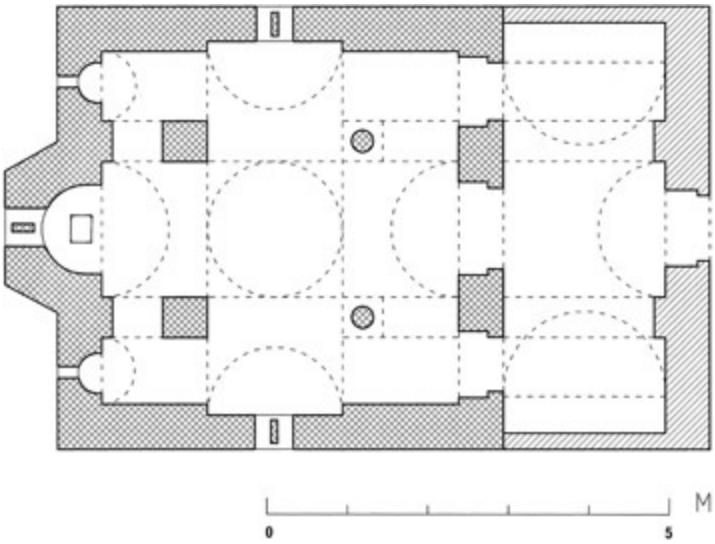

Figure 226 Church of the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora. Plan. Based on a drawing by M. G. Bindesbøll. By kind permission of the Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

The Taxiarchs was a relatively small church (5.50 × 8.20 m ground plan), a cross-in-square, domed, two-columned variation with a later narthex at the end of which there were arcosolia with sarcophagi. The excellent cloisonné masonry, sculpture and wall-to-wall painting[9] testify to the founders' wealth.

One could say that the church summed up many of the characteristics of Athenian churches: the elegant dome, the crispness of the masses and outlines, and the articulation of the surfaces with dentil courses and cornices. The horseshoe arches of the three openings in the original façade, constructed of porous stone ashlars, are reminiscent of similar arches at Kapnikarea and the Asomatoi church near Theseion. There were marble doorways with cornices at all of the entrances and isolated ceramic bowls marked the axis of the two short sides. In the Ottoman period part of the western façade was plastered and a single-arched belfry was erected above the roof of the west side.

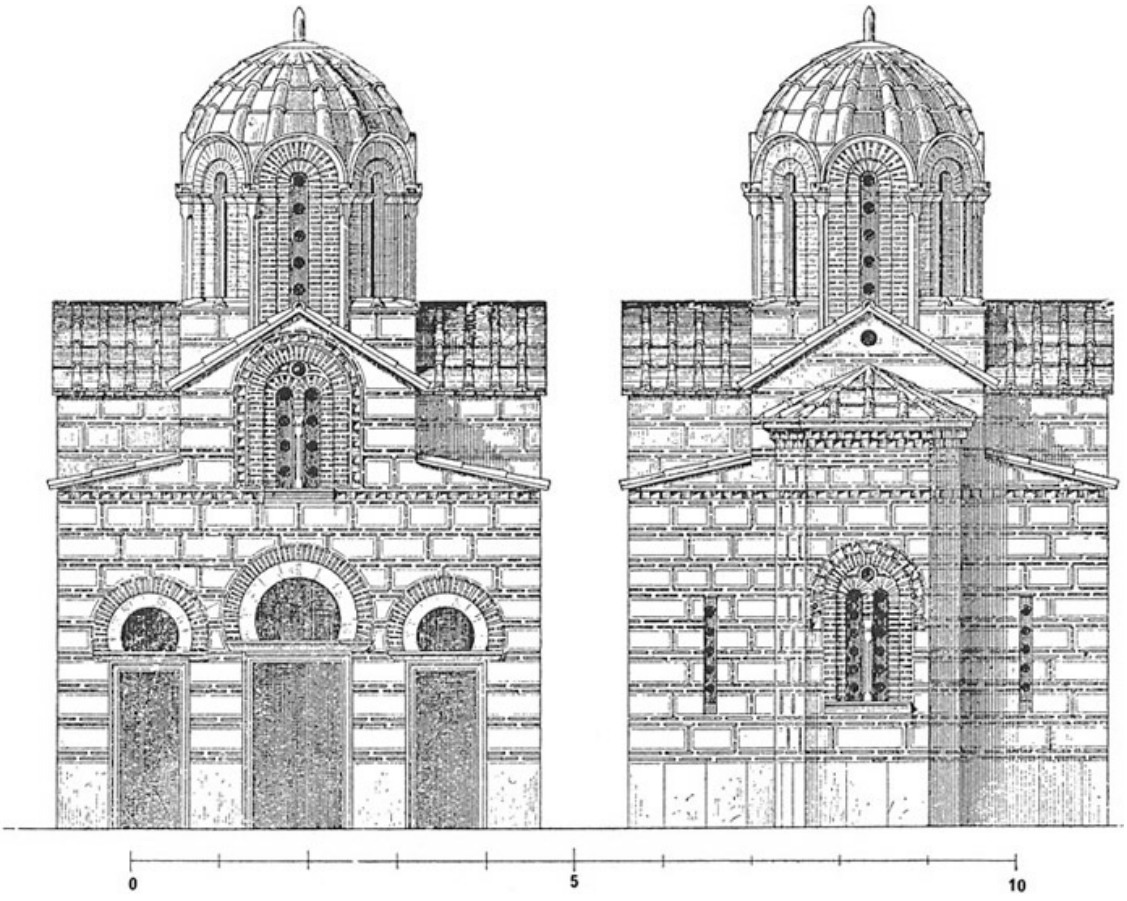

Figure 227 Church of the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora. West and east ends. Elevation drawings by Gailhabaud.

The date of the Taxiarchs church can only be estimated, given the absence of information about the ceramic decoration that presumably once existed. Certain similarities in architectural forms point to a date for the church in the

eleventh century, while the rich decoration of the sarcophagus and its resemblance to that in the Hagioi Apostoloi church in the Agora suggest that a narthex with arcosolia was created to house important graves and coincides more neatly with social tendencies of the twelfth century in which great significance was given to family origin and the reputation of the name of the deceased, whether or not he was the founder.

Two short, impost column capitals in the propylon of the modern church (not included in the 2001 publication) are adorned with simple foliate crosses and may well have belonged to two columns in the original church. They are not *spolia* but, on the other hand, present no particular interest.

Hagios Filippos

The extent to which the church dedicated to St Philip, demolished long ago, was Middle Byzantine remains problematic. On the site of the original church, a new one of the same dedication still stands today, on Adrianou Street to the north of the Athenian Agora, and appears not to preserve anything from the old monument.[1]

It was thought that our only information about the medieval monument came from two drawings by Couchaud.[2] They consist of a plan of a three-aisled basilica without a narthex and a drawing of a western façade (Fig. 228) characterized by an elevated central aisle and the slightly pointed arch over the lintel shrine that surmounts the entrance.

However, two drawings by Durand[3] (Fig. 229, 230) certainly depict the same building. Comparison of the west façades as drawn by Couchaud and Durand yields shared idiosyncrasies: the overall disposition of the elevated central aisle, the double-light window in the upper section with the flanking ceramic bowls, the shape of the entrance with the 'heavy lintel' and the arch over the lintel. The serious divergence between the two lies in the division of the aisles of the basilica: with three pairs of columns in Couchaud's drawing, and with walls in Durand's. In the brief text provided by Couchaud, he states clearly that at the time of his visit only the eastern and western parts of the

church survived, so obviously in the plan the columns were his reconstruction, since he understood the walls to be more recent.

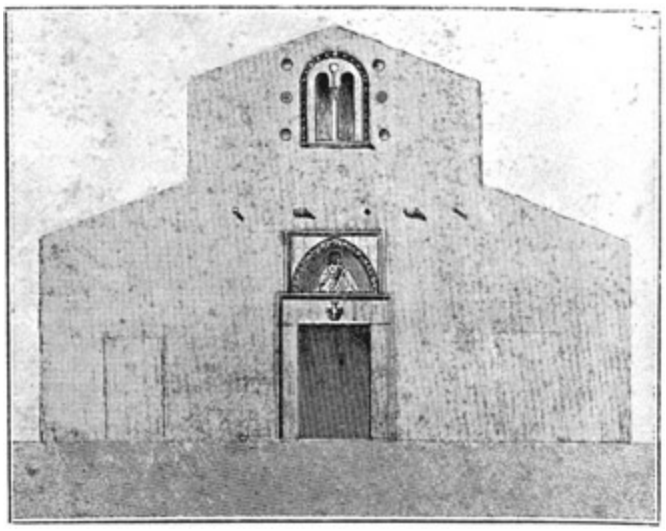

Figure 228 Hagios Filippos. West façade. Drawing by A. Couchaud (1842).

The Danish architect Bindesbøll[4] left a drawing entitled 'Greek church' that also shows, without a doubt, the church of Hagios Filippos. It is an exact section of the central aisle, with a view of the east wall and the *bema* apse. We see here again the features depicted in Durand's drawing, especially the longitudinal walls between the aisles. In these walls there is a single large arched passage and two large arched windows. In both section drawings of the central aisle, it is clear that a small, secondary *prothesis* conch had been made in the correct position.

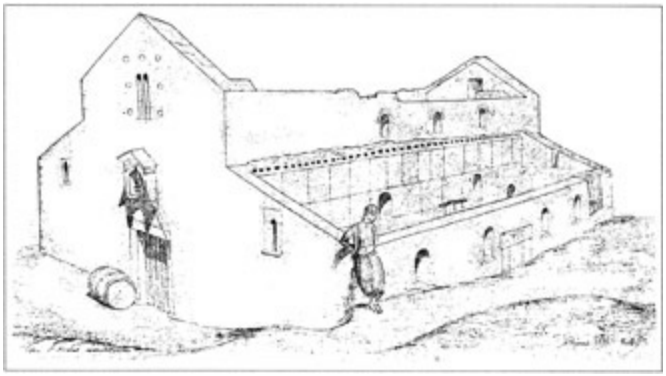

Figure 229 Hagios Filippos. View from the southwest. Drawing by P. Durand. Athens, M. Charitatos

Collection.

However, the name of the monument on both drawings by Durand is problematic. He calls it ‘Saint Nikolas Epanosidriotis’.[5] According to Biris,[6] this name did not exist. But on the general map of Athenian churches, there is a church of Hagios Nikolaos[7] (now gone) located in the immediate vicinity of Hagios Filippos.[8] It is very likely that Durand, poorly informed,[9] noted the name of one church on the drawing of another. It is not accidental that Bindesbøll does not give a name for the same building.

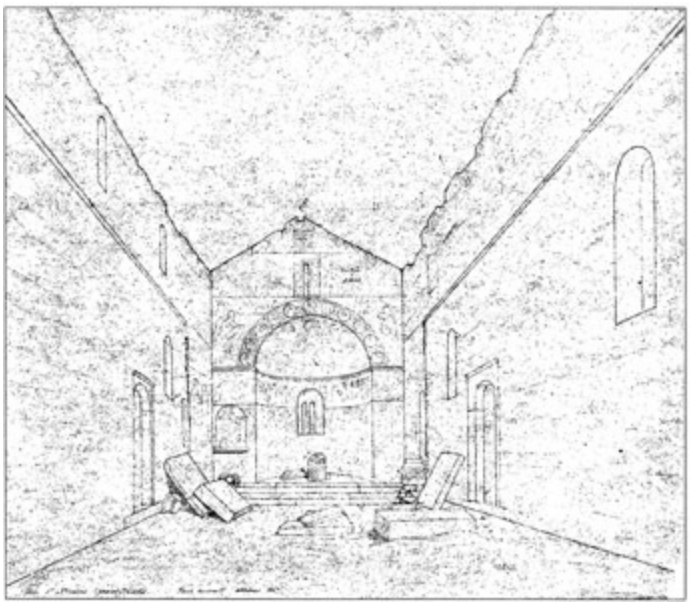

Figure 230 Hagios Filippos. The interior looking east. Drawing by P. Durand. Athens, M. Charitatos Collection.

Figure 231 Hagios Filippos. Above: sanctuary apse and east wall; below: plan, west façade, east–west section. Sketches by M. G. Bindesbøll. By kind permission of the Danish National Art Library, Copenhagen.

There are several divergences between the three documents that should be noted. While the façade published by Couchaud was essential for the identification of the church, the plan is not reliable. The ground plan sketch by Bindesbøll gives the overall proportions for the building as approximately 1:1 (not 1:1.60 as in the Couchaud plan), which is roughly consistent with the proportions of the perspective drawing by Durand, whose reliability is undisputed because they were arrived at with the use of a camera obscura.

Consequently, the church was not as long as shown by Couchaud and the sanctuary was not as deep as it is depicted in his drawing. On the basis of the measured sectional drawing by Bindesbøll (Fig. 231), the apse must have had a diameter of about 2.26 meters and not 3.40, pace Couchaud.

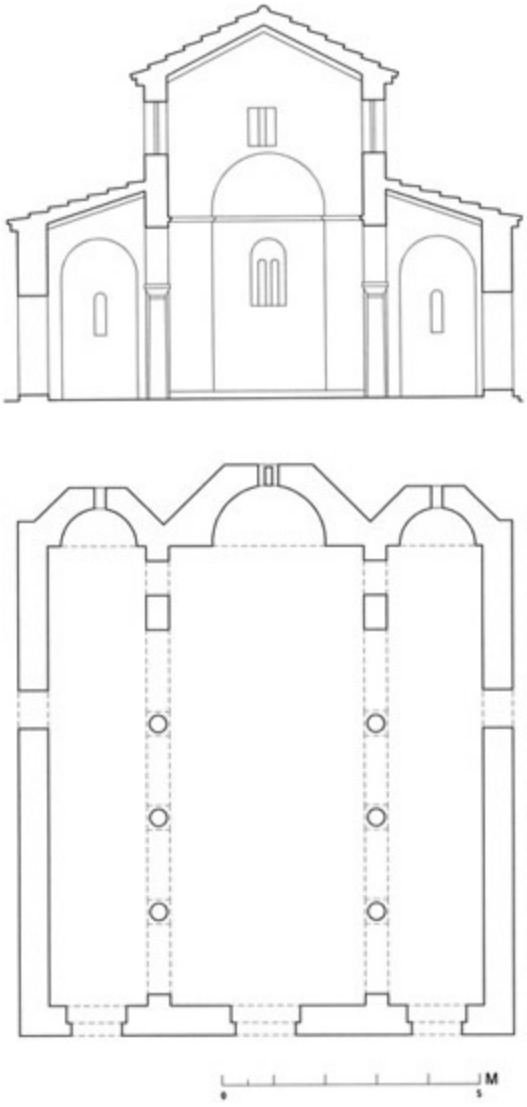

Figure 232 Hagios Filippos. Restored plan and north–south section.

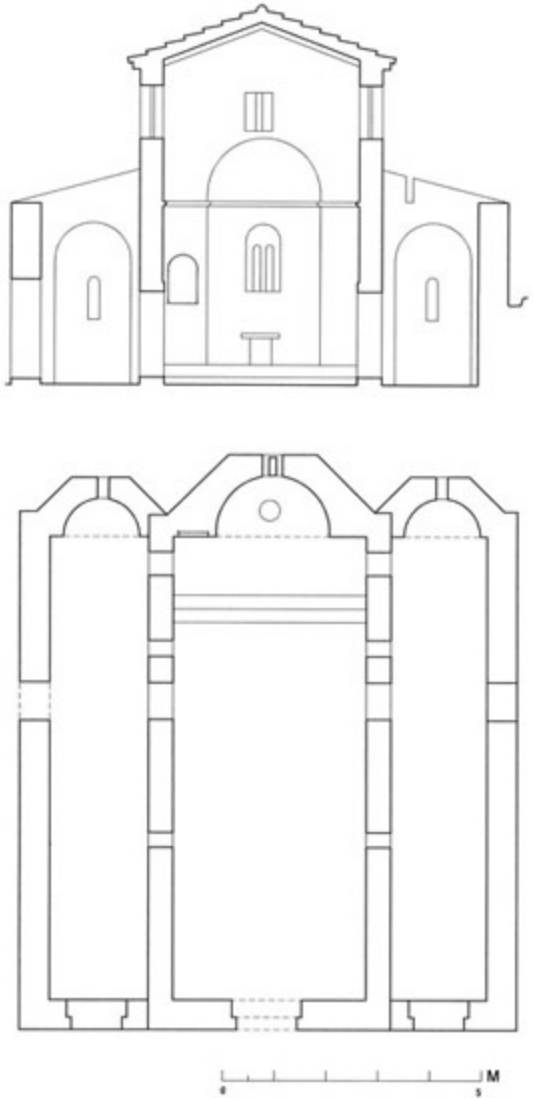

Figure 233 Hagios Filippos. Plan and north–south section of the church during the Ottoman period.

From the drawings of Durand and Bindesbøll it emerges that in the elevated clerestory there were arched windows, as well as a string-course delineating the boundaries of the side aisles, and surviving traces of a tall *templon* in the correct position.

Drawing together all of the above, we may deduce that the Hagios Filippos church was a relatively small, three-aisled basilica without a narthex (Fig. 232) that, since it had lost its roof, was reconstructed as a single-aisled basilica in the central aisle, most probably in the Ottoman period (Fig. 233). The side aisles remained unroofed and the conches in the *parabemata* ceased to be

used. In the course of the reconstruction, a new *prothesis* conch was created and the entire sanctuary was covered with wall paintings. The side entrances in the façade were walled up.[10]

With regard to the chronology of Hagios Filippos, Sotiriou[11] connected the monument with the basilica of Hagios Dionysios on the Areopagus in order to arrive at a date in the seventh or early eighth century.[12] But the church of Hagios Filippos does not resemble that of Hagios Dionysios, nor was the latter so old.[13] Nevertheless, this early date was perpetuated in Xyngopoulos's *Mnemeia Athenon* (Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν).[14]

Millet[15] believed that Hagios Filippos belonged to the Frankish period and that it was a wooden-roofed basilica without galleries. The double-light window on the west end, the form of the conches in the *bema* and *parabemata*, the decorative ceramic bowls, the dentil course, and the blind arch over the lintel belong to the local Middle Byzantine architectural tradition. Only the pointed arch, visible on Couchaud's façade, does not belong to this tradition and created the suspicion that Hagios Filippos had been built just after the Frankish occupation.

Eleven Athenian Churches Not Included in the Catalogue

The eleven Athenian churches that are very briefly mentioned in the list that follows have been left outside the catalogue of Middle Byzantine churches because there is some doubt concerning their chronology, or the data is exiguous, or for some other reasons.

1. The wall paintings of the Arch of Hadrian have already been discussed.[16] Except for these paintings, there are no other indications that there was once a church at this location; neither do we possess any written references to the Arch or a church to confirm the existence of a Byzantine monument.
2. The hermitage of Hagios Athanasios[17] on the north slope of the Acropolis was created in the eastern part of the Cave of Pan. It was

drawn by Travlos[18] and described by Xyngopoulos[19] and others.[20] However, the date of the hermitage remains uncertain. Judging by a photograph in the Byzantine and Christian Museum,[21] the wall paintings belong to the early Ottoman period.

3. The church of Hagia Thekla at Stavros was considered to be a small, Post-Byzantine basil-ica.[22] In 2001–2002 the church was moved so that one of the main arteries of modern Athens, Mesogeion Avenue, could be widened. This provided the opportunity to remove the outer layers of plaster and excavate the church interior. Two columns were discovered in the position of the modern icon screen,[23] making it clear that originally the church had a cross-in-square plan, with a dome and a semicircular *bema* apse on the exterior, with rubble masonry and many horizontally placed bricks. The monument was classified as Late Byzantine,[24] but we cannot exclude the possibility that it is earlier.
4. The ruinous church of Hagios Nikolaos, or Hagios Serapheim, at the foot of the Acropolis[25] was reinvestigated and partially restored in 1999–2000.[26] It is a complex, or semi-complex, cross-in-square, domed church without a narthex. The monument, already in ruins in the eighteenth century, was converted to a tower[27] associated with the Ottoman wall that stretched from the east side of the tower to the north wall of the Acropolis. The existence of a muqarnas-shaped corbel[28] and the pointed window arches were considered sufficient evidence to identify the Hagios Nikolaos church as an Ottoman creation.[29] However, the cloisonné masonry, marble door frame with a molding, and corner bays[30] cause one to suspect that this was a Middle Byzantine construction that had fallen into ruin and was largely rebuilt on top of what remained of the original walls and with liberal use of the older building material. The surrounding ruins of buildings and the cistern make it likely that Hagios Nikolaos was the *katholikon* of a small monastery.
5. According to Travlos, the well-known Panagia stin Petra (‘Virgin on

the Rock') church[31] – formerly the temple of Artemis Agrotera at Agrai[32] – was Post-Byzantine. But the existence of a complex of much older graves constitutes a serious indication that the church was consecrated already from the Early Christian period. The three-sided exterior apse of the sanctuary belongs more likely to the Byzantine rather than the Post-Byzantine period. Orlandos[33] also believed that the original temple had been converted into a single-aisled, Early Christian basilica.

6. Among the drawings by Durand[34] is one depicting the dome of some church dedicated to the Savior (Soter), but it has not been possible to identify it with a surviving church, or with one mentioned in Biris's catalogue.[35] It is a fascinating problem since the iconography of the dome is Byzantine, and this confirms that the church, which in all probability no longer exists, also belongs to the Middle Byzantine period. By coincidence, the same dome was depicted by T. J. Wilson,[36] whose drawing was copied by Westlake and published in the well-known, old handbook by Dalton.[37] But, again, except for the unspecified dedication 'Soter', no further information is provided. The dome had eight ribs creating the vertical divisions, and these began low down between the single-light windows and gradually became thinner as they ascended to the top of the dome where a relatively small-scale Pantokrator was depicted. The wall paintings in the dome's sphere are in two zones, with cherubim in the upper zone and angels supporting the heavens in the lower one. This rare iconographical arrangement in the dome can be paralleled with that at the Metamorphosis church at Koropi,[38] and also with the Soteira Lykodemou church, discussed above. These two examples indicate an early date, placing the nonextant monument in the tenth or first half of the eleventh century. The ribs in the dome can be paralleled with those in the church of Profitis Ilias in the Staropazaro,[39] which is also considered to be a relatively early Athenian monument.
7. Between the Odeon of Herodes Atticus and the fortifications at the

entrance to the Acropolis, Stuart and Revett[40] noted in their drawings a small ruinous mosque or tekke that, according to Pittakis,[41] was originally a church known by the name Hagioi Anargyroi.[42] A tenth-century funerary inscription found in the environs became – without justification[43] – the reason for considering that the ruins belonged to a Byzantine church. We do not know the exact form of the monument.

8. A church that was probably built by the Athenian empress Eirene will be discussed later, in the context of the historical interpretation of the monuments.[44]
9. The Sotera of Dikaios was also considered a Post-Byzantine monument[45] and was destroyed long ago. It was located in the neighborhood of the Hagioi Anargyroi church, at the level of Psyrri Square. The excavation by Alexandri[46] in the plot at Ivis and Navarchou Apostoli Streets resulted in the discovery of the remains of a church that was identified on the basis of drawings by Biris[47] and Travlos.[48] According to the excavator, they discovered the southeast corner of the building, which was Byzantine in date. Ancient architectural members were incorporated in the walls. In the adjacent Hellenistic building (which may have had relevant rooms), two storage jars were found near a well. Unfortunately, neither drawings nor photographs were published.
10. A small room with a semicircular apse was discovered in an excavation by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora[49] and was interpreted as a church because of the ossuaries found in its pavement. Preserved in very good condition, the small church of unknown name was probably covered with a wooden roof, and had two building phases, one of which may have been in the Middle Byzantine period. Its interest is purely archaeological.
11. The small church of Hagia Eirene in Plaka, originally a three-aisled basilica from the Middle Byzantine period, was transformed into a

single-aisled church in the Ottoman period.[50]

Typology

Historically, typological analysis was considered an essential part of the study of Byzantine church construction, although it is doubtful whether the choice of church type during the construction of a new church was of particular importance to the Byzantines. The growing popularity of domed designs was usually sufficient to satisfy founders' – and indeed churchmen's – taste for symbolic forms and the need to articulate internal spaces, not to mention the needs for appropriate spaces for painted decoration.

This is the background to the widespread distribution of the cross-in-square, domed church in Greece during the Middle Byzantine period, while other factors such as finances, access to materials, terrain and, above all, function, determined the different variations of the cross-in-square type. Vokotopoulos[1] remarked that 'it is striking how embedded is the notion that there were only four variations of the cross-in-square church, those with which Orlandos occupied himself more than sixty years ago. This observation is highly relevant to the churches of Athens, since among the twenty-seven domed, cross-in-square churches in the catalogue, there are at least nine variations of the basic type.

The churches in which the western supports for the dome are pilasters or longitudinal walls extending from the west wall belong to the so-called transitional type of early churches,[2] and are represented by relatively few examples.[3] In Athens, Profitis Ilias and the Hagioi Theodoroi belong to this variation, as do Hagios Nikolaos in the Agora[4] (preserved only to the height of its pavement) and the chapel in the Library of Hadrian, whose name is unknown. In the interior space of this variation, heavy masonry dominates and gives the impression of a certain lack of daring as regards the support of the vaults. The second phase of the older church underneath the Fethiye Mosque may belong to the transitional, cross-in-square type.

More rarely in Greece is found the variation in the *katholikon* of Moni

Petraki, which seems to have been followed in the churches of Hagia Aikaterine and Sotera of Kottakis. They may be characterized as complex, four-columned types with a compact sanctuary.[5] The fact that the space of the *bema* does not communicate with the *parabemata* makes it almost certain that the *templon* stood between the two east columns, and this variation should be identified as a simple, four-columned, domed, cross-in-square church with an elongated sanctuary. One may wonder what the functional reasons were behind this variation. It may have been the need to isolate the *parabemata* in order to create there the independent chapels.

In any case, these three Athenian churches, given their unclear dates, point again to the problem of the introduction of the four-columned, square church plan into Greece: whether the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki – which must have been the prototype – with its various ancient elements and blind arches on its façades, was the first to bring Constantinopolitan architectural ideas to southern Greece, or whether it was preceded by the construction around 960 of another prototype, the Panagia at Hosios Loukas. The size of the Panagia and its artistic ambition, the striking distinctiveness of the exterior ceramic decoration and quality of its carvings, as well as the fullness of the tripartite sanctuary, all justify its influence as a model. On the other hand, the evidence already noted above[6] probably places the construction of the Moni Petraki *katholikon* earlier than the Panagia.

The Panagia prototype – the complex, four-columned, cross-in-square, domed church – would later be followed at Kapnikarea, the Kaisariani *katholikon*, possibly the Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square, and in a simpler form at the Gorgoepekoos church (semi-complex, four-columned). The two other versions are the most complex in Greece, namely the simple four-columned (Asomatoi near Theseion, Omorfi Ekklesia in Galatsi, Theologos and Metamorphosis in Plaka, and Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas) and the two-columned (Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos, Koimesis in Goudi, the *katholikon* of the Hagios Ioannes Kynegos monastery, of the Homologetai monastery, and the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora).

Among the cross-in-square, domed churches one may also classify the single-aisled churches of the Megale Panagia and Asomatos sta Skalia. The

latter may also be characterized as a compact, cross-in-square church, despite the peculiarities imposed by its close proximity to the propylon of the Library of Hadrian. A truly original architectural synthesis is the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Athenian Agora, where a domed, cross-in-square plan is fused with a tetraconch. This unique architectural work embodies serious artistic aspirations, rather than representing an attempt to accommodate surrounding conditions. We find precisely the opposite at Hagia Marina, where the master builder adapted the features of a natural cave and produced an improvised solution for the roof by cutting four very shallow arches out of the live rock to support the dome.

In the category of wooden-roofed basilicas, we have the three-aisled church of Hagios Filippos, the small, single-aisled church of the Acropolis Propylaia, and perhaps Hagios Thomas and Hagios Nikolaos in the Agora. All four of these monuments were demolished, leaving doubts about both their original form and their date. If the most important of these, Hagios Filippos, does not date to the Frankish period, its presence in medieval Athens is of some importance because it is the first example of a Middle Byzantine three-aisled basilica noted in eastern mainland Greece, and it confirms the continuation of a Late Antique type and its adaptation to medieval circumstances. The typical three-aisled, Early Christian basilica with an elevated clerestory acquired a full sanctuary with three conches and a pair of wall piers that facilitated the positioning of the *templon*, while galleries were discontinued. Vokotopoulos argued for the survival of the ancient type in the Middle Byzantine period and refuted the view that it can be related to Slavic or Latin models.[7]

The direct relationship between the Soteira Lykodemou and the *katholikon* of the Hosios Loukas monastery was demonstrated in a relatively recent publication.[8] In the development (essentially the simplification) of the prototype that is observable in those relatively few examples of the so-called 'Greek octagon type'[9] that can be dated after the Hosios Loukas *katholikon*, the Soteira Lykodemou is without a doubt the closest and most faithful copy. It is the only example that retains the galleries above the side aisles and the one whose proportional relations most closely approach those of the prototype.[10] The type did not spread widely because it could not be adapted in

smaller-scale churches except with daring simplifications, as we find in the chapel of the bell tower of the Hosios Loukas monastery.[11]

With regard to the typology of the remaining monuments in the catalogue, it is not possible to comment further since they are poorly preserved and without documentation.

The narthex of the cross-in-square church follows the tripartite church in respect to its cross-vaulted roof.[12] The archaic covering with a single barrel vault along the narthex was not attested in Middle Byzantine Athens, perhaps because in the older examples, such as in the church on the site of the Fethiye Mosque and in the Moni Petraki *katholikon*, the original narthex was destroyed.

Worthy of note from the point of view of typology is, finally, the longitudinal building that once ran along the north side of Kapnikarea and was contemporary with the *naos*. Its purpose remains unknown. The large opening on its east side makes it more or less impossible that it was a chapel.

Morphology and construction

Once more we find a direct relationship in the Byzantine ecclesiastical monuments of Athens between typology, morphology and construction, a relationship that characterizes the unassuming, functional and consistent architecture of this period. The same issues reveal the great difference that existed in the Middle Byzantine period between the architecture of the house and of the church – the former being cheap,[13] the latter meticulous in its construction. Given the poor state of preservation typical of domestic architecture, I will limit my comments and observations about architectural morphology to church construction.

As elsewhere, in Athens too there appear to have been both ornate and simple churches. The impossibility of determining the date of construction for the simpler churches without artistic pretensions leaves room for doubt concerning whether they were built at the same time as the better-known, elaborately decorated churches, although this was very likely the case.

Nevertheless, morphological analysis is limited to the latter variety that, especially in Athens and in the context of a particular style, presents important forms and decoration. This style – which Millet rather ineptly[14] dubbed the 'École grecque' – was studied from the point of view of its architectural forms, and its chronological framework was investigated by Megaw. Later, and with the help of external information,[15] the chronology of the two churches at Hosios Loukas made it clear that most of the indications, both typological and morphological, of the Helladic style began there; and also that the oldest and most faithful copies of the two churches at Hosios Loukas were preserved in Athens.[16]

The Middle Byzantine churches of Athens, except for the Soteira Lykodemou, are small-scale in comparison with those of Constantinople or Thessalonica. They are, however, distinguished for their quality, the harmonious relations of the masses on the exterior and the clarity of their outlines, which is achieved by the use of clean, geometric shapes and flat surfaces in the walls. On the façades, the pursuit of symmetry is observable in the openings set on the building's main axes, with the emphasis placed on the cross-arms, but also in the form of the openings, or their supplementary decoration. One also discerns the attempt to organize the façades by the use of horizontal elements, such as chamfered marble bands at the lower level of the sanctuary windows and dentil courses that run around the arches of the windows and, without interruption, continue horizontally around the building.

The dome is the crowning feature of the architectural whole, and those that survive – with the sole exception of the Soteira Lykodemou – are eight-sided prisms with an equal number of windows. Usually the dome is of the type called 'Athenian', with a marble, arched cornice on each side, supported on semi-columns at the corners, and above the chamfered imposts are projecting waterspouts. The prototype for this elegant type is not found in Athens, but at the church of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas monastery.[17] The dome there is slightly disfigured today, but it has marble champlevé revetment and archaizing lion-headed waterspouts, and became an object of imitation (with minor or major simplifications) not only in Athens,[18] and not only in the

Middle Byzantine period.[19]

The ambitions of the master builders and the quest for originality can be seen to be expressed in the domes of the Athenian churches of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri and Profitis Ilias in Staropazaro, in the form of the so-called 'diplotholion'.[20] Here the cornices form a straight line around the dome, and the pyramidal roof of the dome has a step-like break in each of its eight sides, but void of any structural purpose.[21] Another original feature, again in the domes of Profitis Ilias and in the second phase of the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki, are the relatively thick[22] masonry semi-columns at the eight corners. We do not know the shape of the dome in the first building phase of the *katholikon* – presumably it was not 'Athenian'.

The sanctuary apses in the churches under consideration are three-sided on the exterior, with the exception of the oldest church in the position of the Fethiye Mosque, and the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki together with the two churches that used it as a model.[23] The notion that the semicircular exterior conches are an indication of an earlier date and are typical of older churches is based, on the one hand, on their similarity to conches in Early Christian basilicas and, on the other, the fact that the circular shape created difficulties for construction using cloisonné masonry, which became increasingly more widespread.

In the churches of Athens we see the familiar picture for southern Greece in which construction techniques develop gradually, followed by architectural forms. The masonry of the church on the Fethiye Mosque site is poor quality, made from fieldstones with only a few bricks and careless mortar. The situation improves with the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki, where we find partially shaped stones accompanied by brick, and an overall impression of precision and care in the construction. This is followed by eleventh-century masonry that uses large prismatic stones in the lower levels of the walls,[24] supplemented with ashlars and horizontal bricks, with the upper courses in cloisonné masonry. We see the first appearance of this construction in the two monuments at Hosios Loukas, and it spread thanks to the reuse of ancient worked stone, although it is not certain whether large, antique stone blocks were always available.

The creation of large crosses,[25] or T-[26] or Π-shapes[27], built into the walls with the use of large rectangular stones, and the use of such bulky stones at the corners[28] of buildings naturally lends these structures a solidity and sturdiness since they usually take up the entire wall thickness. The similarity to the Roman system of masonry known as opus africanum[29] – a favored notion of Orlandos[30] – is simply not persuasive given the rarity of examples attested[31] in Greece. The heavy, upright boulders also require a solid foundation, something to which the Athenian masons paid special attention, at least to judge by the preservation of the Athenian examples. It may be this requirement that explains the solution found in the twelfth century of creating an independent *crepidoma*, as is found in the examples of this time.

In the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki, at the churches of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri, Soteira Lykodemou, and the *katholikon* of Kaisariani, the arches exteriorize the transverse vaults on the side façades: they are emphasized by the use of flanking pilasters and draw attention to the cross-arms. The idea is probably Constantinopolitan, because in a cross-in-square monument in the capital (as also in the first phase of the Moni Petraki *katholikon*) (Fig. 214) the middle of the three blind arches that correspond to the *naos* is higher than the other two and dominates the overall impression. In imitation of the churches at the Hosios Loukas monastery, the system enjoyed a wide distribution, with at least fourteen other examples known in Greece.

In the Athenian churches, the arches of the openings are generally semicircular and usually somewhat stilted. A distinctive shape that has as its starting point the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas[32] is the horseshoe arch.[33] The existence of this shape in Greece is a problem and is thought to be connected – like decorative Cufic letters too – with architecture in the Arab sphere.[34] In Athens, we find a horseshoe arch on the entrance to Kapnikarea, the Asomatoi in the Roman Agora, the Asomatoi in Theseion, Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, the Theologos church in Plaka, on the dome of the Gorgoepekoos church, on an icon frame at Hagios Loukas, on the propylon of the Kynegos monastery and on an unknown church whose window was drawn by Hansen in 1834.[35] Bearing in mind the limited number of examples

in Greece,[36] the horseshoe arches may be considered a very particular architectural type, but one which was considerably widespread in Athens.

The precedent for ceramic wall decoration was, of course, the radial use of bricks around arched openings. The older motifs used in the gaps between the stones in wall construction were created from simple bricks set in random positions,[37] or in positions thought to make up letters, as for example in the churches of Kastoria. In the walls of the Panagia at Hosios Loukas, a totally different concept appears, because there we find artistic ceramic decoration in a lively red color set on a solid background made of mortar and the porous stone ashlars of the wall.[38] In style, it is more reminiscent of inset technique found in metalwork, which was of course highly prized in Byzantium. Moreover, it was a very costly technique.[39]

The various ceramic decorative motifs found in the church façades have been studied in detail by Megaw,[40] who classified them chronologically, even though his attempt to delineate the precise dates of the monuments' construction was flawed from the outset.[41] In the case of the Panagia church exterior at Hosios Loukas and its direct imitator, the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Athenian Agora, the ceramic motifs are Arabic letters – either Cufic or pseudo-Cufic – familiar from portable objects,[42] but used here for the first time as architectural decoration. There are no known examples on monuments outside Greece.[43] The ceramic work takes the form of, on the one hand, individual cut bricks embedded in the wall and, on the other, plaques in which the motifs are rendered by champlevé technique in which they are highlighted by the use of a white background and together they form a sort of frieze. In the course of time, the decorative motifs lost their resemblance to Arabic letters and gave way to others that could be made more easily, from either simple or cut bricks. Since the pioneering studies by Sotiriou,[44] Megaw,[45] and Miles,[46] the subject of Cufic decoration has been repeatedly discussed.[47] What is of interest in this context is the fact that, on the one hand, the examples of Cufic ceramic decoration are limited to mainland Greece and the Argolid and, on the other, the few monuments that preserve the character of the original are nearly all in Athens: except for the Hagioi Apostoloi and

the Soteira Lykodemou, where we find a full decorative program for the walls and a direct relationship to the prototype, we find the distinctive ceramic decoration at the Hagioi Theodoroi,[48] as mentioned earlier, the Hagioi Asomatoi near Theseion,[49] Kapnikarea,[50] Hagia Aikaterine, Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, and the Metamorphosis in Plaka. At Hagios Loukas there was Cufic painted decoration on an icon frame and very probably some isolated motifs between the stones on the façade of Profitis Ilias in Staropazaro.[51] We find simplified ceramic decoration in Athens at Hagios Ioannes the Theologian (cut bricks), the Megale Panagia (*disepsilon*) and Kapnikarea (key-shaped).

Other types of exterior ceramic decoration are reticulated tile revetments and ceramic bowls. The former is found mainly in early monuments in Greece[52] including Macedonia,[53] but also in Late Byzantine churches.[54] In Athens, the only instance where it was used was at Profitis Ilias. The ceramic bowls,[55] typically small in size, played a supplementary role in particular compositions and were used to emphasize the axes, usually set into tympana of windows, either singly or in pairs. Unfortunately, most of the inset bowls have been destroyed, although there has been discussion about whether they belong to the same date as the churches in which they appear, and also whether they derived from local production or were imported.[56] The Athenian examples are found at the Hagioi Theodoroi church, the Soteira Lykodemou, Hagia Aikaterine, the Omorfi Ekklesia in Galatsi, the *katholikon* of Kaisariani, Hagios Filippos and the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora.

Although the Gorgoepekoos church, which represents the most extreme example of the reuse of materials in church exteriors, is located in Athens, the city's other churches are distinguished by the sparseness and austerity of their outside appearance. *Spolia* were used decoratively only in the exonarthex of Kapnikarea and in the *katholikon* of the Homologetai monastery. By contrast, the reuse of simple, cut stones from antiquity (usually limestone from Piraeus, or conglomerate stone) in the lower wall courses is quite usual.

The recycling of ancient material is more pronounced in the columns that can be found in almost all cross-in-square churches in Athens. Unfluted monoliths, broadened towards the ends,[57] usually of gray Hymettian marble,

the column shafts belonged originally to Roman buildings (large houses or baths), or to Early Christian basilicas. Their capitals, usually made of white marble, are rarely contemporary with the churches to which they belong, and still more rarely are they new creations, as is the case at Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. The capitals are usually Roman or Early Christian Corinthianizing, without particular interest. In many cases, the columns do not have bases, or they are hidden by the modern pavement. The bases that survive belong to the familiar type – with two *tori*, scotia and plinth – that was widespread in the Roman and Early Christian period.

The most important hive of marble-working activity in the Middle Byzantine Greek world was clearly Athens, where carved architectural members are found by the dozens in situ, in museums and at archaeological sites. There is an observable development both in motifs and technique: to begin with we find simple, geometrical motifs, rosettes, whirls and arcades in rows. Over time, vegetal motifs appear, especially intertwined leafy tendrils, acanthus leaves and zodia, namely birds and small animals. Nearly all of the motifs are drawn from the ancient Graeco-Roman decorative repertoire[58] (moldings, bead and reel, rosettes, palmettes, reed leaves or acanthus leaves, dentils). Only the Cufic and pseudo-Cufic have an eastern origin, and the Cufic marble relief carving seems to have had much wider and longer-lasting dissemination than the ceramic Cufic decoration. Once again the starting point for this motif was the monastery of Hosios Loukas.[59] In Athens there are only a few examples: at the *katholikon* of the Kynegos monastery,[60] the Omorfi Ekklesia,[61] and on *spolia* in the Byzantine and Christian Museum,[62] the Roman Agora,[63] the Acropolis,[64] and the Asklepieion.[65] *Thorakia*, or marble panels of unknown function, adorned with various, individual zodia or mythical animals set alone, in struggling pairs or in symmetrical compositions, present greater inventiveness. The best example of such work can be found at the Gorgoepekoos church and the Byzantine and Christian Museum.

Athens also presents interest in its many door frames of Pentelic marble found both in situ as well as in museums and archaeological sites (Fig. 234–235). They are characterized by convex and concave elements that form

ribs and moldings that usually meet at 45-degree joinings between the horizontal and vertical parts (Fig. 236–237). Comparisons of the intersections of the doorjambs make it possible to draw chronological relationships, such as, for example, between Kapnikarea (the southern door) and Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas. They also allow us to appreciate the skill of the artisans, as at Hagios Ioannes in Plaka, for example, where the moldings degenerate into simple rows of incisions.

Figure 234 Byzantine Museum of Athens. Fragment of marble door frame (τ. 207).

Figure 235 Byzantine Museum of Athens. Fragment of marble door frame (τ. 282).

In many of the fine-quality monuments in Greece can be observed tendencies towards a local classicism that are expressed in particular morphological improvements. Examples of this have been discussed above, such as the harmonious relations of the masses and flat surfaces, as well as the emphasis on the horizontal disposition of the friezes, decorative bands and *crepidomata*. We also notice it in the care lavished on details that is obvious in the cutting of the stones and tiles, in the pointing of joints, the manner in which the linear elements at the corners of the buildings are turned, and the systematic concealment of the holes from the scaffolding supports. These

tendencies peaked in the twelfth century but extended into the thirteenth. With the exception of the Gorgoepekoos and the Omorfi Ekklesia, we do not find among the Athenian monuments the constantly improved stone carving that most typifies the classicizing aspirations and leads to forms comparable to the ancient models.[66] This is owed to the fact that the Athenian monuments are mainly early, dating to the eleventh century, a period when the revival of stone carving had just begun. In the windows of the Omorfi Ekklesia and the cornices of the Gorgoepekoos, examples of skillfully carved copies used to supplement the ancient *spolia* that was reused in the church, we see the achievements of stone carving also attested in Athens.

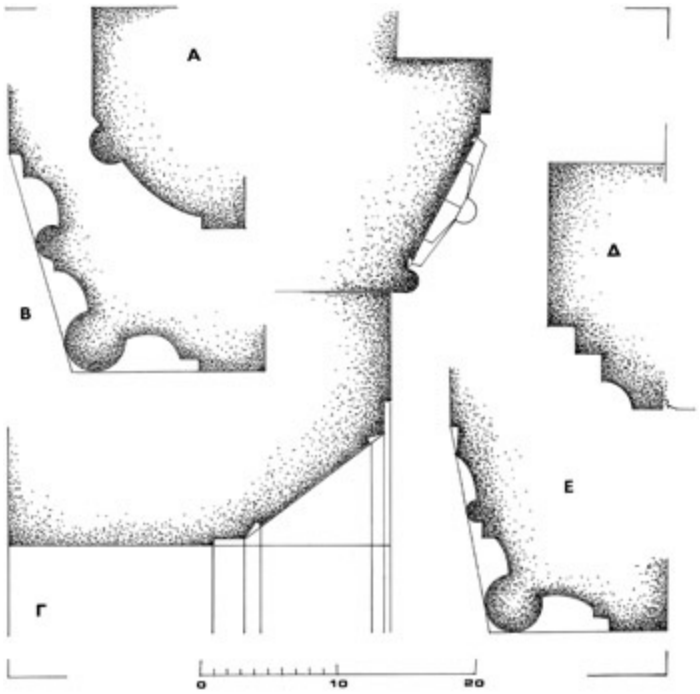

Figure 236 Profiles of marble door frames of Middle Byzantine Athenian churches. A. South door of Gorgoepekoos, B. North door of Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, Γ. Door of the exonarthex of Kapnikarea, Δ. West door of the Hagioi Apostoloi, E. South door of Kapnikarea.

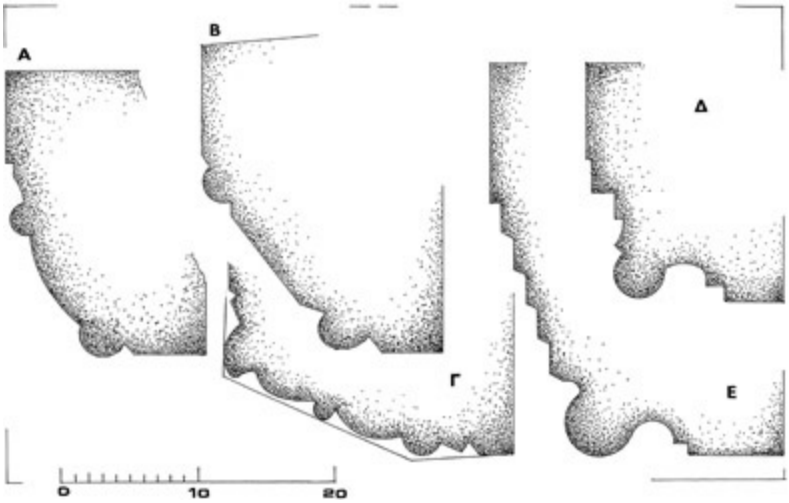

Figure 237 Profiles of marble door frames of Middle Byzantine Athenian churches. A. Byzantine Museum no. 3120, B. Byzantine Museum no. 3127, Γ. Byzantine Museum no. 4160, Δ. South door of Hagioi Theodoroi, E. West door of Hagios Ioannes Theologos in Plaka.

With regard to proportional relationships and the adaptation of geometrical structural schemes in the cross-in-square, domed churches, the ideas expressed by Moutsopoulos[67] are of interest. Maillard has studied the geometrical and aesthetic proportions, as well as the question of the golden section at Kapnikarea.[68]

It is unfortunate that no Middle Byzantine wall painting has survived in Athens. The remains of painted representations at Hagia Marina, the Theologos in Plaka, and Profitis Ilias belong to the Frankish period, and those at Soteira Lykodemou[69] have not been assigned a definite date. We have already discussed the painting in the dome of Soteira Lykodemou and the unidentified church of Sotera, as well as those in the narthex of the Parthenon.

We can only make very limited comments about the construction technique of the Athenian churches, since most of the monuments in the catalogue are today without a super-structure, while the walls and vaulting of those buildings still in use have been covered with modern plaster. We do not know when the local methods of vaulting with partially worked stone or rubble were wholly or partially abandoned in favor of much lighter brick-built vaulting.

At the Hagioi Asomatoi in Theseion, the exposure of the extrados of the

vaults[70] showed that they were made of flat stones, intermittent bricks and small stones inserted into the mortar, which attests the use of formwork for construction. At the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora, the vaults, the sphere of the dome and the semidomes of the large conches were made of porous stone ashlars,[71] while the semidomes of the small conches and the pendentives were made of brick, possibly with the Constantinopolitan recessed brick system.[72] Construction techniques that were commonplace in the capital can also be seen in the ribs of the domes at Profitis Ilias and the unidentified Sotera church, where they were built of brick.

The walls built of cloisonné masonry were made with porous stone ashlars and brick on the exterior and with simple rubble masonry on the interior, interspersed with through stones at the corners, lintels, and usually in the lower sections of the building. The inner surfaces were unfinished since they would be covered with plaster and wall paintings. In some cases, we find inexplicable care taken on the inside surfaces as well, with fine pointing,[73] as if the intention was that they remain unplastered (Gorgoepekoos), or with cloisonné masonry using finely cut porous stone (north wall of Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas).

As for the materials, it is obvious that in Athens there was an abundance of white marble that came from ancient monuments that had fallen into ruin. The cut stone in the fine-quality masonry was from Piraeus limestone (*aktites)* (as in Gorgoepekoos), porous stone from Aegina (as in the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora), or porous stone from Megara (as in the Hagioi Asomatoi in Theseion). It is likely that gray marble continued to be quarried at Hymettus in the Byzantine period,[74] but doubtful that Byzantine quarrymen were able to produce monolith column shafts.

Athenian ecclesiastical architecture in the wider Greek context

The spiritual nobility, austerity, tranquility and classical tone of the Middle Byzantine monuments of Athens were praised by Manolis Chatzidakis.[75] It is,

however, open to question whether all this should be attributed to the influence of the surrounding environment, to the ancient classical monuments that were ever-present inside the city. Certainly one substantial explanation for these characteristics can be found in the general social atmosphere of the period and in the desire of pious founders to make their contribution and to enjoy social approval. But we will return to these matters in the final chapter.

If we view Athenian Middle Byzantine church building in the context of the provincial architecture of southern Greece, it becomes clear that the Athenian tradition was relatively conservative in terms of church types, that it was reinvigorated in the tenth century by ideas stemming either directly or indirectly from the capital, and that, subsequently, new independent forms and decoration developed. In all probability these Constantinopolitan ideas manifested themselves in Athens almost simultaneously in the form of two revivalist tendencies: the one at the *katholikon* of Moni Petraki with a limited influence of two or three later ecclesiastical monuments[76] and the other through the monastery of Hosios Loukas, whose influence shaped the so-called 'Helladic school'. In the creation of this new 'school', as has been repeatedly stressed, the Athenian monuments played a very important role, both in spreading and consolidating the new style. The fact that the metropolis of Athens oversaw the bishoprics of mainland Greece, Euboea and various other islands was certainly one of the most important factors in the development of this role.

Notes

1 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 149.

2 It is not clear whether Travlos had in mind the elongation of the wall around the Hadrianic extension of the city, which remains problematic.

3 And the impossibility of manning the walls under threat.

4 K. M. Setton, The archaeology of medieval Athens, in *Essays presented in honour of Austin Patterson*

Evans (New York 1955) 235 and J. Travlos, op. cit., 161; Travlos, *Dictionary*, 162; E. P. Blegen, New Items from Athens, *AJA* 50 (1946) 373.

5 See G. Guidi, Il muro Valeriano a. S. Demetrio Katiphori e la questione del Diogeneion, *ASAtene* 4–5 (1921–22) 33–54, where the Post-Herulian wall is considered as part of the Valerianic. See also G. Sotiriou, Τό Ἰουστινιάνειον τεῖχος τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *Πανηγυρικός τόμος ἐπί τῇ ἐπετηρίδι τῆς Ριζαρείου Σχολῆς* (Athens 1920) 3–13, where the same wall is dated to the Justinianic period.

6 After its destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C. For some vague information about repairs of the ancient walls in 48 B.C., see Frantz, Late Antiquity, 1.

7 Ibid., 1 n. 1 and 3.

8 Other scholars attribute the building of the wall to the emperors Aurelian and Probus. See Thompson, Twilight, 65. According to D. Armstrong, Gallienus in Athens, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987) 235–238, the attribution should perhaps be to Gallienus; Koder and Hild, *Hellas*, 128.

9 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) B' 12.

10 Threpsiadis, Ἀνασκαφαί νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Prakt* 105 (1950) 67–68 (excavations on Veikou and Tsami Karatassou Streets). See inset plate, p. 72.

11 Thompson and Scranton (1943) 372–376. It is not clear whether the Roman wall mentioned here is the Valerianic.

12 Op. cit., 369, fig. 63.

13 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62), op. cit.

14 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 161, 163.

15 A. Frantz, op. cit., 11, 15, 51, 58, 83, 126.

16 E. Hatzipouliou, *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) B' 15; E. Lygouri-Tolia, *ArchDelt* 51 (1996) B' 44–45.

17 T. Kokkoliou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997) B' 47, 49; O. Zachariadou, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) B' 53.

18 L. Parlama, *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B' 36 (in the plot on 18 Erechtheiou Street); B. Philippaki, *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) B' 65, 68 (on Iosif Rogon Street).

19 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 161, 483, fig. 91, no 131. Travlos adopted the idea of M. Beulé (*L' Acropole d' Athènes* [Paris 1862] 55, 60, 61) that the gate is a building from the time of Valerian. However, see

Frantz, op. cit., 118 n. 9 and *AJA* 83 (1979) 396, n. 12.

20 Perhaps by Claudius Illyrius. See E. Sironen, Life and administration of late Roman Attica in the light of public inscriptions, in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post Herulian Athens* (Helsinki 1994) 19–20. See also S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London 1983) 65, 73, 80.

21 A description and analysis of the Post-Herulian wall by Travlos can be found in Frantz, op. cit., 5–11 and 7–14, Appendix 125–141. In 1984, Travlos published a plan that has been repeatedly reproduced. For a more recent plan, see P. Kalligas, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) 22, fig. 3. Detailed drawings and description of the remains of the Post-Herulian wall along its entire north side can be found in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of A. Theocharaki, *Ἀρχαῖος ἀθηναϊκός ὀχυρωματικός περίβολος. Ζητήματα μορφολογίας, τοπογραφίας καί διαχείρισης* (Athens 2007) 349–369, maps 35, 36 and 37. Our knowledge of the Post-Herulian wall has been enriched over the past twenty-five years thanks to excavations carried out by the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and the results have been recently assembled in the article by Tsoniotis, Τεῖχος.

22 S. Koumanoudis, *Γενική Συνέλευσις τῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1860) 12, (1861) 18, and (1863) 7; *Prakt* 16 (1860/61) 13, *Prakt* 17 (1861/62) 18 (at the church of Hagios Demetrios Katephoris); E. Breton, *Athènes décrite et dessinée par E. Breton* (Paris 1862) 261. See also G. Guidi, op. cit., 33, 34, fig. 1. For the church of St Demetrios, see Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, nos. 17, 112, fig. 143. It was demolished in 1857.

23 A. Keramopoullos, Ἀνασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὸ ὡρολόγιον Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κυρρήστου, *Prakt* 69 (1914) 125–126 and *Arch-Delt* 1 (1915) Appendix 55. In the area of the Ottoman Medrese, a small section of a transverse wall of unknown purpose survives (Tsoniotis, op. cit., 63).

24 Frantz, op. cit., 131–136.

25 Idem, 126–127. Tsoniotis thinks that the use of ancient *spolia* by the builders of the Post-Herulian wall was also motivated by aesthetic intentions (Tsoniotis, op. cit., 58).

26 For a general topographic plan, see M. Korres, *Die Explosion des Parthenon*, Exhibition catalogue (Berlin 1990). The extension of the Post-Herulian wall south of the Acropolis was first noticed by P. Pervanoglu, Bemerkungen über die Pnyx und Stadtmauer Athens, *Philologus* 20 (1863) 529–533. In a drawing by T. Hope one can see the course between the Propylaea and the Odeon façade followed by both the Rizokastro and, later, the Ottoman Serpentze. See Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, fig. 24 and Tsoniotis, *Τεῖχος*, 68 and n. 40–42.

27 M. Korres, Ἐργασίες στά μνημεῖα, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B1, 18–19; idem, Παρατηρήσεις, 20, 21. The Post-Herulian wall stands on the orthostats of the ancient stoa. It is made of blocks of Piraeus stone in secondary use and predates an Early Christian nymphaeum(?), as seen in fig. 5. For a photograph of the wall (with the incorrect title Rizokastron), see Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 161, fig. 105.

28 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62), 12. Their opinion was adopted by A. Frantz, op. cit., 126.

29 Because the joinings were made of valuable material and had been plundered for that reason, only the grooves remain and can not be dated. In any case, it appears in many places that repairs had been made to the Post-Herulian wall. See Shear (1938) 318.

30 See T. Gregory, Fortification and urban design in Early Byzantine Greece, in R. Hohfelder (ed.), *City, Town and Countryside in Early Byzantine Greece* (New York 1982) 43–61; *ODB* I, 465 *s.v.* Cities (C. Foss and A. Cutler); C. Mango, *Byzantium*, The Empire of New Rome (London 1980) 69–71; Loungis, Ἐξέλιξη, I 49.

31 P. Castrén, General aspects of life in Post Herulian Athens, in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post Herulian Athens* (Helsinki 1994) 2 ff.; P. Castrén and M. Gawlikowski, Late antiquity, in G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA 1999) 321–322; S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortification* (London 1983).

32 Large water reservoirs in the fortified area support this opinion.

33 A. Frantz, op. cit., 125, 141.

34 See Bouras, City, 639, 642, nn. 245 and 246. The meeting of the wall with the Acropolis enceinte is shown in fig. 51b in Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*.

35 I. Threpsiadis, Ὁδοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ 74, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961–1962) B’ 28; G. Dontas, Ὁδοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ 72 καί 84, *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) B’ 22, fig. 3; Ὁδοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ 94, *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) B’ 16 and *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) B’ 16; P. Kalligas, Ὁδοῦ Κυρρήστου καί Φλέσσα, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) B’ 21; I. Knithakis and I. Tiginaga, Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀδριανοῦ, *ArchDelt* 41 (1986) B’ 11; A. Choremi, Ὁδοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ 98, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) B’ 6; Διογένειον Γυμνάσιον, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) B’ 7; Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀδριανοῦ, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) B’ 17–19; *ArchDelt* 51 (1996) B’ 25–26, fig. 1 and *ArchDelt* 52 (1997) B’ 32. In the area of the medrese a transverse wall is preserved abutting the Post-Herulian wall, but its purpose is unknown. For a drawing by J. Travlos of the non-excavated part of the wall between Pyrgiotissa and the Hypapante Gate, see A. Kokkou, Τό κιονόκρανον τῆς Σουνιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, *ArchEph* 113 (1974) 108, fig. 1. See also Tsoniotis, Τεῖχος.

36 A. E. Raubitshek, Iamblichos at Athens, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 63–68; A. Frantz, op. cit., 51, pl. 45a.

37 On the problem of whether Alaric occupied the city, see K. Karapli, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική καί πολεοδομία ἀπό τήν ἀρχαιότητα ἕως σήμερα. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς Ἀθήνας. Πρακτικά διεπιστημονικοῦ συνεδρίου Μουσείου Βούρου-Εὐταξία (τῆς Πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν)* 5–18 *Φεβρουαρίου* 1996 (Athens 1997) 304–312; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 129–130; A. Frantz, op. cit., 51; eadem, Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?, *AJA* 83 (1979) 315–401. See also G. Fowden, City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica, *JHS* 108 (1988) 50–54; Ch. Bouras, Alaric in Athens, *DChAE* 33 (2012) 1–6.

38 Procopius, *Buildings*, 4.2.23–24 (ed. Dewing, 238). It should be noted that in his *Secret History* 26.33 (ed. Dewing), Procopius condemns the emperor for not having constructed a single public building in Athens. For the author's penchant for rhetorical exaggeration, see G. Downey, Procopius on Antioch: A study on method in the 'De aedificiis', *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 361–378.

39 See Alexandri (1968) 53, for the discovery of sherds from the Justinianic period in the excavation of a plot at 28–32 Adrianou Street.

40 See T. Gregory, op. cit., 58–59.

41 G. Sotiriou, Τό Ἰουστινιάνειον τεῖχος, op. cit., 3–13; idem in *EMME* A1 (1927) 28, pl. A'.

42 Procopius, *Buildings*, 2.5.6–7 (ed. Dewing, 134). For Constantinople see *ODB*, 497.

43 Alexandri (1968) 53, 67.

44 Thompson and Scranton (1943) 372–376, pl. XIV.

45 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 145, fig. 92. A tower was discovered during the construction of the Metochiko Tameio on Stadiou Street. The distinctive Corinthian capital ἀμφικίονος, today in the collections of the National Archaeological Museum, probably originated in the Odeon of Agrippa and is found here in secondary or tertiary use. See also P. Amandry, Chronique des fouilles en 1946, *BCH* 70 (1946) 387.

46 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 337, fig. 438; Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 13.

47 C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria 1986) 7.

48 A. Frantz, op. cit., 131–136 (fourth section). This part of the wall had five towers, and the last one to the west was transformed during the Ottoman period into the chapel of the Virgin Pyrgiotissa.

49 G. Dontas, *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) B' 22, fig. 3. Despite the Hadrianic date of the Pantheon, Travlos considered the tower to be Justinianic. See Travlos, *Dictionary*, 441, fig. 559. A large part of this

tower survives, making it possible that the problem could be solved through additional study. In fact, the tower appears to have been erected on the Post-Herulian wall, at a roughly 25 m long section that had been demolished and where later the Krystalliotissa church was built.

50 The reply of I. Knithakis and I. Tiginaga was positive to the question. See *ArchDelt* 41 (1986) B' 11.

51 For the area of the Olympieion, see Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 13; for 53 Athanasiou Diakou Street, see Alexandri (1968) 137–143, fig. 15; for 6 Koryzi Street, ibid., 67; for the south slope, Erechtheiou Street 18, see L. Parlama, *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B' 36; for 15 Erechtheiou Street, see B. Philippaki, *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) B' 55 ff.; for Erakleidon and Eresichthonos Streets, see E. Lygouri-Tolia, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) B' 18–19, fig. 3; and for the Library of Hadrian, see Choremi (1991) 19.

52 Choremi, ibid.; Frantz, op. cit., 128–133. In order to reinforce the wall of the Library façade, which became part of the Post-Herulian enclosure, a second wall was built alongside, to the east of the first (communication by I. Tiginaga).

53 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 149.

54 For the arguments about the occupation of Athens by Slavs, see Frantz, op. cit., 93–94. See also K. Karapli, op. cit.; *ODB* I, 221 *s.v.* Athens (T. Gregory and N. Ševčenko); Kaldellis (2009) 61; and A. Kyrou, Νομισματικές μαρτυρίες στόν Ἑλλαδικό χῶρο κατά τούς σκοτεινούς αἰῶνες, *Πελοποννησιακά* 29 (2007–08) 235, 245.

55 H. Thompson, The Tholos of Athens, *Hesperia*, Supplement 4 (1940) 121–126; N. Saraga, op. cit., 261.

56 See more about this below, in the last chapters.

57 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 5–44. See also Kazanaki, Ἀθήνα. One more indication of the defensive value of the Royal wall during the eleventh century is the fact that all the churches and monasteries of this period are built within its enclosure.

58 For the plan of the wall by L. F. Boitte (1864), see the catalogue *Paris, Rome, Athènes* (Paris 1982) 205, fig. 1. See also the drawing in Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, fig. 48.

59 R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin and Stuttgart 1882) pl. 1 and 19, 3. It is impossible to correlate the two drawings.

60 H. Bankel (ed.), *Carl Haller von Hallerstein in Griechenland* (Berlin 1986) 94, 95, fig. 2, 4.

61 L. Beschi, Acropoli di Atene 1835, *AAA* 15 (1982) 225, 226; T. Weidner, *Das Neue Hellas* (München 2000) 471, no. 325 and R. Bohn, op. cit., pl. XXI; Kristensen, Ἀθήνα, 69.

62 D. Giraud, *Παρατηρήσεις σέ ἀρχιτεκτονικά καί ἱστορικά ζητήματα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Νίκης* (Athens 1989) 10. Tanoulas believes that the transversal wall was built in the fifteenth century, adopting the opinion of Travlos.

63 Like the walls of Perge (F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* [London 1971] 121, fig. 96) and those on the Hill of the Muses in Athens (Thompson and Scranton [1943], pl. XIV, White Poros Wall). Blind arcades can also be seen at the retaining wall of the Stoa of Eumenes (Travlos, *Dictionary*, 523–527).

64 Mango, *Architecture*, 40, fig. 35; B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1943) 100 ff., pl. 40, 54c, 55b; R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (Paris 1939) 83, fig. 90, pl. 1, 2, 3; Ch. Bouras, The Daphni monastic complex reconsidered, in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (eds.), *Ἀετός, Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart 1998) 8–9 nn. 42–49.

65 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Α' 93, 317, 319; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*, 16.

66 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1999) 147, no. 201; O. Gratziou and A. Lazaridou (eds.), *Ἀπό τήν Χριστιανική Συλλογή στό Βυζαντινό Μουσεῖο* (Athens 2006) 323, fig. 542.

67 T. Tanoulas supposes that the tower was one of the two towers of the Beulé Gate, which was raised at that time (Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 287, figs. 56 and 57). D. Giraud, to the contrary, believes that the tower was to the south of the bastion of Athena Nike. See D. Giraud, *Ὁ δυτικός πυλώνας τῆς Ακροπόλεως* (Athens 2004) 6, 7 (with reconstructive drawing).

68 For a plan of the tower, see the catalogue *Paris – Rome – Athènes*, op. cit., Labouteux, 1853, fig. 87 and L.F. Boitte, 1864, fig. 96.

69 For a supposedly Byzantine tower in the Propylaia, see I. E. Demakopoulos, Τό σχέδιο τοῦ Bassano (1670), ἡ Ἀθήνα καί τά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Ὁ Μέντωρ* 14 (2001) 58, 60–79. For a refutation of the former's views, see L. Beschi and T. Tanoulas, Ἀκόμα μιά φορά γιά τό σχέδιο τῆς Ἀκρόπολης τοῦ 1670, *Ηόρος* 14–16 (2000–2003) 381–394. For other old illustrations of the Propylaia area, see Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, figs. 3, 4, 5. The tower built on top of the north section of the Beulé Gate was probably Byzantine, as is suggested by the sturdy brick piers in the arcades visible in the second drawing by R. Bohn (op. cit., 19, 3). For their restoration, see D. Giraud, *Παρατηρήσεις*, op. cit. 10, pl. 57.

70 Giraud, Ὁ ἀετός τῆς πύλης τοῦ Κάστρου τῆς Ἀθήνας, *9ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς*

Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (1989) 37. The first information we have about this entrance is much later, in 1678, provided by Spon and Wheler.

71 Thompson and Scranton (1943) 373.

72 Ibid., 312 ff., 318, fig. 29. During the first period the two pilasters on both sides of the entrance were reinforced and a pillar was built in the middle. Later the two pilasters were reinforced again (376 ff.) and in the place of the pillar a tower measuring 4.90 × 4.90 m was built (368, fig. 63). The excavators considered this tower to be Roman, but the pottery found there belongs to the Middle Byzantine period (see 376–378 and pl. XVII).

73 Ch. Bouras, The so-called cell of the Athenian stylite, in C. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz 1996) 23–26; B.C. Petrakos, Ἡ καλύβα τοῦ στυλίτου, *Ὁ Μέντωρ* 71 (2004) 57–59; Kaldellis (2009) 171–172, fig. 136.

74 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A'159, 'You see some of the walls stripped and others wholly demolished … this will be the final drunken assault of the pillaging enemies' (Ὁρᾷς τείχη τά μέν περιηρημένα τά δέ καθηρημένα παρ' ἅπαν … τοῦτο δή τῶν ἐκπορθούντων ἔσθ' ὅτε τελεταῖον παροίνημα).

75 Idem, A' 316 and B' 523, 'He and the outrageous men under his influence … come against the miserable [city of] Athens in full rage since no defense can stop them' (αὐτός τε καί οἱ παρ' αυτοῦ ἐνισχυόμενοι ἐπηρεασταί … ἐπί μόνας τάς ἀθλίας Ἀθήνας παντί θυμῷ ρέουσιν, ἀπείργοντος οὐδενός ἐρύματος …).

76 Idem, B' 2016 and 587, 'We are in reduced straits and easy prey to all comers as we don't have any kind of defensive wall, but sit in fear of the outrageous attacks' («ἐσμέν ταπεινοί καί τῷ βουλωμένῳ ἑτοίμη θήρα ἐκκείμεθα· οὔτε γάρ ἐρυμνά τινά περί ἡμᾶς, τάς ἐπηρεαστικάς ἐπελεύσεις ἐκδεδιττόμενα»).

77 Idem, A' 159, B' 11, 461. Parts of the external wall could be seen when Cyriac of Ancona came to Athens; see E. W. Bodnar, Athens in April 1436, *Archaeologia* 32 (1970) 188.

78 On the lack of defenders, see Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B' 106, 'The city has no swelling flood of populace that can swamp the defence' (οὐ πολυοχλία πόλεως κυμαινομένη καί τήν ἄμυναν ἐπικλύζουσα). On the military forces in the provinces in the twelfth century, see Herrin, Collapse, 198. The mention of 'Kastrenoi' in an obscure passage in a letter of Choniates (Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A' 311, B' 518, 519) has perhaps to do with the permanent garrison of the Acropolis. See below, n. 392.

79 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, 14, pl. 9B; Travlos, *Dictionary*, 337, fig. 438.

80 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 292, fig. 380.

81 Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν*, D. Tsougarakes ed. (Athens 1993) 113. 'The walls of the city must be free; no house should be attached to them. And if there is one, destroy it and lay the walls bare … moreover [lay bare] all the entrances completely, so that it is possible to pass through them with ease' (Τά δέ τείχη τοῦ κάστρου ἔστωσαν ἐλεύθερα· μή ἔστω οἰκία σύγκολλα αὐτοῖς, ἀλλά καί εἰ ἔστι, κατάστρεψον αὐτήν ἐκγύμνωσον τά τείχη … ὡσαύτως καί τάς πόρτας πᾶσας παντελῶς, ἵνα ἔχεις ἄδειαν διέρχεσθαι).

82 Niketas Choniates, *History*, I. Bekker ed. (Bonn 1835) 802–803.

83 M. Korres, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B' 9–21; Choremi (1989) B' 20; P. Kalligas, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) B' 20, 21. Recently, remains of the Rizokastro were found in the basement of the Kanellopoulos Museum (Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 16 April 2002). See also Choremi, *Ὁδός Τριπόδων*, 41 n. 48.

84 For the general layout of the Rizokastro, see E. P. Blegen, New Items from Athens, *AJA* 50 (1946) pl. XXX and Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, drawings 62, 63.

85 More specifically, to the mid- eleventh century (Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι, col.* 739). See also Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 156, 158, 159 A. Frantz, op. cit., 124; R.E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 24; E. Blegen, op.; cit., 373; D. Kambouroglous, *Τό Ριζόκαστρον* (Athens 1920).

86 Makri et al., Ριζόκαστρο, 329–363. The places where remains of the Rizokastro were recently found are indicated below fig. 51, 359. See also Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 22, 33 n. 81, 34, 35, 304, 306. A. W. Parsons had foreseen the late date of the Rizokastro in Klepsydra and the paved Forecourt, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 259, 263, fig. 40.

87 A. Frantz, op. cit., 128 and pl. 5.

88 M. Korres, op. cit.,18–19.

89 T. Tanoulas, op. cit., 309 n. 72. The lack of towers is also typical of Western medieval fortifications.

90 Their letters were published in his *Turco-Graecia* (Basel 1584). See M. Kreeb, Οἱ ἀρχαιότητες τῆς Ἀθήνας, Ξένοι ταξιδιῶτες, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 347, 350.

91 In the topographical map by L.F.S. Fauvel can be seen small surviving sections of the wall, still visible at the end of the eighteenth century. See J. Travlos and L. Beschi, La casa di L.S. Fauvel, primo museo Ateniese, *ArchEph* 140 (2001) 76, fig. 3.

92 A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik* (Nikaea), *Istanbuler Forschungen* 9 (Berlin 1938) pl. II.

93 Scranton, *Corinth*, 77 (The Lechaion Road).

94 O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris 1913) 140 ff. As also in the city of Cherson.

95 The latest roads outside the Post-Herulian wall did not follow the course of the ancient cuttings, but they too must have been connected to the gates in the wall and, consequently, with whichever gates in the Valerianic wall were still in use. On the ancient road network, see L. Costaki, *The Intra Muros Road System of Ancient Athens* (PhD. diss., Toronto 2006); L. Ficuciello, *Le strade di Atene* (Atene and Paestum 2008).

96 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 25–26.

97 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 138–141. General topographical plan, pl. 5.

98 Eadem, 139. The Hypapante church, near the gate with the same name, was demolished in 1938. It was once considered to be a Byzantine church (Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 62, 63, figs. 47 and 48), but subsequent research (Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 186 n. 4, fig. 126, 127) proved that the church was built during the Ottoman period. For the Hypapante church, see also Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 58, 59. For information about the gate and the road, see T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 221.

99 Frantz, op. cit.,139. To the east, the road probably met Tripodon Street. See M. Miles, *The City of Eleusinion* (Princeton 1998) drawing no. 13.

100 We accept here the conventional names of the gates given by the excavators of the Agora.

101 Frantz, op. cit., 139, pl. 14 b. The gate was closed with rubble masonry during the thirteenth century. About the church of Christos, see Xyngopoulos, op. cit., 106, 107, fig. 137. For the ancient street and the different opinions about its course, see Choremi, Ὁδός Τριπόδων. About 200 m west of the gate, in the area of the ancient Eleusinion, the street bifurcated.

102 Korres, Παρατηρήσεις, 20, 21; idem, Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 11 October 1982.

103 Frantz, op. cit.,139, pl. 5, 14d. For the Post-Byzantine chapel inside one of the towers, see ibid., 7, 8, 126, 133.

104 Along the south side of the Stoa of Attalos. See ibid., pl. 5.

105 Namely, the church of the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora, of Profitis Ilias and that located on the site now occupied by the Fethiye mosque.

[06] On the dense building inside the Roman Agora, see below.

[07] Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 150 n. 2, 156, 207; Frantz, op. cit. 15. For a more informative plan of the Byzantine streets of Athens by Travlos, see *Athènes au fil du temps* (Paris 1972) pl. XII.

[08] Clearly the section of the road running over level ground was filled in, whereas the last section that approached the Acropolis remained passable on account of the incline.

[09] Alexandri (1972) 25–27 (Adrianou Street and Thiseiou Street) fig. 3; Y. Nicopoulou, Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν, *AAA* 4 (1971) 1–9; Ch. Bouras in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 208 n. 126.

[10] Vanderpool, Roads, 291–295 (5 Adrianou Street).

[11] The west, north and east sides. According to M. Korres, the good preservation of these walls is due to the fact that they were incorporated into the defensive Post-Herulian wall.

[12] Choremi (1996) 25 ff.

[13] G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) B1 19–23 and fig. 3, 22.

[14] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 439–443; Choremi (1993) 18; Choremi (1995) 24.

[15] Frantz, Late Antiquity, 140.

[16] G. Sotiriou, Εἰσαγωγή. Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κατά τούς χριστιανικούς χρόνους, *EMME* Α' 1 (1927) 29 with accompanying plate. Sotiriou believed that the door frame belonged to the Justinianic period, a view adopted by Frantz, op. cit. At one point it could be seen in front of the Chalkokondyles residence, but is not visible today. By others the door frame was considered Middle Byzantine, on the basis of its decoration. See G. Guidi, Il muro Valeriano. S. Demetrio Katifori e la questione des Diogeneion, *ASAtene* 4–5 (1921–22) 36; and also Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 106, fig. 135. Its decoration with reverse molding and rosettes set at intervals suggests, in fact, a much older date. The discovery of a fragment of a Middle Byzantine altar screen is not enough to conjecture the presence of a Byzantine monument on the site. Travlos believed that the construction of the Krystalliotissa church impeded the use of the gate and that the gate's door frame was adapted as the entrance to the church (*Πολεοδομική*, 178). However, the gate's height, rising to 1.98 m, excludes this possibility.

[17] G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) B 16, 17.

[18] Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν*, op. cit., 113, chapter 32.

[19] Some of these streets had the form of stairs, like those existing now. They have never been excavated.

It seems that the area close to the foot of the Acropolis rock was left free of buildings. On this subject, see the advice of Kekaumenos: 'Do not take up residence under a precipice because a rock will tumble down upon your house, which will become the grave of all your family' (ὑποκάτω κρημνοῦ μή οἰκήσῃς, κυλισθήσεται γάρ λίθος καί προσπεσῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου, τάφος σοί πανοικί ἡ οἰκία γενήσεται καί οὐ γνώσῃ). Excavations testified to the extension of one of these medieval streets to the north of Adrianou Street, as far as house no. 117. M. Korres, D. Giraud and D. Schilardi, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) B1, 13.

20 M. Korres, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) B' 9, 10, *and 13ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1993), 20, 21; M. Stavropoulou, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B' 24.

21 M. Korres, op. cit. Because the area was outside the Post-Herulian enclosure.

22 Threpsiadis (1960) 27.

23 The diaries of the 'Excavation of the burnt market', now in the archives of the Archaeological Society, include much information about the medieval remains found there (walls, vaults, pavements) which were removed afterwards, without systematic documentation. See Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση τῆς Μεγάλης Παναγιᾶς Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE 27* (2006) 25–34.

24 Description and restoration drawings of the monument will follow.

25 Th. Bowie and D. Thimme (eds.), *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington 1971).

26 After the excavations of 1982. See I. Knithakis, Ph. Mallouchou and G. Tiginaga, Τό Βοεβοδαλίκι τῆς Ἀθήνας, *Ἐπώνυμα ἀρχοντικά τῶν χρόνων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens 1986) 102, fig. 2.

27 *Byzance retrouvée*, 160, 161 and Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση, op. cit., 28, fig. 3.

28 S. Koumanoudis, Ἀνασκαφή Ὀλυμπιείου, *Prakt* 41 (1886) 13–17 and *Prakt* 43 (1888) 15. 'Many foundations of buildings made from different stones, big and small, as well as from bricks and lime.... All these building remains ... the committee ... considered to be removed ... and were destroyed.'

29 On the avenue north of the Olympieion and Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, see A. S. R(oussopoulos), Ποικίλα, *ArchEph* 17 (1862) 150, 151.

30 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, 13.

31 See above p. 23 and n. 79.

[32] Passage through the Roman arch would be impossible if, in fact, it had been incorporated in a church (A. Orlandos, Αἱ ἁγιογραφίαι τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις πύλης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, *Πλάτων 20* [1968] 248–255).

[33] Zachariadou (1994) 31, 32 and Parlama and Stampolidis, 137, 160.

[34] As, for instance, in Pergamum. See K. Rheidt, *Die Stadtgrabung 2: Die byzantinische Wohnstadt* (Berlin 1991) 196 ff., 205–219, pl. 4–8.

[35] Zachariadou (1994) 31 n. 6; E. Hadjipouliou, *ArchDelt* 48 (1993) 35; Parlama and Stampolidis, 161 n. 11.

[36] Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 263, 268, 273, 275, fig. 3, 264; P. Kalligas, Conference, 12 Nov. 2001.

[37] Thompson and Scranton (1943) 368, fig. 63.

[38] Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 24, 38.

[39] Mentioned in the Praktikon, 38, as «χωρίον τήν Κοίλην» ('The place Koile').

[40] Granstrem et al., op. cit., 26, 27, 35. The direct connection of the gate with «ἀρχαῖα κτίσματα» (ancient buildings) indicates that some ruins of the two entrances from antiquity (the Sacred Gate and Dipylon Gate) were still visible.

[41] E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) B' 32. 'Both the retaining walls of the road are preserved … and give its width, from 4.3 to 5 m'. See also I. Tsirigioti-Dracotou, Ἡ Ἱερά ὁδός τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων, in S. Vlizos (ed.), *Ἡ Ἀθήνα κατά την Ρωμαϊκή Ἐποχή. Πρόσφατες ἀνακαλύψεις, νέες ἔρευνες* (= *Mouseio Benaki*, 4th Supplement, Athens 2008) 311–324.

[42] Whether the Beulé Gate belonged to the Valerianic or Post-Herulian wall remains an open question. As has already been noted, whether there was direct access from the part of the city enclosed by the Post-Herulian wall has not been investigated, but was probably not possible. It should simply be noted that the wall met the retaining wall of the Propylaia at the northwest corner of the Acropolis (Frantz, Late Antiquity, 127, 128).

[43] Shear (1937) 342. The dating of the houses on both sides of these streets, based on coins found here, is to c. 1100. They were completely abandoned at the end of the thirteenth century. Travlos, who had direct information from the excavations, believed that the Byzantine streets followed the ancient ones. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 150, 156, 159.

[44] Thompson (1968) 57, 58.

[45] Thompson and Wycherley, 216.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Shear (1994) 50, 51, fig. 17; Shear and Camp (1992) 17, 18; Shear (1997) 521; Camp (1998) 51; Camp (2003) 241–246, fig. 1–5.

[48] The northern part of the same street was found during an old rescue excavation at the plot on 11 Astingos Street. See Vanderpool, Roads, 295–297, fig. 3.

[49] Ibid.

[50] See Camp (2003) 242, fig. 1.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 114, fig. 154 (nos. 155 α, β), 204, figs. 268, 292, fig. 380.

[53] Idem, 114, fig. 154.

[54] Spon and Wheler, among the first Western Europeans to conduct a scientific exploration of Athens, classified both the Ilissos and Eridanos as torrents. J. Spon, *Voyage d' Italie de Dalmatie et du Levant*, 2 (Lyon 1678) 121. In a letter to Michael Choniates, Euthymios Malakes notes that 'there is no water in the fountains (or springs?) of the city of Athens, nor in the rivers and streams …' (Κἄν γουν ὑδάτων οἱ κρουνοί τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, κἄν ποταμοί καί πίδακες ἀπεψύγησαν …); see K. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη, Τά σωζόμενα* (Athens 1937) 38 ff. Choniates agrees: 'The rivers abandon the parks, the springs the vegetable gardens, Kallirrhoe its bed' (Ἐπέλιπον τούς παραδείσους οἱ ποταμοί, τάς λαχανείας αἱ κρῆναι, τήν Καλλιρρόην τό ρεῖθρον …) (Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, 2 26).

[55] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 325–331; T. Tanoulas, Ὑδραυλικά ἔργα στήν βορειοδυτική περιοχή τῆς Ἀκρόπολης, *Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική Τεχνολογία, Πρακτικά 1ου Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου* (Thessaloniki 1997) 558–559 and especially A. W. Parsons, Klepsydra and the paved court of the Pythion, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 191 ff. See above all figs. 19, 20, 31–33.

[56] Tanoulas, op. cit., 565.

[57] Idem, 563, fig. 7.

[58] Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 103; Barkas et al., *Κλιτύς*, 14; E. Breton, *Athènes décrite et dessinée* (Paris 1862) 182, had seen the place when the murals were still intact and supposed that they belong to the tenth century. The monument will be discussed again.

[59] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 72–75.

[60] J. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchEph* 78–80 (1939/41) 35–68.The hagiasma (holy water source) functioned during the Middle Ages.

[61] Threpsiadis (1960). Excavation of the street block of the Ministry of Education, 26–27.

[62] K. Kuebler, Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos IV, *AM* 53 (1928) 181–183.

[63] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 242, 243.

[64] The view that the ancient aqueduct was in use during the medieval period (Bouras, City, 628 n. 131; idem, Aspects, 525) is not correct. The preserved northern part of it was extended in the Ottoman period to bring water to the city.

[65] A. Kordellas, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἐξεταζόμεναι ὑπό ὑδραυλικήν ἔποψιν* (Athens 1879) 78 ff.

[66] Ibid., 86 and 108. The cistern was rebuilt between 1870 and 1880.

[67] Demolished by the Turkish governor Haseki, who used the stones to build a new enclosure around the city (1778). Some time before, Stuart and Revett, as well as Le Roy and others, had made measured drawings of the monument.

[68] Sketch drawings by W. Doerpfeld and G. Kawerau of the findings of the excavation by Kavvadias are published by J. Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis* (Copenhagen 1974).

[69] T. Tanoulas, op. cit., 559, fig. 7, 8. Related bibliography at 566 nn. 12 and 13. See also Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 141.

[70] T. Tanoulas, The Premnesiclean Cistern on the Athenian Acropolis, *AM* 107 (1992) 199–215, pl. 45–56, foldout pl. 11 and 12.

[71] Plan and section of the cistern, in Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, pl. fig. 55, 58.

[72] Three phases of repairs to the cistern could be distinguished (T. Tanoulas, Ὑδραυλικά ἔργα, op. cit., 559), one of which may be Middle Byzantine.

[73] Ibid., 565 and n. 13.

[74] Korres, Παρθενώνας, 150, 151, figs. 15, 16, 17. According to Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 164, the dimensions of the cistern were 112 × 18 × 10 feet.

[75] C. Spetsieri-Beschi, *Il pittore bellunese Ippolito Caffi in Grecia* (Belluno 2005) 34–35; eadem, *La Grecia nelle imagine di Giovanni Renica* (Brescia 2004) pl. 25; A. Kokkou (ed.), *Ἄτλας γιά τίς ταξιδιωτικές ἐντυπώσεις τοῦ Βλ. Νταβίντωφ* (Athens 2004) pl. 10. K. Pittakis demolished the cistern in

order to expose to view the Parthenon crepis.

[76] M. Korres, Νεώτερα στοιχεῖα γιά τόν Παρθενώνα καί τήν Ἀκρόπολη κατά τόν Μεσαίωνα, Μάθημα Ἐμβαθύνσεως στό ΕΜΠ (Athens 1987–1988) *Περιλήψεις*, 18 ff. For a plan of the Acropolis with all the cisterns, see M. Korres, The History of the Acropolis Monuments, in R. Economakis (ed.), *Acropolis Restoration* (London 1994) 50.

[77] Described by the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (ibid.). For restored drawings of the two cisterns see Korres, Παρθενώνας, 147, fig. 13.

[78] Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148 n. 71, 72. Mentioned by Spon and Wheler. See ibid., 149.

[79] J. Bundgaard, op. cit., pl. 193 and 130 α.

[80] M. Greenberg (ed.), *Antiquity and Photography* (Los Angeles 2005) 124, photograph by P. Moraitis.

[81] J. Travlos believed that there was yet another cistern, this one located inside, in the corner east of the north *prostasis* of the Erechtheion (Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*, 723).

[82] A section of the two cisterns is included in the general plan of the Acropolis and the south slope by M. Korres, *History*, op. cit., 50.

[83] Platon (1964) 23, 24, fig. 1 (two plans and two sections).

[84] Square ceramic slabs, similar to those in the great cistern of the Propylaia.

[85] In the longitudinal section (ibid., 23) the rings of the bricks are shown by mistake as vertical instead of oblique.

[86] Platon (1965) 30, fig. 6; J. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου, *ArchEph* 78–80 (1939/41) with plan on p. 39, fig. 4. The date of construction for these cisterns remains unknown.

[87] Platon (1965) 28.

[88] K. Pittakis, Περί τοῦ Ὠδείου Ἡρῴδου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, *Prakt* 14 (1858/59) 1711 and 1849, 13 ff. Without being documented first, the cisterns and all other remains of medieval buildings were removed in order to facilitate the excavation of the lower strata.

[89] A small cistern in the court in front of the Library of Hadrian may have served similar activities, see Choremi (1993) 12–13. This cistern was dated by the excavator to a later period.

[90] A. Roussopoulos, Ἀνασκαφαί θεάτρου Διονύσου, *ArchEph* 17 (1862) col. 210, pl. Μ’ (drawing by E. Ziller). The cistern was demolished.

[191] Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, 7, fig. 1; Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 128–130; Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 100, 106, 111.

[192] Camp (2003) 242–247.

[193] Ibid., drawing no. 1, 242, points p and b respectively.

[194] Ibid., Cesspits, point b in the same drawing.

[195] S. Eleutheratou, *ArchDelt* 52 (1997) B' 34, 35, pl. 20. For one more cistern in a plot on Thiseos Street, see V. Orphanou, *ArchDelt* 48 (1993) B' 37.

[196] Platon (1964) 34, 35, fig. 10. Near the south stylobate of the basilica one more well was found. See J. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική, op. cit., fig. 4 point Θ. About the wells found in the area of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, see Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 136.

[197] Parlama and Stampolidis, 137, phot. Σ 134. The ruins of a Roman bath found in Makrygianni Street area were also reused for industrial purposes. See Eleutheratou (2000) 287 n. 3, 291–293.

[198] Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B' 235, 623.

[199] Among the buildings mentioned in the letter of Pope Innocent III we find *balnea* (baths).

[200] Most important is the description of the ancient monuments of Athens by J. Spon and G. Wheler (1672).

[201] C. Mango, Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder, *DOP* 17 (1963) 67–70; Kaldellis (2009) 178–191.

[202] C. Mango, Byzantine attitudes to the conservation of Monuments, *Casabella* 581 (1991) 68 ff., passim; Kaldellis (2009) ibid.

[203] The marble of these two monuments is imported, not the local Pentelic marble. The origin can be recognized even in small fragments. See Threpsiadis, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961–62) B' 26.

[204] Only 16 of the 104 giant columns of the temple are now in place. The monument has been in its present state since 1675.

[205] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 262.

[206] The name the Athenians related to J. Spon and G. Wheler; see *Voyage d' Italie, de Dalmacie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyons 1678) B' 168. The direct association between the emperor's name and the temple survived as late as 1675.

[207] As Cyriac of Ancona was informed by the Athenians in 1436. See below n. 214.

208 Called by Choniates ‘ἐναργῆ γνωρίσματα’ (clear marks) of the place.

209 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B’ 451.

210 Ibid., A’ 105, A’ 369 and B’ 527, B’ 99 respectively.

211 Ibid., A’ 104.

212 Ibid., 451. See also the remarks by Herrin, Organisation, 136, 137.

213 Ibid., A’ 97. It is remarkable that Choniates, faithful to the text of Plutarch, Δημοσθένης, B. Perrin ed. (London 1959) VII 3 and VIII 4, 18, 20, mentions a λύχνος (oil lamp) and not a φανός (lantern), common usage among contemporary native Athenians.

214 E. W. Bodnar, Athens in April 1436, II, *Archaeologia* 23, 3 (1970) 190.

215 Ibid., 195.

216 Ibid., 199. Bodnar supposed that the monument in 1436 was intact, in view of the position of the inscriptions on it.

217 M. Korres believes that long before 1436 parts of the monument had been demolished so that its marble could be used in the staircase for the *opisthonaos* of the Parthenon. Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148.

218 Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, 1 (Paris 1854) 19.

219 L. Legran, Relation du pèlerinage à Jerusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire Italien, *Revue de l’ Orient Latin* 3 (1895) 568; J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (Princeton 1951) 182.

220 Anonymous of Milan, in J. M. Paton, op. cit., 177. See also H. Thompson, The Odeon in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 138.

221 L. Beschi, Una descrizione delle antichità di Atene del 1687, *RendLinc* IX, 13 (2002) 323–372.

222 These are the explosion of the Parthenon (1687), the building of the new enclosure by Haseki (1778), the removal of the sculptures by Lord Elgin (1805) and the damage suffered during the Greek Revolution (1821–1827).

223 A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig 1871).

224 F. W. Deichmann, Die Basilica im Parthenon, *AM* 63–64 (1938–39) 127–139.

225 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 445, 456, 457; Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*, 722, 723; idem, Ἡ πυρπόλησις τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ὑπό τῶν Ἑρούλων καί ἡ ἐπισκευή του κατά τούς χρόνους τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουλιανοῦ, *ArchEph*

112 (1973) 218–236.

26 Korres, *Παρθενών* (1983); idem, Παρθενώνας, 144–151; idem, Συμβολή στήν μελέτη τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ Παρθενώνα, in 5*ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1985) 36–38; idem, *Die Explosion des Parthenon* (Berlin 1990); idem, Parthenon. The History of the Acropolis Monuments, in R. Economakis (ed.), *Acropolis Restoration*, op. cit., 48–51; Norré, *Parthenon*; M. Pavan, *L'avventura del Partenone. Un monumento nella storia* (Firenze 1983).

27 A. Xyngopoulos, Ὁ μεσαιωνικός πύργος τοῦ Παρθενῶνος *ArchEph* 99 (1960) 1–16; M. Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148–151, fig. 16.

28 Ch. Barla, *Μορφή καί ἐξέλιξις τῶν βυζαντινῶν κωδωνοστασίων* (Athens 1959) 11, 12.

29 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148–151.

30 L. D. Caskey, G. Ph. Stevens, J. M. Paton and H. N. Fowler, *The Erechtheum* (Cambridge, MA 1927) 492–573; G. Sotiriou, Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, in *EMME* A 1, 43, 44; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 137, 138; Travlos, *Dictionary*, 216, fig, 279; Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*, 723, 724.

31 G. Sotiriou, op. cit., without sound information about the name. Based on certain grafitti, Antonin supposed that in later times the temple was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. See Antonin (1874) 38, 39, nos. 1–3, pl.14.

32 G. Sotiriou, op.cit., 43, 44, fig. 30; idem, *Ὁδηγός*, 29, 30, fig. 12; M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1999) 180, 181, n. 250; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 43, 567. Heavy marble panels, dating either to the early Christian or Justinianic period, are still in situ. G. Sotiriou, op. cit., 44, fig. 29.

33 Description of the temple by J. Spon and G. Wheler, op. cit., 137–139.

34 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 234–236 (figs. 294–307) 286.

35 Idem., drawing no 55 (plan).

36 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*; idem, The Propylaea of the Acropolis at Athens, *JdI* 102 (1987) 413–483.

37 Cyriac of Ancona. See Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 40, 41.

38 The main access along the central axis from the Beulé Gate was preserved, as well as the great ancient steps, partially covered with earth, and, in good condition, the west, hexastyle *prostasis* of the Propylaea.

39 Perhaps for the residence of the metropolitan. See above p. 9 n. 57.

240 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 280–285, drawings no 55–59.

241 Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι,* col. *724*; idem , *Πολεοδομική*, 138 n. 5.

242 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 33–36. Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 204, dated the chapel to the thirteenth century and classified it in the program of De la Roche works, but with insufficient arguments. Travlos held the same opinion as Tanoulas. See *Ἀθῆναι*, op. cit., col. 742.

243 Drawings by L. F. Boitte. See the exhibition catalogue *Paris – Rome – Athènes* (Paris 1982) 204–322, drawings 4 and 10; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 11, 12.

244 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 284 n. 20–25; Antonin, op. cit., 32–37, nos. 1–21; K. Konstantopoulos, Διορθώσεις εἰς βυζαντινάς ἐπιγραφάς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909) 108–113, nos. I-V; idem, Ἄγνωστος ἐν Ἀθήναις λοιμός, *Harmonia* 1 (1900) 110–111; A. Avramea and T. Tanoulas, Τά χαράγματα τῶν Προπυλαίων, *9ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1989) 21–22.

245 Because the door panels of the gates were the weakest parts of the defense. Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν, Strategikon*, op. cit., 121.

246 A. Orlandos, Πότε καί ἀπό ποίους κατεστράφη τό ἀνατολικόν ἀέτωμα τοῦ Θησείου, *Νέα Ἑστία* 830 (1962) 144–147.

247 In order to build there the apse of the *bema*.

248 In view of the style of the marble imposts of the *bema* arch. A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως βυζαντινῶν μνημείων, *ABME* Β’ (1936) 209, fig. 7; A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens, *DOP* 19 (1965) 202–204.

249 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β’, 238, 623, 624. Μονή τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.

250 *PL* CCXV 1560.

251 The systematic plundering of the metal dowels and clamps from the walls at the northwest corner of the temple bear testimony to its long abandonment.

252 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 263, fig. 355 c.

253 Camp, *Agora*, 216. See below and n. 25 of the item «Theseion».

254 G. Sotiriou, Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, in *EMME* A1, 49; W.B. Dinsmoor, Observations on the Hephaisteion, *Hesperia*, Supplement 5 (1941) 16–30.

255 For bibliography on the Olympieion, see Travlos, *Dictionary*, 403, with an additional title: R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen* (Köln 1994).

256 Ch. Bouras, The so called cell …, op. cit.

257 On the Byzantine settlement, see below. About a chapel «στίς κολῶνες» (by the columns), see Spon and Wheler, op. cit., 169.

258 Travlos , *Dictionary*, 112–120.

259 Ibid., 116, fig. 156, 159. See also G. Sotiriou, Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, op. cit., 50.

260 Ibid., in drawing no. 156, point D.

261 Plan in Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*, 730.

262 The thickness of these later additions hid from view the eastern propylon as well as the columns, which were restored from the 1940s onwards. Two or three of the columns are preserved in their entirety (see later note), but we do not know whether they were visible in our period. The remains of Byzantine buildings in this area will be discussed later.

263 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 29.

264 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 110.

265 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 281–288.

266 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 71.

267 Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι,* 726.

268 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 37–41.

269 Photograph of the monument before the excavations, in Lyons et al., *Photography*, 116.

270 The well-preserved mosaic pavements testify that they were covered with earth at a relatively early date. Travlos, *Dictionary*, 384, 385.

271 J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors*, op. cit., 30–36.

272 L. Beschi, Una descrizione, op. cit.

273 Such as the engraving published by J. Spon in 1678 (H. Omont, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIIe siècles* 1 [Paris 1898] pl. 42) or the drawing by Bassano (I. Demakopoulos, op. cit., 61, 76, 77). See the full series of these illustrations in Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 6–22.

274 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 127–137; A. Xyngopoulos, Χριστιανικόν Ἀσκληπιεῖον, *ArchEph* 41 (1915) 52–71.

275 I. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου, *ArchEph* 78–80 (1939/41) 64 ff, 27, fig. 20.

276 Pallas, Μετάβαση, 86 n. 116 α. The basilica of the Dionysos theatre, which Pallas supposed to be the church of St Menas, was already demolished. See I. Travlos, *ArchEph* 89–90 (1950–51) 42, 43.

277 E. Stikas, Τρίπλευρα κιονόκρανα, κορυφώματα καί μνημεῖα, *ArchEph* 100 (1961) 159–179.

278 This was the case up to the time of the Greek War of Independence. In the perspective view by Stuart and Revett the two openings of the façade can be seen blocked with masonry.

279 Thompson and Wycherley, pl. 56 a.

280 Photographs of the Stoa of Attalos before the restoration. Ibid., pl. 56 b.

281 H. Thompson, in Frantz, Late Antiquity, 94–116.

282 Idem, 95 n. 2, pl. 56–58; H. Thompson, The Odeon in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 138. In 1466, the visitor known to us as Anonymous of Milan had seen one of the statues of the Giants still upright. See also Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 97, fig.114.

283 A. Orlandos, Αἱ ἁγιογραφίαι, op. cit., 248–255. Note that the frescoes do not exist now.

284 Travlos, Ὀλυμπιεῖον, 43. The supposition that a monastery of St Nikolaos was located there is based on its mention in a papal letter dated 1208.

285 For a catalogue of 17 representations of the monument, between 1672 to 1765, see in A. Orlandos, op. cit., 252 n. 1.

286 Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση τῆς Μεγάλης Παναγιᾶς Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 25–34.

287 It is possible that when Michael Choniates wrote about a stoa of Athens (Lambros, *Χωνιάτης* Β', 451) he had in mind the Corinthian colonnade of the Library's façade.

288 Th. Bowie and D. Thimme (eds.), *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington 1971); Omont, op. cit., 20; Ch. Bouras, Μεσοβυζαντινή Ἀθήνα, Πολεοδομία καί Ἀρχιτεκτονική, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 222, fig. 2.

289 The pointed gable with the single window and quadrant blind arches on both sides is identical with those of the exonarthex of the church of Kapnikarea. The marble door frame, as well as the blind arch over it, can be dated to the same period.

290 The monument will be further discussed in the chapter on the Middle Byzantine churches of Athens.

291 I. Tiginaga, Ἡ μεγάλη ἀνατολική αἴθουσα τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ (βιβλιοστάσιο), *ArchDelt* 54 (1999) A' 285–326.

292 See above p. 40 n. 270.

293 Drawing by Reveley. See *Τόπος καί εἰκόνα*, A' (Athens 1979) fig. 122; A. Papanikolaou-Kristensen, *Τό Παναθηναϊκόν Στάδιον* (Athens 2003) 33–47.

294 Drawings by Stuart-Revett. See *Τόπος καί εἰκόνα*, fig. 183; A. Papanikolaou-Kristensen, op. cit., 4, fig. 19.

295 *Τόπος καί εἰκόνα*, fig. 178; F. M. Tsigakou, Ἡ ἀνακάλυψη τῆς Ἀθήνας ἀπό ζωγράφους-περιηγητές, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 291, fig. 9.

296 Drawing by Le Roy (1755). Travlos, *Dictionary*, 243, fig. 312.

297 M. Kreeb, Οἱ ἀρχαιότητες τῆς Ἀθήνας, Ξένοι καί ταξιδιῶτες, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 353, fig. 4; from the Hamilton codex.

298 A. Keramopoullos, Ἀθηνῶν εὑρήματα, *ArchEph* 50 (1911) 259, fig. 5; E. Breton, *Athènes décrite et dessinée* (Paris 1862) 187; I. Threpsiadis, *ArchDelt* 18 (1863) B1, 37; Th. Karagiorga, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) B1, 33. For the state of the monument before the excavations, see Bendtsen, *Sketches*, fig. 69, 374.

299 I. Threpsiadis, Ἀνασκαφαί νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Prakt* 105 (1950) 81–99 (and earlier bibliography); G. Daux, Chronique des fouilles, *BCH* 84 (1960) 642; Travlos, *Dictionary*, 180, no. D.

300 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 101; Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 375, no. HCS, 035 and 036. The chapel is defaced now, but the ancient column is in good condition.

301 Kazanaki, Athens 209.

302 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 27, 35.

303 See above p. 7 n. 43.

304 Ch. Bouras, Ἡ ἔννοια τῆς αὐθεντικότητας καί τῆς ἀκεραιότητας τῶν μνημείων, Proceedings of the seminar *Ἀξιοποίηση καί Ἀνάδειξη τῆς Πολιτιστικῆς Κληρονομιᾶς* (Athens 2004) 68.

305 Article 16 of the international obligatory charter known as the Charter of Venice (1964) demands the publication of the excavation findings. See also S. Hadjisavvas and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *The Problem of the Unpublished Excavations* (Nicosia 2000).

306 Or drawings without scale or sign of orientation.

307 On the difficulties arising in studies of Byzantine cities, see Ch. Bouras, Aspects of the Byzantine city, eighth-fifteenth centuries, in Laiou *Economic History* II, 194–196.

308 Usually published in the second volume of the *Archaeologikon Deltion* (*ArchDelt*). Before 1960, excavation reports were published in the *Praktika tes Archaeologikes Hetaireias (Prakt)*, in the *Archaeologike Ephemeris (ArchEph)* and in *Hesperia* (especially for the Athenian Agora).

309 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα* (Athens 1989) 112, 113, pl. 30, 31.

310 From the *Bios* (Life) of Hosios Loukas the Younger, we are informed that the peasants used the pits for the storage of cereals.

311 A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, Κεραμεική βυζαντινῆς οἰκίας Α', *DChAE* 14 (1897–88) 347, 348; Ch. Bakirtzis, op. cit., 115, 116.

312 See above p. 11.

313 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 33.

314 Ibid. The two churches are of St Ioannis Prodromos and of the Holy Apostles.

315 Granstrem et al., op. cit., map on p. 26.

316 Ibid., 33 and Kazanaki, *Ἀθήνα*, 209, 212.

317 Granstrem et al., op. cit., 13. On the valuation of land according to quality, see Laiou *Economic History* I, 523.

318 Granstrem et al., op. cit., 35; Kazanaki, *Ἀθήνα*, 209.

319 See above p. 31 n. 140.

320 Granstrem et al., op. cit., 27, 35.

321 Ibid., 27, 28, 35.

322 Kazanaki, *Ἀθήνα*, 209, 212.

323 Granstrem et al., op. cit., 35.

324 Ibid., 24, 38.

325 Ibid., 40.

326 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 392.

§27 Idem, 299–321. The name and extent of the Kerameikos in the ancient city remains a problem. See N. Papachatzis (ed.), Παυσανίου, *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, Ἀττικά* (Athens 1974) 163, 166 n. 1. A stone with the inscription «ὅρος Κεραμεικοῦ», found in section ΜΜ of the Athenian Agora, presents secure archaeological evidence for its limits. Diaries ASCSA, ΜΜ VI, 1139.

§28 Basing his arguments on the capacity of the cisterns and other archaeological elements, M. Korres has suggested that the Acropolis had several hundred inhabitants.

§29 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Α', 311, Β', 518–619. For the meaning of the word «δροῦγγος» see Du Cange, cols. 332–333. It is notable that much later the Athenians called the Turks of the Acropolis garrison «kastrenoi» and not janissaries (G. Wheler, *A Journey*, op. cit., 358).

§30 It is supposed that during that time the city was confined to the Acropolis.

§31 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 52.

§32 P. Kavvadias and G. Kawerau, *Ἡ ἀνασκαφή τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως* (Athens 1906) pl. Α'.

§33 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 202–207, fig. 138.

§34 J. Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis, 1882–1890* (Copenhagen 1974).

§35 For the cisterns on the Acropolis, see above pp. 35–36.

§36 J. Bundgaard, op. cit., 192, pl. 121.

§37 Idem, 193 and 130 a.

§38 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 159, drawing no. 15.

§39 Ibid., 149, 150, drawing no. 16.

§40 Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 16 April 2002. Two upright stone plinths in the room may have supported a wooden floor, and a third formed the exterior corner. The threshold of the entrance survives, as does the groove into which the wooden door frame was inserted. Part of a second masonry storage jar is also preserved. The finds are kept in the basement of the Museum.

§41 Alexandri (1969) 52, fig. 19 plan, fig. 20 sections, pl. 45.

§42 Choremi (1989) 18–19.

§43 See above p. 49.

§44 A. Keramopoullos, Ἀθηνῶν εὑρήματα, *ArchEph* 50 (1911) 259.

§45 Karagiorga (1979) 32.

346 Ibid.

347 I. Threpsiadis, Ἀνασκαφικαί ἔρευναι Ἀττικῆς καί Βοιωτίας, *ArchEph* 112 (1973) Appendix, 60–61.

348 P. Kalligas, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) Β΄, 21.

349 Ibid. For the excavation in the neighboring plot on 6 Diogenous Street, see Choremi (1990) 21.

350 Choremi (1989) 18–19, and drawing no. 2; Choremi, Ὁδός Τριπόδων, 35, figs. 4–8. The pavement of a Byzantine house, of which nothing remains except for storage jars and a single wall, was 1.10 meters above ancient ground level. In all likelihood, between the 35-meters-wide retaining wall and Tripodon Street there was a row of medieval houses.

351 Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 9 Dec. 2003. Drawings of the findings in the archives of the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

352 Choremi (1996) n. on p. 32; see also 25 and 27 for a Byzantine wall, north of the enceinte, dated from coins of Constans II, in the seventh century.

353 D. Giraud, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) Β΄, 13, 14, drawing n. 3.

354 O. Alexandri, *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) Β΄, 15–17.

355 D. Giraud, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) Β΄, 11–13. Coins of the twelfth century found in the house testify to its construction at that time, or later.

356 I. Threpsiadis, op. cit., Supplement, 66.

357 Ibid. Perhaps this was the road running along the north side of the Post-Herulian wall.

358 Choremi (1993) 18.

359 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 439–440, fig. 558 (plan with the property boundaries on Adrianou Street). Remains of other medieval houses connected with these were found at 18 Diogenous Street: P. Kalligas, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) Β΄, 23.

360 Choremi (1995) 23.

361 P. Vasilopoulou, *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) Β΄, 17, 18, drawing no. 1, plan and pl. 18 γ. Three well-preserved ceramic jars were found very close to the inner court (atrium) stylobate, their apertures level with it. This testifies that the ancient court was accessible or in use during the medieval period.

362 E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Ἀρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες καί μνημεῖα ... Ἀττικῆς καί Βοιωτίας, *Ἀρχαιολογικές Ἔρευνες καί Μεγάλα Δημόσια Ἔργα*, Proceedings (Athens 2004) 53–54.

363 K. G. Zisiou, Χριστιανικαί Ἀρχαιότητες Ἀθηνῶν, *ΔΙΕΕ* 1 (1883) 517. Remains of the walls of the churches of Soter (Savior) and Hagia Paraskeve (?). An inscription of the year 1350 seems not to be related to the buildings.

364 Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 19 Oct. 2004.

365 Chatzidakis (1974) 184; Lazaridis (1973) 53–57, drawing nos. 1 and 2. The size of the storage pits is impressive (2.25 m. high). One of them was a water deposit. See also Lazaridis (1974) 182.

366 B. Barskij, *Stranstrovanija Basilya Grigorodica Barskago*, 4 (Petrograd 1887) pl. 14. Ruins of the monastery complex could be seen until the Greek War of Independence. See S. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Τό λεύκωμα Πεϋτιέ* (Athens 1971) pl. 7.

367 G. Dontas, Ἀνασκαφή ὑπό τόν ἱερόν ναόν τῆς Μητροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchEph* 92–92 (1953–54) Γ', 95–96, fig. 7 (plan).

368 Alexandri (1967) 39, 41 drawing no. 4.

369 Alexandri (1969) 49.

370 No. 87 in pl. XII of the city plan by J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*. Mentioned also by Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 110.

371 Alexandri (1969) 52 drawing no. 19.

372 Alexandri (1967) 43, 44 drawing no. 6.

373 Alexandri (1977) 16.

374 Alexandri (1967) 109 drawing no. 54.

375 Karagiorga (1979) B', 27.

376 Alexandri (1969) 60, 61 and Alexandri (1972) 123, 124 drawing no. 27, respectively. The findings here are very poor. The same is true for the excavation at 16 Hagion Anargyron Street. Alexandri (1967) 42, 43 drawing no. 5.

377 Karagiorga (1978) 14.

378 E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Ἀρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες, op. cit., 54, 55. The walls were made of coarse stones with clay as an adhesive material.

379 Alexandri (1967) 63 drawing no. 21, 66.

380 Between Iperidou and Xenofontos Streets, Lazaridis (1967) 149–152.

§81 Alexandri (1970) 77.

§82 P. Lazaridis, Ἐρείπια βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ ἐπί τῆς ὁδοῦ Νίκης, *AAA* 3 (1970) 29–32. For this building, identified as a church dedicated to the Hagioi Theodoroi, see below.

§83 Alexandri (1974) 128.

§84 Alexandri (1969) 70.

§85 Lazaridis (1967) 154–156.

§86 Alexandri (1972) 86, 87 drawing no. 2.

§87 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 32.

§88 Alexandri (1972) 124.

§89 See above p. 48.

§90 D. Karydis, *Πολεοδομικά τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (καί) τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (PhD diss., Athens 1990) 277–291.

§91 E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Ἀρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες καί μνημεῖα στήν πορεία ἐκτέλεσης μεγάλων ἔργων. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς 1ης Ἐφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων, *Ἀρχαιολογικές Ἔρευνες καί Μεγάλα Δημόσια Ἔργα, Πρόγραμμα καί Περιλήψεις Συνάντησης* (Thessaloniki 2003) 25; eadem, *Proceedings*, op. cit., 50–53; N. Michalou-Alevizou, Τό Μοναστηράκι στά βυζαντινά χρόνια, *Kathimerini, Ἑπτά ἡμέρες* (18 June 2000).

§92 The churches of the Asomatos 'sta Skalia' and the Pantanassa.

§93 Visible and accessible today in the Monastiraki station of the Athens metropolitan railway.

§94 I. Knithakis and G. Tiginaga, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) 6–9, drawing no. 1, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) 39.

§95 Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 160.

§96 A. Orlandos, Ἔκθεσις περί τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καί Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς, *ArchEph* 103 (1964) 6.

§97 Choremi, *Ἀγορά*, 22–30.

§98 Excerpts from two diaries of the 'Excavation of the burnt Agora, 1885' kept by S. Koumanoudis, deposited in the archive of the Archaeological Society, and containing considerable, but also unclear, information, such as, for example, 14/6/1885: 'poorly built walls extend continuously eastwards and beneath these an arch of small porous stones … a hollow we know not how deep.' Later many of these hollows were discovered and were destroyed, since they were cisterns and storage jars;

14/8/1885: ‘two large built storage jars were found’; 28/8/1885: ‘a curved wall built of stone and brick with lime mortar in the joinings’; 3/9/1885: ‘they found four blocks of limestone east of the church’; 21/9/1885: ‘along the course of the channel in the stoa appeared a subterranean hollow … they demolished the vault that covered it so that we could see the extension of the stoa’; 11/2/1886: ‘the cistern in front of a dwelling located amidst the antiquities was destroyed.’

[99] J. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφαί ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, *Prakt* 105 (1950) 41–63.

[100] For a summary of the results of the excavations, focused on the remains of the Roman monument, see A. Spetsieri-Choremi, Library of Hadrian at Athens, Recent Finds, *Ostraka, Rivista di Antichita*, 4 (1995) 137–147.

[101] I. Knithakis and G. Tiginaga, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) 21–22.

[102] Choremi (1989) 12; Choremi (1994) 18; Choremi (1995) 22.

[103] Choremi (1989) 12.

[104] Choremi (1991) 17.

[105] Choremi (1996) 25.

[106] Choremi (1994) 20; Choremi (1996) 25.

[107] Choremi (1996) 28.

[108] Choremi (1993) 12–13.

[109] Communication from A. Choremi, 27 May 2002.

[110] I. Papapostolou, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 23 (1968) B’ 19, pl. 14 α; G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) B’, 28, 29.

[111] Choremi (1991) 17.

[112] Ibid., 19.

[113] I. Travlos, op. cit. (*Prakt* 105 [1950]) 60.

[114] That is, from the west propylon to the gate that was probably beneath the Aiolos hotel, at the corner of Adrianou and Aiolou Streets.

[115] Travlos, *Dictionary*, 28 and 29, where he provides a bibliography on the excavations in the Agora before 1970.

[116] On the restoration of numerous columns of the Roman Agora, in about 1940, we have only a brief

note by Orlandos, in Ἔκθεσις, 18.

¡17 At the east side of the peristyle, two columns with their architrave were preserved in situ, incorporated into the modern bakery of the army (Stavropoulos [1931] 14). It is obvious that they were in good condition during the medieval period.

¡18 Stavropoulos (1931) pl. A and fig. 4, 5, 6.

¡19 The Taxiarchs church was demolished in order to build a larger church (the Gregorousa) on the same site, and the Profitis Ilias church in order to have a broad, open space near the new church.

¡20 Xyngopoulos, *Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν*, 110, 111, fig. 142.

¡21 During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new settlement was built over the ruins of the Library of Hadrian and of the Roman Agora, on the rising ground to the north. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 211, fig. 140.

¡22 Choremi, *Ἀγορά*, 7, 8.

¡23 L. Beschi, Una descrizione delle Antichità di Atene del 1687, *RendLinc* IX, 13 (2002) fig. 6 (plan of the city by G. M. Verneda).

¡24 According to A. Philadelpheus, Ἔκθεσις ἀνασκαφῶν κατά τό ἔτος 1910, *Prakt* 65 (1910) 116, the fountain was repaired possibly during the Byzantine period.

¡25 Travlos supported the notion of continuity, namely, that the Roman Agora served as a marketplace from antiquity to modern times (*Dictionary*, 29).

¡26 S. Koumanoudis, Ἀνασκαφή ἡ πρός δυσμάς τοῦ Ὡρολογίου Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κυρρήστου, *Prakt* 45 (1890) 12–13.

¡27 Op. cit. 13. Koumanoudis hoped that the ‘small church of the Catholics’ would be expropriated and demolished. In fact, the tekke (whose low dome is visible in the illustration of the Archegetis Gate by Du Moncel) had been handed over to the Catholics of Athens in 1835 (see E. Daleziou, *Ἔρευναι περὶ τῶν λατινικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καί μονῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπί Τουρκοκρατίας* [Ἀθῆναι 1964] 11, no. VII).

¡28 A. Philadelpheus, op. cit., 117.

¡29 Idem.

¡30 Idem, 116.

¡31 Hadji-Minaglou, Grand appareil, 161–197.

¡32 Stavropoulos (1931).

¡33 Orlandos, *Ἔκθεσις*.

¡34 Foldout plan with the Stavropoulos report (1931). Plan without signature. Possibly the first published drawing by Travlos.

¡35 Walls with similar masonry were found during the supplementary excavation by the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities between 2000 and 2004 (unpublished).

¡36 Shown in the drawing by Travlos. Also demolished.

¡37 Stavropoulos (1931) 3. See also fig. 3 and 4.

¡38 Idem, 4–6, 11. 'A well by the Byzantine furnace'.

¡39 Ibid., 6.

¡40 Ibid., 5 and 6.

¡41 Orlandos, *Ἔκθεσις*.

¡42 Platon (1965) 34.

¡43 Ibid., 46, 47.

¡44 Ibid., pl. 69 γ.

¡45 For the settlement at the same place during the Ottoman period, see Thompson and Wycherley, 218.

¡46 Excavations of the Archaeological Society from 1869 onwards.

¡47 The streets Eponymon (extending to Patoussa Street), Areiou Pagou and Asteroskopeiou. Less important streets were Posseidonos, Ptolemaiou and Apollodorou. See Shear (1935) 312.

¡48 *Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον τῆς Γενικῆς Ἐφορείας Ἀρχαιοτήτων* 7 (1891) 103. See also *BCH*, 15 (1891) 368.

¡49 K. Biris, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι ἀπό τοῦ 19ου εἰς τόν 20όν αἰῶνα* (Athens 1966) 382, 431 n. α.

¡50 Camp, *Agora*, 7, 9, 10. For the School's intention to explore the area's classical, and not its medieval, past, see N. Sakka, The excavation of the ancient Agora of Athens: The politics of commissioning and managing the project, in D. Damaskos and D. Plantzos (eds.), *A Singular Antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-century Greece* (= *Mouseio Benaki*, 3rd Supplement, Athens 2008) 111–124.

¡51 For the system of work and the management of the documentation, see T. Leslie Shear, *Hesperia* 7

(1938) 315–316 and C. A. Mauzy, *Οἱ ἀνασκαφές στήν Ἀγορά τῆς Ἀθήνας* (Athens 2006) 12 ff.

¡52 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 151 n. 3.

¡53 A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*, Picture Book (Princeton 1961).

¡54 The analytical studies of the findings in the sections BE, BZ and BH were made by the excavators.

¡55 The area of the Agora (and the modern neighborhood of Vlassarou) was divided into sections. Later, these sections were divided into smaller ones, enumerated with new letters connected with the previous divisions. *Hesperia* 4 (1937) 335, fig. 2.

¡56 The coins were cleaned and identified immediately, in such a way that they were not disassociated from the study of the strata and the structural remains.

¡57 Camp, *Agora*, 12–13.

¡58 Shear (1938) 317. By and large, the drawing and documentation work was done by J. Travlos and O. Piet de Jung.

¡59 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 124 n. 11.

¡60 Ph. Koukoules, Περί τήν βυζαντινήν οἰκίαν, *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1936) 76–138; A. Orlandos, Τά παλάτια καί τά σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ, *ABME* Γ' (1937) 1–114.

¡61 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 154; Mango, *Architecture*, 252.

¡62 Known as House D. See Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 154, 159, fig. 104; A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1961) fig. 34.

¡63 We have not made use of drawings from the Agora Archives because of their fragile condition (most of them from the 1930s) which requires that they be first restored.

¡64 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα*, op. cit., 112, 113.

¡65 Shear (1935) 311 ff.

¡66 Shear (1937) 318.

¡67 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 527 and 96, respectively. Previous excavation research in the Agora region was done by the German Archaeological Institute (1896) and the Archaeological Society (1907).

¡68 Shear (1935) 315 ff. (1938) 118, figs. 5 and 6; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 151 n. 3.

¡69 Many coins were found under the pavements. In the fills were also found coins of the Frankish period, but nothing after the thirteenth century.

¡70 Shear, op. cit.

¡71 Phot. ASCSA, HH', 7.232.

¡72 Shear (1935) 315.

¡73 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 27, fig. 37. North of the temple of Ares. Frantz, Late Antiquity, 109; Shear (1975) 315. In the lower strata of room XXVII were found the foundations of the Altar of the Twelve Gods with the related inscription. The foundations of the monument extend under the railway line.

¡74 May 1934. Diaries ASCSA, H VIII.

¡75 Diaries ASCSA, H III, 315, 316.

¡76 Diaries ASCSA, H V, 967, H VI, 1148, 1149, 1165.

¡77 Bouras, City, 648 n. 315.

¡78 Ch. Bouras, Aspects of the Byzantine city, eighth-fifteenth centuries, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 513–515.

¡79 With one exemption, a passage between rooms I and II.

¡80 Diaries ASCSA, H' VII, 1263. Built pithos 2.20 m high, 1.45 m in diameter.

¡81 Diaries ASCSA, H' III, 461, H III, 368, H VI, 1148, 1149, H VII, 1194, 1200, 1202.

¡82 Diaries ASCSA, H VIII, 1388.

¡83 Diaries ASCSA, H VI, 1149.

¡84 Diaries ASCSA, H V, 967, H VI, 1148–1149, H VI, 1165.

¡85 Diaries ASCSA, H VIII, 1425–1432.

¡86 Diaries ASCSA, H II, 194.

¡87 Ibid., 263.

¡88 Diaries ASCSA, H III, 485–487.

¡89 Diaries ASCSA, H II, 305, 369.

¡90 Shear (1937) 352.

¡91 Shear (1938) 318, 322.

¡92 Diaries ASCSA, P I, 143, 144.

493 Diaries ASCSA, P III, 441–442.

494 Sketch plans in Diaries. ASCSA, P I, 143, 144, P II, 371, 372, P III, 441, 442.

495 Phot. ASCSA, XLVII, 65, 73.

496 Shear (1937) 322, without important information.

497 J. Travlos in Frantz, Late Antiquity, 131–136, pl. 5, 6.

498 Shear (1939) 211, fig. 10, 212. The systematic documentation work in the Middle Byzantine house delayed the excavation program. View of the street, phot. ASCSA, Σ 8.61.

499 See also Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 151 n. 3.

500 Diaries ASCSA, Σ VI, 3198, 3200, phot. ASCSA, Σ XII, 64.

501 Diaries ASCSA, Σ XVIII, 3469.

502 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 151.

503 Diaries ASCSA, E II, 325, 329, 341, 347, 366. E III, 381, 489, 492, 498 et al.

504 Diaries ASCSA, E II, 226.

505 Diaries ASCSA, E II, 328, phot. ASCSA, E.523.4.

506 Diaries ASCSA, E II, 351, phot. ASCSA, E.229.7.31 and 2307.31.

507 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) pl. 9 β.

508 The church was demolished. Phot. ASCSA, XII 71–75, Diaries ASCSA, II, VII, 1222, 1372.

509 Diaries ASCSA, II, VI and VII.

510 Phot. ASCSA, XIII, 9–12.

511 A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*, op. cit., fig. 34; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 159, fig. 104; Sigalos, *Housing*, 210, fig. 66.

512 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 154.

513 In section II, in the south part of the ancient Eleusinion.

514 Phot. ASCSA, II, XIII, 51. 52. In 1934, the Post-Herulian wall was called Valerianic.

515 For the excavation in the rooms of House D, see diaries ASCSA, II, VII, 1239 f.f.

516 Phot. ASCSA, II, 81.433.

§17 Phot. ASCSA, II, 7.224.

§18 Diaries ASCSA, II, VII, 1292.

§19 H. Thompson, The Odeon in the Athenian Agora, op. cit., 137.

§20 H. Thompson, The Palace of the Giants, in Frantz, *Late Antiquity*, 95 ff. pl. 55.

§21 See also here p. 47 n. 282.

§22 H. Thompson, The Tholos of Athens and its predecessors, *Hesperia*, Supplement 4 (1940) 137.

§23 Idem, 121–126; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 149 n. 2, 150, fig. 95.

§24 Phot. ASCSA, 6.307 and 6.308.

§25 Phot. ASCSA, 7.348.

§26 The railway now separates the two sections of the formerly united settlement.

§27 Shear (1935) 342; Shear (1937) 338, 342.

§28 Dated by the coins found in the strata of the pavements.

§29 Diaries ASCSA, MM I, 107, MM III, 467, 505–506, MM IV, 694, 698 and others.

§30 Diaries ASCSA, MM II, 228 (jar 2.25 m high, 1.40 m in diameter), 260 (jar 2.08 m high, 1.80 m in diameter). Catalogue of nine *pithoi* from the same sections, see Diaries ASCSA, MM IV, 715–719. See also A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages*, op. cit., fig. 35.

§31 Diaries ASCSA, MM V, 816.

§32 Diaries ASCSA, MM, IV, 38.

§33 Diaries ASCSA, MM, II, 269, 270.

§34 Diaries ASCSA, MM III, 468. The ashes found between the three successive pavings of the floor attest destruction by fire.

§35 Diaries ASCSA, MM IV, 627.

§36 Alexandri (1967) 43, dr. no 6.

§37 Y. Nicopoulou, Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν, *AAA* 4 (1971) 1–9, drawings nos. 1–3, figs. 1 and 4. In the plan (fig. 1) of the plot at 5 Adrianou Street, the Byzantine remains are noted with Γ'.

§38 In the drawing of fig. 3, jars and wells are noted along the street without comment.

[39] Vanderpool, Roads, 291–295, drawing no. 2 (plan and section).

[40] I. Miliadis, J. Travlos and S. Haritonidis collaborated with E. Vanderpool in the excavation.

[41] Shear (1937) 342.

[42] Shear (1984) 57.

[43] Vanderpool, Roads, 295–297.

[44] Alexandri (1967) 43.

[45] Shear (1984) 50–57; T. Leslie Shear Jr. and J. McCamp, *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B, 28.

[46] Shear (1984) 51, fig. 17.

[47] Ibid., 52, fig. 18, 53, fig. 19.

[48] At the lowest section of the well J.3.1 (op. cit., 52, fig. 18) were preserved the ancient ceramic rings which faced the walls and, at the top, the section constructed after the pavement was raised in room 2. For Byzantine finds from the same well, see op. cit., pl. 16.

[49] Shear (1984) pl. 15 α.

[50] Shear (1997) 514–521.

[51] Ibid., 521–547.

[52] T. Leslie Shear Jr. and J. McCamp, *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B' 28; *ArchDelt* 47 (1992) B' 17; *ArchDelt* 48 (1993) B' 27–30.

[53] Some of the storage pits are very large. Shear (1997) 530.

[54] Ibid., 524, fig. 8, 525, fig. 9; Sigalos, *Housing*, 212, fig. 71.

[55] Shear (1997) 526.

[56] Ibid., 528, pl. 103 α. In secondary or tertiary use.

[57] Ibid., 531 ff.

[58] Ibid., drawing no. 7, 522, shown as a courtyard in the topographical plan of the actual state in 1993. Later it was understood that it was not a courtyard, but a public street.

[59] The width of each opening is 1.55 m. And the size of the pillar 85 × 85 cm.

[60] East of House K.1:2.

561 Shear (1997) 533, pl. 105 α.

562 Ibid., 534, pl. 106 a-d.

563 Ibid., 535, fig. 10, pl. 107 a, b.

564 Ibid., 538, fig. 11, 12, pl. 108 α.

565 J. Camp, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) B', 51, 52 and *ArchDelt* 54 (1999) B', 69–70.

566 Camp (2003) 241–246.

567 Ibid., 242, fig. 1, 243, fig. 2.

568 The existence of a courtyard with a well at the north side of the house has not been confirmed.

569 To the south, the house is adjacent to a chapel.

570 Among the various Byzantine coins found was a hoard with bronze folles, dated between 976 and 1035.

571 Camp (2007) 629–633.

572 Idem, 646–648.

573 Idem, 646 n. 16.

574 H. Thompson, Southwest Fountain House, *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 52–54; *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 52–53.

575 Thompson (1968) 57–58.

576 Thompson and Wycherley, 216. They probably mean the gate in the Valerianic wall, north of the Pnyx.

577 Diaries ASCSA, Δ 2, 213.

578 Ibid., 202.

579 Ibid., 315.

580 Diaries ASCSA, Δ 3, 429–454.

581 Diaries ASCSA, Δ 1, 33, 49, 59.

582 Phot. ASCSA, XLVII, 43, 44.

583 Ibid., 67.

584 Phot. ASCSA, 80458, 80509.

85 Frantz, Late Antiquity, pl. 70. Ceramic jars and wells among the ruins of the ancient mint and Panathenaion Street. Shear (1937) 357.

86 R. S. Young, An industrial district of Ancient Athens, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 285–287; V. Christopoulou, *Ἀρχαία Ἀγορά*, Ὁδηγός (Athens 2004) 13, fig. 15.

87 R. S. Young, op. cit., 286.

88 E. Spathari, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) B', 26.

89 C. Morrisson and J. P. Sodini, The sixth century economy, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 310–311 n. 112.

90 As it is proved persuasively by M. Korres, Ἐργασίες στά μνημεῖα, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B', 18, 19, and Παρατηρήσεις, 20–21. See also above p. 24 n. 89.

91 A. Roussopoulos, Ἀνασκαφαί Θεάτρου Διονύσου, *ArchEph* 17 (1862) cols. 94–102, 128–147, 209–219, 271–279, 285–294.

92 Idem, pl. M', MA', MB'.

93 Idem, cols. 592–600.

94 Ibid., col. 132.

95 Ibid., col. 286.

96 Ibid., col. 129, 134, 286. In the plan of pl. M' (by E. Ziller), it shows a massive buttress supporting the wall, in the middle of the theatre's orchestra.

97 Ibid., col. 212, 'We judged it reasonable to demolish the scene of Phaidros, leaving only the wall of the proscenium.'

98 Ibid., col. 210. The cistern built directly on the marble pavement of the orchestra was possibly much earlier. It was daubed with lime mortar.

99 Ibid., col. 286. Two of the rooms were entered from the south and had ceramic jars set into the floor.

100 Ibid., col. 212. 'They found buildings of later times … A great number of jars, ceramic or built of small stones, was found in all the excavated part of the theatre … of small or great size, 1–3 m high with a volume in proportion to the height …'.

101 I. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφαί ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ Θεάτρῳ, *Prakt* 112 (1957) 41–52 and *ArchEph* 92–93 (1953/54) B', 301–316.

§02 Idem, 42, 45, fig. 1.

§03 Makri et al., Ριζόκαστρο.

§04 A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, Κεραμική βυζαντινῆς οἰκίας Α', *DChAE* 14 (1987–88) … 14 (1987–88) 344–350.

§05 K. Tsakos, Ἀνασκαφική ἔρευνα στό χῶρο βόρεια ἀπό τό ἀνάλημμα τῆς ἀνατολικῆς παρόδου τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ Θεάτρου, *DChAE* 14 (1987–88) 336–344.

§06 Platon (1966) 39.

§07 Platon (1965) 28.

§08 P. Kastriotis, Τό Ὠδεῖον τοῦ Περικλέους καί αἱ ἀνασκαφαί κατά τήν ΜΑ γωνίαν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Prakt* 69 (1914) 81–124.

§09 Idem, 105, 107; I. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφαί ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ Θεάτρῳ, *Prakt* 106 (1951) 45–48, fig. 4–7.

§10 P. Kastriotis, op. cit., 105.

§11 Ibid., 93; Travlos, *Dictionary* 390, fig. 503 and 391, fig. 504. There are storage pits at the southwest and northeast corners of the Odeon.

§12 I. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchEph* 78–80 (1939/41) 35–68.

§13 See above p. 47.

§14 See also above p. 37 fig. 18.

§15 Platon (1964) 32.

§16 S. Koumanoudis, *Prakt* 32 (1877) 14 ff.

§17 Ibid., 26.

§18 Ibid., 30.

§19 Ibid., 19. They are perhaps the three churches of the tenth or eleventh century referred to by Travlos. Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική, op. cit., 64 ff.

§20 S. Koumanoudis, op. cit., 27 and n.

§21 F. Versakis, Μνημεῖα τῶν νοτίων προπόδων τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *ArchEph* 51 (1912) 173–182.

§22 Platon (1965) 28.

§23 Ibid., 30, fig. 6.

§24 Ibid., 28.

§25 K. Pittakis, Περί τοῦ Ὠδείου Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, *Prakt* 13 (1848/49) 13 ff. and *Prakt* 14 (1858/59) 1711 ff.

§26 Just before the *parodos* of the theatre, 'built with lime mortar'.

§27 In front of the east side. 'We have destroyed completely more than twenty [storage pits or jars] in order to uncover the hidden seats [of the theatre] under them.'

§28 On the stone pavement of the *diazoma*, a small chapel was built 'which was recognised from some remains of icons and decorations'. The coins found there were not identified.

§29 P. Versakis, op. cit., 163–173.

§30 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 130; Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 87–89. On the foundations of the chapel of St Paraskeve, see P. Kalligas, Ἐργασίαι τακτοποιήσεως καί διαμορφώσεως, *ArchDelt* 18 (1963) B', 13 drawing no. 1, 17, pl. 11 δ.

§31 I. Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Prakt* 106 (1951) 45; Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, and I. Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφαί νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, *Prakt* 111 (1956) 262–265; idem, *Prakt* 114 (1959) 5–7; A. Orlandos, *Ἔργον* (1956) 7; idem (1957) 7.

§32 Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές. Findings connected with those published by Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 120–132. 'When the buildings were uncovered, they were already destroyed in a way that it was impossible to make measured drawings, even of a single house.'

§33 Brouskari, op. cit., 26, 27, fig. 27.

§34 A. S. R(oussopoulos), Ποικίλα, *ArchEph* 17 (1862) 150–151: 'from the street leading from the theatre on Rigillis Street … everything that stood in the way … was removed, destroyed, taken away, disappeared, so that now no trace remains … between this point and the so-called Gate of Hadrian …'.

§35 Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, 49; Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 59–76, fig. 65–78; Frantz, Late Antiquity, 42–44, pl. 276; A. Karivieri, *The house of Proclus on the southern slope of the Acropolis, post Herulean Athens*, P. Castrén ed. (Helsinki 1994) 115–139.

§36 Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, 49.

§37 Idem, 50; Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 81, fig. 89; Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 129, drawing no. 2.

§38 Although the excavation produced no indication, one could conjecture the existence of a vaulted roof.

§39 Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 106, fig. 116.

§40 Sketches of jars and storage pits by J. Travlos, op.cit., 88, 89, fig. 96 and 97, photograph on p. 87, fig. 95.

§41 A. Orlandos, *Ἔργον*, (1956) 7, fig. 1; Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 129, drawing no. 2, (photograph ΝΑΦ, 184ε of the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities); Sigalos, *Housing*, 211, fig. 68.

§42 About the Roman cistern to the west, see Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 99–103, fig. 104–110; and the Byzantine remains over it, see Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 131, drawing no. 3.

§43 Vavylopoulou, ibid., 135–136, pls. 41, 42, 43.

§44 Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, 52.

§45 M. Zaphiropoulou, *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) B', 19–23, drawing no. 3.

§46 The width of the room is 7.38 m, and the diameter of its semicircular apse is 5.75 m. It is a little smaller than the hall of the neighboring 'House of Proklos'.

§47 Between them were found the foundations of two walls, not one. Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 2 Feb. 2005.

§48 Proceedings, as above.

§49 V. Orphanou, *ArchDelt* 48 (1993) B', 35–39.

§50 Ibid., 36, drawing no. 1.

§51 The illustration of the finds in a single plan showing different levels of the excavation (between 0.27 and 5.17 m) renders the situation very difficult to understand.

§52 Plots nos. 19–21. See Alexandri (1969) 56, 57, drawing no. 23, pl. 50 γ.

§53 Alexandri (1973) 34, 35, drawing no. 6.

§54 In the same building plot are found another three storage pits.

§55 Alexandri (1973) 41–45, drawing no. 13.

§56 Karagiorga (1978) 15 and (1979) 16.

§57 Alexandri (1970) 70.

§58 There were no Byzantine finds in the excavation made by the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities inside the Weiler building (1985–1986). For the findings from other sections dug near it, see E. Lygouri-Tolia, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) B', 8, 9.

§59 Ch. Vlassopoulou, S. Eleutheratou and A. Mantis, *Σταθμός metro «Ἀκρόπολις»*, pamphlet produced by the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (Athens s.d.) 7, 8, fig. 9, 10; *Τό ἔργο τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ στόν τομέα τῆς πολιτιστικῆς κληρονομιᾶς* 1 (1997) 64, 2 (1998) 69 and 3 (1999) 78, 79, fig. 2.

§60 For a general plan of the Makrygianni plot with the excavations in it, see *ArchDelt* 54 (1999) B' 47, fig. 6.

§61 M. Stavropoulou, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) B' 25–27.

§62 L. Palaiokrassa, Ἀνασκαφή Μακρυγιάννη, *Αρχαιογνωσία* 4 (1985–86) 141–147; P. Kalligas, *ArchDelt* 45 (1990) B1 18.

§63 P. Kalligas, Ἀνασκαφές στό οἰκόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, *Ἀνθέμιον* (Dec. 1995) 5–11; idem, Σταθμός Ἀκρόπολις, in Parlama and Stampolidis, 28–39; idem, Σταθμός Ἀκρόπολις, Kathimerini, *Ἑπτά ἡμέρες* (18 June 2000); idem, Ἀνασκαφές metro οἰκοπέδου Μακρυγιάννη, lecture at the Museum of Cycladic Art (12 Nov. 2001).

§64 One of the houses with a great circular atrium is in a very bad state of preservation.

§65 Eleutheratou (2000).

§66 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 47, fig. 6; Parlama and Stampolidis, 28–29, fig. 1.

§67 Parlama and Stampolidis, 30–31, fig. 2.

§68 P. Kalligas in Parlama and Stampolidis, 28–39 and S. Eleutheratou *ArchDelt* 52 (1997) 35–36 (Byzantine fill of ancient wells and a bell-shaped cistern).

§69 P. Kalligas, personal communication. Even in this case it was not possible to make complete measured drawings of an entire house or any other building.

§70 P. Kalligas, in *Ἀνθέμιον*, op. cit., 10–11.

§71 Eleutheratou (2000) 288–289.

§72 P. Kalligas, Σταθμός Ἀκρόπολις, op. cit., 8.

§73 P. Kalligas, Lecture, Nov. 12, 2001.

§74 P. Kalligas in Parlama and Stampolidis, op. cit., 39: 'We do hope that the excavation research will be completed soon with the publication of the findings.'

§75 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 48 n. 24.

§76 General plan of the excavations ibid., 47, fig. 6.

§77 Ibid., 51–54. Building E.

§78 Ibid., 49, fig. 7.

§79 The dwelling of one of the pottery craftsmen. See Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 268.

§80 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 48.

§81 Ibid., 51.

§82 The dating is documented by a coin of Heraclius, found on the floor, providing a terminus post quem for the workshop.

§83 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 261.

§84 In room no. 4 west of street III. Ibid., 47, drawing no. 6.

§85 In view that is not included in the plan drawing no. 7. Ibid., 49.

§86 Eleutheratou (2000) 291.

§87 Namely the excavations for the metro station and the new Acropolis Museum.

§88 Eleutheratou (2000) 291, fig. 4, 299, fig. 9. They are not included in the general plan of the excavated area.

§89 P. Lazaridis, Μεσαιωνικά Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) 65, the cemetery of the monastery.

§90 At the corner of Vionos Pittakou Street (Alexandri [1977] 71, pl. 29 α), on the south side of Xenofontos Street (E. Hatzipouliou, *ArchDelt* 48 [1993] B' 35), where part of the street paved with stones was found, and at plot 8–10 on Tziraion Street (parallel with Amalias Avenue) where the remains of a house with indications of two building phases and two typical elongated spaces were discovered (V. Orphanou, *ArchDelt* 47 [1994] B' 25, 26, drawing no. 2).

§91 Parlama and Stampolidis, 132–137; O. Zachariadou, *ArchDelt* 48 (1983) B' 34; Zachariadou (1994) 28–32, drawing no. 2 (general plan of the excavated area); eadem, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) B' 60, 61, drawing no. 2; eadem, Φρέαρ ὁδοῦ Ἀμαλίας, *Kathimerini, Ἑπτά Ἡμέρες* (6 June 2000) 13; eadem, Φρέαρ Ἀμαλίας (Ζάππειο), *Μέ τό Metro στήν Ἀθήνα* (Athens 2004) 34–40.

92 If it had been preserved and had been well constructed, the opposite wall could have supported a vaulted roof.

93 Parlama and Stampolidis, op. cit.

94 The vaulted cistern is possibly part of the sixth-century bath building.

95 The fact that the storage jars were set into the pavement, as opposed to fill deposited over the pavement, suggests that the bath was in good condition until the Middle Byzantine period.

96 O. Zachariadou, in Parlama and Stampolidis, 149–161, drawing no. Σ. 150, 151; eadem, Σταθμός Σύνταγμα, *Μέ τό Metro στήν Ἀθήνα*, op. cit., 51.

97 V. P(enna) in Parlama and Stampolidis, 189. Solidus of Justinian II of the years 705–711.

98 O. Zachariadou and G. Kavvadias, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) B' 54–58, drawing no. 1, pl. 30 α, 34 α.

99 S. Koumanoudis, Ἔκθεσις τοῦ γενικοῦ γραμματέως τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, *Prakt* 14 (1889) 11.

00 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 181, 187, fig. 245.

01 Ibid., 11 n. 2.

02 Ibid.

03 About the storage jars he added: 'It was curious that in the excavation area where they were discovered almost all of them were found with their mouths covered with slabs, but otherwise empty or filled with earth and stones, except for one which was full of vegetal matter, some sort of ὕλης σεσηπυΐας perhaps barley …'.

04 Ph. Ioannou, Γενική Συνέλευσις τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, *Prakt* 28 (1872/73) and *Prakt* 29 (1873/74) 37.

05 Alexandri (1972) 55; E. Hatzioti, *ArchDelt* 36 (1981) B' 17. For the basilica in the National Garden, see Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 142, 143 n. 1.

06 A. S. R(oussopoulos), Ποικίλα, op. cit., 150.

07 Probably the French engineer Daniel.

08 S. Koumanoudis, Ἔκθεσις ἐργασιῶν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, *Prakt* 41 (1886) 13–17; idem, Ἐκθεσις …, *Prakt* 42 (1887) 10.

09 *Prakt* 41 (1886) foldout pl. 1.The post-antique remains are colored in pink.

′10 Ibid. The fact that a number of storage pits were found over the remains of the city wall indicates that its building materials had already been carried off at an earlier time.

′11 S. Koumanoudis, Ἀνασκαφή Ὀλυμπιείου, *Prakt* 43 (1888) 15–23.

′12 Idem, 15. Republished by J. Travlos (see next n. 713).

′13 J. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφικαί ἔρευναι παρά τό Ὀλυμπιεῖον, *Prakt* 104 (1949) 25–43. For brief notices see also G. Daux, Chronique des fouilles (1959), *BCH* 84 (1960) 631 ff. and fig. 1; E. Vanderpool, Newsletter from Greece, *AJA* 64 (1960) 267–268.

′14 Namely Middle Byzantine. After 1204 the city was never again under Byzantine control.

′15 I. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφικαί ἔρευναι op. cit., 36–40. The small hoard of coins found on the pavement of the basilica (40) can be dated to the seventh century.

′16 See above p. 23 fig. 11.

′17 See above p. 30.

′18 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 9–14.

′19 Ibid., 11, drawing no. 1.

′20 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 336, fig. 438.

′21 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, pl. 9 β. It is not certain that this is the workshop refered to in Threpsiadis's scholarly notes. See *ArchDelt* 18 (1963) B' 38.

′22 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 83–89, fig. 106, 107.

′23 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, pl. 9 α.

′24 A. Skias, Περί τῆς ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ ἀνασκαφῆς, *Prakt* 48 (1893) 130, 131.

′25 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 335–339, fig. 439, 440.

′26 For a photograph of the Ilissos region, as in 1858, see *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900, Φωτογραφικές μαρτυρίες* (Athens 1985) no. 67.

′27 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 112–120.

′28 See above p. 45.

′29 A. Skias, op. cit.; idem, Ἀνασκαφαί παρά τόν Ἰλισσόν, *Prakt* 52 (1897) 73 ff., pl. A'.

′30 E. Lygouri-Tolia, *ArchDelt* 29 (1994) B' 36–38.

'31 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 27. For the 'χωρίῳ Κεραμεικῷ' mentioned in this context, see above p. 52.

'32 Of the year 1064, see C. S. P(ittakis), *ArchEph* 15 (1859) 1910, no. 3712.

'33 The church (Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 84, fig. 84, 85) was demolished and a new one built, but much later (about 1950).

'34 K. Kuebler, Miteilungen aus Kerameikos IV, *AM* 53 (1928) 181–183. The Byzantine ruins were removed in order to continue the excavation to the lower strata.

'35 Y. Nikopoulou, Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν, *AAA* 4 (1971) 1–9. In the drawing 1, 2, the course of the Byzantine street to the west is defined over the ancient one.

'36 K. Kuebler, op. cit., 182.

'37 W. Hoepfner, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten (Kerameikos X)* (Berlin 1976) 192–195, fig. 205. The old excavation was extended to the east in 1959.

'38 Idem, fig. 206, 207, 208 (a well in the Byzantine house no. 4).

'39 Idem, 194, 217, fig. 251, no. K. 168.

'40 K. Kuebler, op. cit., 182, pl. XXXVIII, 2.

'41 Bouras, City, 627 n. 127–129.

'42 Ph. Koukoules, Περί τήν βυζαντινήν οἰκίαν, *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1936) 87 n. 9.

'43 A. Cutler and G. M. Spieser, *Byzance Médiéval* (Paris 1996) 7. «Les petites églises qui étaient pratiquement les seules batiments construits en pierre».

'44 Phot. ASCSA, H, HA, H', 4265 and XLII, 26.28. Stone-made walls rising to a significant height.

'45 Phot. ASCSA, XLVII 31 (section P).

'46 We do not know if there existed in Athens large households with servants and artisans, as was the case in the West (see L. Mumford, *The City in History* [Harmondsworth 1966] 324). But in the capital, even in the residence of poor Prodromos, we find 'ψυχάρια', servants or slaves. See «*Τοῦ Προδρόμου ... πρός τόν βασιλέα Μαυροϊωάννην*», I. Chatziioannis ed. (Athens 1970) verses 36 and 88.

'47 See above p. 82.

'48 See below p. 105.

'49 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 151 n. 3.

′50 Scranton, *Corinth*, 123–125.

′51 Idem, 129.

′52 Camp (2007) 630, fig. 1, in sections BE and BZ.

′53 A. Demetsantou-Kremezi, *Τό καμαρόσπιτο τῆς Ἀττικῆς* (Athens 1986).

′54 Ch. Bouras, A. Kalogeropoulou and R. Andreadi, *Churches of Attica* (Athens 1969) pl. XXI, XXXIX; S. Mamaloukos, Ἅγιος Μόδεστος, Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος στό Κορωπί, *Ἐκκλησίες* 2, 223–230; Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, pl. 10, drawing no. 4.

′55 It is not sure that the two rooms to the north were part of this house.

′56 With the number J 2: 18.

′57 Possibly it was part of another residence of which we have no remains.

′58 Shear (1997) 532.

′59 Camp (2007) 630. Drawings by R. C. Anderson.

′60 See above pp. 79–80 and Shear (1997) 524, 525, fig. 8, 9.

′61 By J. Camp – A. A. Dickey – I. Mylonas. See Shear (1997) 523 n. 55.

′62 Camp (2007), drawing no. 8. The connection was through the two rooms, nos. 10 and 11.

′63 According to Travlos, this was the unique house in the Agora the plan of which could be restored. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 154, fig. 104; A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*, op. cit., fig. 34; M. Miles, *The City Eleusinion* (Princeton 1998) 94, pl. 16 b.

′64 Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν* (Athens 1996) 16 b.

′65 See above pp. 69, 70 figs. 32–35.

′66 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 268. It is likely that the house had two construction phases and that the northern rooms belong to the second. It appears that oblong one-story habitations with a gabled roof also existed in Byzantine Thessalonica. See E. Gala-Georgila, Κατοικίες τῆς βυζαντινῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Τυπολογία καί διαμόρφωση μέσα ἀπό τά ἔγγραφα τῶν μονῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, 27ον *Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2007) 30–31.

′67 K. Tsakos, Ἀνασκαφική ἔρευνα, *DChAE* 14 (1987–88) 338; idem, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) B 9, 10.

′68 Approximately 3.50 × 3.0 m.

'69 See above p. 87.

'70 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 129, drawing no. 2.

'71 Idem, 120–121, drawing no. 3.

'72 W. Hoepfner, *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten* (Berlin 1976) 192, 193, fig. 205.

'73 V. Orphanou, *ArchDelt* 47 (1992) B' 25, drawing no. 2; Sigalos, *Housing*, 210, fig. 67.

'74 Scranton, *Corinth*, pl. VI, I 2/3, I 11/12, K 10/11 and 56, fig. 5.

'75 K. Kourelis, The rural house in the Medieval Peloponnese, in J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (eds.), *Archaeology and Architecture*, *Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker* (Mainz 2005) 126, 127, fig. 8a. For later long and narrow buildings, see also Sigalos, *Housing*, 209, 210.

'76 E. Stikas, *Τό οἰκοδομικόν χρονικόν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ* (Athens 1970) inset pl. A, room IB.

'77 G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris 1899) pl. 2.

'78 A. Orlandos, Ἡ μονή τοῦ Ὁσίου Μελετίου καί τά παραλαύρια αὐτῆς, *ABME* 5 (1939–1940) 55, fig. 10.

'79 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 155, 156.

'80 A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*, op. cit., fig. 14; A. Kriesis, Tradition in evolution: The persistence of the classical house, *Arch. Review* (1948) 267, 268; idem, *Greek Town Building* (Athens 1965) 185, 186.

'81 For instance, the type of the house, or houses, found by the ruins of the ancient Tholos, destroyed in the seventh century (namely, much older than those of the Middle Byzantine period), shares nothing with House D.

'82 Ch. Bouras, Houses in Byzantium, *DChAE* 11 (1982–83) 23; Ch. Bouras, Γενική Εἰσαγωγή, *Ἑλληνική παραδοσιακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 1 (Athens 1982) 29–30 n. 59.

'83 About the storage jars, see Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 130, 131; A. Charitonidou, Μορφές μεταβυζαντινῆς κεραμεικῆς, *Ἀρχαιολογία*, 4 (1982) 61–62; eadem, Κεραμεική βυζαντινῆς οἰκίας Α', *DChAE* 14 (1987–1988) 347. For similar storage jars in Corinth, see Scranton, *Corinth*, 131, 132.

'84 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 130, 131.

'85 S. Koumanoudis, Ἔκθεσις τοῦ Γενικοῦ Γραμματέως, *Prakt* 44 (1889) 11. 'Ubiquitous', according to T. H. Shear, *Hesperia* (1997) 523.

'86 See below p. 123. Ch. Bouras, Aspects of the Byzantine City, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 516, 517, 522.

'87 A. Louvi-Kizi, Thebes in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 634.

'88 Camp (2007) 633. With the initials P, S and B on the archaeological plans, as for instance on the drawings by R. C. Anderson, op. cit., 630, 631.

'89 In antiquity the word *σιρός* was used for storage pits and jars containing cereals. See LSJ, s.v. *σιρός*.

'90 Phot. ASCSA, X.71.74. Also in the National Garden (S. Koumanoudis, Ἔκθεσις, op. cit., 11 n. 2) and the house in the basement of the Kanellopoulos Museum.

'91 In the case of masonry storage jars, the mouth was covered in strong lime mortar in such a way that there was full contact between the jar and its lid.

'92 Phot. ASCSA, Π.80163, Diaries ASCSA, II, ΩΙΙ, 1292.

'93 This system is typically used for small vaults, see A. Passadeos, Περί τινος ἀσυνήθους βυζαντινοῦ θόλου, *Χαριστήριον* Α', 187–192, pl. III, IV.

'94 A. Roussopoulos, Ἀνασκαφή θεάτρου Διονύσου, *ArchEph* 17 (1862) 130 'with sand-plaster or, better, what is known as turco-barbaric kourassani [waterproof plaster]'.

'95 For bell-shaped jars or pits, see D. Giraud, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) B 14, drawing. no. 3.

'96 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα*, op. cit., 117, pl. 53 α (a *pithos* from the Petraki monastery in Athens). See also Scranton, *Corinth*, 131, 137. On the outside coatings of the jars, in some cases handles or bosses can be seen. One such example is the jar on display near the entrance to the Roman Agora.

'97 Frequent instances have been found in the Agora where both the level of the streets and of the floors in rooms has risen significantly, bearing witness to serious interventions, perhaps subsequent to disasters.

'98 N. Oikonomides, The contents of the Byzantine house from the 11th to the 15th century, *DOP* 44 (1990) 205–214, mainly 211.

'99 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 131.

300 Ch. Bakirtzis, op. cit., distinguishes different types of jars with regard to their form and dates them approximately. For sections of jars (from the excavation south of the Odeon of Herodes Atticus by J. Travlos), see Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 88, fig. 96, 89, fig. 97.

301 Louvi-Kizi, op. cit., 634. The sole exemption is the article by P. Armstong, Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia 1980, *BSA* 87 (1992) 295–335.

302 Shear (1997) 531.

303 Idem, 530, pl. 102 b.

304 A. Roussopoulos, op. cit., 212.

305 Louvi-Kizi, op. cit., 634.

306 Diaries ASCSA, MM III, 465. Full height 2.75 m.

307 Diaries ASCSA, H VII, 1202.

308 Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 72–75.

309 As, for instance, in the Iviron monastery of Mount Athos.

310 As in the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 101.

311 Shear (1984) 52, fig. 18; Shear (1997) 521; Camp (2003) 246; Camp (2007) compare figs. 1 and 2.

312 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 130, drawing no. 2.

313 D. Giraud, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) B', 13. Also found along the east side of the basilica in the excavation for the Acropolis Museum.

314 Phot. ASCSA, H, HA, H', 3, 35 (foundations with large ashlar blocks).

315 Diaries ASCSA, MM VI, 1139, phot. ASCSA, H', 7232.

316 As are most of the walls found in the Agora. The Byzantines called the houses built of stones and mud 'λιθοπλινθόκτιστα'. See Ph. Koukoules, op. cit., 85 n. 1.

317 Du Cange, col. 348.

318 Phot. ASCSA, H, 7234, Diaries ASCSA, E II, 328. Also in the house found in the excavation for the extension of the Kanellopoulos Museum, accessible now in its basement.

319 See above p. 64 fig. 28.

320 Diaries ASCSA, Δ 2, 315.

321 K. Tsakos, Ἀνασκαφική ἔρευνα, *DChAE* 14 (1987–88) fig. 23. A wall with cloisonné masonry was found in the front courtyard of the Library of Hadrian.

322 Phot. ASCSA, ΘΘ.ΙΙ. 7.224.

§23 Phot. ASCSA, P XLVII, 65, 73.

§24 Scranton, *Corinth*, 102.

§25 Diaries ASCSA, H II, 305, 369, Δ II, p. 213, E II, 226.

§26 Like the cistern covered by a barrel vault near the 'Theseion'. Phot. ASCSA, KK, ΛΛ, 6308 and 6309.

§27 See above p. 104 n. 758.

§28 Because we do not have the upper parts of the houses. The excavators (Shear [1997] 532) comment that the form of the passage to the courtyard through two arched openings is common in newer traditional houses in Greece.

§29 See above p. 102 comparisons with later monuments in Attica.

§30 Diaries ASCSA, H III, 494.

§31 Plastered floors of a cistern (Diaries ASCSA, H II, 194) and of a wine or oil press (Diaries, ASCSA, Δ II, 202).

§32 Phot. ASCSA, H. 860.

§33 Camp (2003) 246; Diaries ASCSA, MM V, 816.

§34 We do not know if the tiles of the roofs were of two different kinds, pan-tiles and cover-tiles, as in the medieval houses of Pergamon. See W. Radt, Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon, in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum: Bericht über ein Kolloquium veranstallet vom Architektur-Referat des Deutchen Archäologischen Instituts in Berlin von 21.11 bis 23.11.1978* (Berlin 1978) 199 ff.

§35 Mainly the two articles by M. Kazanaki on Athens.

§36 Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*; Herrin, Organisation, 136, 137; A. Jaubert, *Géographie d' Edrisi* (Paris 1846) 295; Setton, Athens, 206, 207.

§37 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 98, 514.

§38 Idem, Β' 69.

§39 See above p. 115 ff.

§40 This will be discussed again.

§41 A. Kazhdan and A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the 11th and the 12th Centuries* (Berkeley 1985) 32; Mango, *Βυζάντιο*, 102.

§42 N. Choniates, *Ἱστορία*, E. Bekker ed. (Bonn 1835) 803 «ὁ Σγουρός ... προνομεύει τῶν ζώων τά εἰς ζεύγλην καί δίαιταν ἐπιτήδεια». (Sgouros leads out the animals useful for ploughing and food.)

§43 Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν,* op. cit., 132.

§44 K. Setton, A note on Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, *Speculum* 21 (1946) 236.

§45 A. Laiou, Economic thought and ideology, in Laiou, *Economic History* III, 1125.

§46 Despite the fact that Piraeus had very good natural harbors, their importance, as we have seen, was limited.

§47 In unfortified and poorly fortified cities, state control and other forms of protection regulating commercial transactions were simply insufficient. See L. Mumford, *The City in History* (Harmondsworth 1966) 290–291.

§48 Kazanaki, Athens, 393.

§49 Camp (2003) 246 for two hypotheses about the great number of jars and storage pits in Athens.

§50 Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν*, op. cit., 133.

§51 Of Thebes, Corinth, Chalcis, Lacedaemonia or Kastoria.

§52 C. Morrisson, Byzantine money: Its production and circulation, in Laiou, *Economic History* III, Diagram 6.5.

§53 See above p. 51.

§54 E. Lygouri, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) B, 89; Eleutheratou and Saraga, 51; C. Vlassopoulou, S. Eleutheratou and A. Mantis, *Σταθμός μετρό «Ἀκρόπολις»* (Athens s.d.) 8.

§55 Bouras, Πολεοδομικά, 90, 91, 96.

§56 For a general approach to the technology of Middle Byzantine ceramics, see V. François and J.-M. Spieser, Pottery and glass in Byzantium, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 598–609. For Athenian ceramic production, see A. Charitonidou, Μορφές μεταβυζαντινῆς κεραμεικῆς, Ἀθηναϊκά ἐργαστήρια, *Ἀρχαιολογία* 4 (1982) 60–64.

§57 Miliadis, Ἀνασκαφή, 49.

§58 Vavylopoulou, Κεραμικά, 132 ff.

§59 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 261, 263.

§60 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 51–54 (excavation of the building E); Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 261. It is not

easy to distinguish the parts of the workshop mentioned in the text in the published general plans of the excavated area (drawing nos. 1 and 2).

361 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 54; Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 272, 273, figs. 10–13. The products of the workshops were vessels for common use and a few with monochrome glaze.

362 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 261, fig. 2.

363 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 55.

364 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 265.

365 Ibid., 268.

366 Ibid., 275.

367 R. S. Young, An industrial district of ancient Athens, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 286. The notion of technical continuity from antiquity is a fantasy.

368 Shear and Camp (1992) 17.

369 E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Ἀρχαιολογικές μαρτυρίες καί μνημεῖα στήν πορεία ἐκτέλεσης τῶν μεγάλων ἔργων, *Ἀρχαιολογικές Ἔρευνες καί Μεγάλα Δημόσια Ἔργα*, Πρακτικά (Athens 2004) 54.

370 Th. Karageorga-Stathakopoulou, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) B' 28.

371 Ph. Stavropoulos, *ArchDelt* 13 (1930–31), Appendix, 1–14.

372 Ibid., 5, fig. 5, 6.

373 Orlandos, Ἔκθεσις, 35–58. Vases and sherds of the Christian era in the Roman Agora excavation.

374 Orlandos avoided dating each piece separately. But the shapes and methods attest that they belong to the Middle Byzantine period. The pots from the Roman Agora were deposited in the Byzantine Museum. See D. Konstantios (ed.), *Ὁ κόσμος τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου* (Athens 2004) 316 no. 305, 330 no. 325. It should be noted, however, that questions have been raised about the collective dating of the pots, see A. Charitonidou, Μορφές μεταβυζαντινῆς κεραμεικῆς, ἀθηναϊκά ἐργαστήρια, *Ἀρχαιολογία* 4 (August 1982) 62.

375 Orlandos, Ἔκθεσις, 58.

376 A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge 2007) 118. A great number of sherds with sgraffito decoration has been found in the Athenian Agora.

377 V. François and J.-M. Spieser, op. cit., 324, 325; A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, op. cit., 118.

§78 Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 14 May 2003.

§79 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 98, 106, 587.

§80 For general information about the production of silk in the provinces, see D. Jacoby, Silk in western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade, *BZ* 85 (1992) 452–500; A. Muthesius, Essential Processes, Looms and Technical Aspects of the Produstion of Silk Textiles, in Laiou, *Economic History* I, 147–168.

§81 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 136, 137, 600, 601.

§82 A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, op. cit., 132.

§83 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 27, 28 n. 94; Kazanaki, Ἀθήνα, 209, 212.

§84 K. Pittakis, Περί τοῦ Ὠδείου Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, *Prakt* 14 (1858/59) 1711. A pit full of shells and sherds was found in the Athenian Agora between 2003 and 2005, at the northeast side of section BH (not published). Another was discovered in the Library of Hadrian (A. Choremi, Lecture, May 27, 2002).

§85 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 275, 635. Dye from purple shells was also produced in Thisbe (Byzantine Kastorion). See C. Koilakou, A. Dunn and B. Aravantinos, Arch. Reports, 2006–2007, *JHS* 53 (2007) 35.

§86 For more information about the process of purple dyeing with shells, see P. Veropoulidou, S. Andreou and K. Kotsakis, Ἡ παραγωγή πορφυρῆς βαφῆς κατά τήν ἐποχή τοῦ χαλκοῦ, *Ἀρχαιολογικό Ἔργο στή Μακεδονία καί τή Θράκη* 19 (2005) 173–186.

§87 Michael Choniates sent olive oil and soap as presents to Isaiah Antiochetes in Monemvasia. See also Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 220; Laiou, *Economic History* III, 371; A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, op. cit., 127, 132.

§88 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, pl. 6, 9β. For a cistern nearby, see *Prakt* 104, 1949.

§89 In section E were found two triads of basins and in section MM a group of four.

§90 A. Choremi, report (27 May 2002). A row of built basins and a small cistern are preserved. Their dating is problematic because the ceramic finds were disturbed. The excavator classified them as Late Byzantine; see *ArchDelt* 20 (2000) Β'.

§91 Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 263.

§92 A. Skias, Ἀνασκαφαί παρά τόν Ἰλισσόν, *Prakt* 52 (1897) 77, gives some information about modern

tanneries east of the Olympieion. This does not prove continuity from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. About the use of workshops as tanneries or fulleries, see Eleutheratou (2000) 288, 289; Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 263; P. Kalligas, Σταθμός Metro Ἀκρόπολις, *I Kathimerini, Ἑπτά ἡμέρες* (6 June 2000) 8.

393 P. Kalligas, Lecture, Nov. 12, 2000.

394 See the previous page. In Thebes, a city where the silk-weaving industry flourished, they had not only the Kaloktenes aqueduct, but also large water cisterns that were added to the water supply system to serve the factories. See A. Louvi-Kizi, op. cit. 378.

395 See above pp. 111–112. On the problem of the capacity of the jars or the storage pits, see A. Louvi-Kizi, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 634.

396 Eleutheratou and Saraga, 54 (in the basilica) and 55 (in section 4).

397 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 12, 553; J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Demetrios Tornikès, Lettres et Discours* (Paris 1970) 207 and 215 respectively.

398 For Post-Byzantine and more recent workshops, see P. Koufopoulos and S. Mamaloukos, *Ἁγιορείτικη μεταλλοτεχνία* (Athens 1997).

399 Threpsiadis and Travlos (1961–62) 12, pl. 9 α. Also in section Δ of the Athenian Agora.

400 Lazaridis (1973) 54. A wine press and three jars were found in one room of the complex. The dating to the Early Christian period is not justified.

401 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β' 26, 311, 559.

402 Ibid., 136, 137.

403 Ibid., 25, 559.

404 T. L. Shear (1939) 317. Mastic resin was often used to waterproof jars and wine jugs.

405 K. Reidt, The Urban Economy of Pergamon, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 628, fig. 94.

406 Ch. Bouras, ibid., 520, 521.

407 Examples of unfinished Middle Byzantine sculptures are found outside Athens. See Ch. Bouras, Unfinished Architectural Members in Middle Byzantine Greek Churches, *Archaeology in Architecture, Studies in honor of Cecil Striker* (Mainz 2005) 1–9.

408 Thompson (1968) 57, 58.

109 Thompson and Wycherley, 216.

110 Alexandri (1977) 17.

111 O. Zachariadou in Parlama and Stampolidis, 137, fig. 2.

112 See above p. 96.

113 O. Zachariadou, op. cit., 149–151.

114 Scranton, *Corinth*, 76–77; G. Sanders, Corinth, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 652–653.

115 K. Reidt, op. cit., 626, 627.

116 Lazaridis (1973) 56.

117 About the cellars in monasteries known as 'δοχεῖα' and 'ὠρεῖα', see Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 72–75.

118 Shear (1935) 314; Bouras, City, 648.

119 Ibid.

120 Ch. Bouras, Aspects of the Byzantine City, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 514.

121 Ibid., nn. 195 and 196.

122 Sotiriou believed that the weekly open-air market was held during the medieval period east of the 'Theseion' (*EMME,* A1, 49). The excavations proved that the area was densely occupied by houses.

123 Given that all the supposed marketplaces mentioned above are in the new settlements of Athens, outside the Post-Herulian wall.

124 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 29.

125 See above p. 63.

126 *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη τά σωζόμενα*, K. Bonis ed. (Athens 1937) 72.

127 A. Laiou, Exchange and trade, Seventh-Twelfth centuries, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 681 ff.; Kaldellis (2009) 133–137.

128 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 12, 26, 27, 33.

129 Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1576; *ODB* III,1939 *s.v.* Sports (A. Cutler); Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καί πολιτισμός*, Γ' (Athens 1949) 129–142.

130 Citation of many other sources in Du Cange, op. cit. See also *ODB* III, 2137 *s.v.* Tzykanestirion (A. Kazhdan).

31 *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford 1997) 614 n. 5.

32 O. Lampsidis, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου ὅσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε* (Athens 1982) 80, 252, 428, 458.

33 G. Dagron, Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine, *DOP* 31 (1977) 11 ff.; Bouras, Πολεοδομικά, 91 n. 20. See also Ph. Koukoules, op. cit., Δ' (Athens 1951) 185–188.

34 Typical is the case of the Olympieion area, where all the medieval remains found at medium depth, as well as the graves, were destroyed. K. Koumanoudis, Ἀνασκαφή Ὀλυμπιείου, *Prakt* 43 (1888) 15.

35 E. Tzavella, Τά πρώιμα βυζαντινά νεκροταφεῖα τῆς Ἀθήνας καί οἱ μαρτυρίες τους γιά τήν τοπογραφική καί ἱστορική ἐξέλιξη τῆς πόλης, *26ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2006) 93.

36 N. Emmanouilidis, *Τό δίκαιο τῆς ταφῆς στό Βυζάντιο* (Athens 1989) 176, ch. 3, 'Places of burials'.

37 P. Kalligas, in Parlama and Stampolidis, op. cit., 39; Saraga, Ἐργαστήριο, 263–264; Alexandri (1969) 56, 57; P. Kalligas, Ἀνασκαφές στό οἰκόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, *Ἀνθέμιον* (Dec. 1995) 10, 11. It seems that a little further to the north, close to the Lysikrates monument, there was another graveyard. See Choremi, Ὁδός Τριπόδων, 32.

38 P. Kalligas, Ἀνασκαφές στό οἰκόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, op. cit., 10–11. P. Kalligas in a lecture (21 Dec. 2001) expressed the opinion that under Makrygianni Street are the remains of a church, perhaps of Hagios Nikolaos 'sto Kountito'; idem, *Ἀνθέμιον* (Dec. 1995) 11.

39 Alexandri (1974) 128–129, drawing no. 22.

40 Ch. Bouras, Ταφικά μνημεῖα στήν μέση καί τήν ὕστερη βυζαντινή ἀρχιτεκτονική, *16ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1996) 53–54.

41 Frantz, Holy Apostles, 27–31, fig. 9, pl. 10e, 28.

42 Bouras, Taxiarchs, 71, pl. 7, 4.

43 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 128, 129, fig. 163.

44 Bouras, Soteira, 22.

45 Choremi (1989) 12.

46 A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως βυζαντινῶν μνημείων, *ABME* Β' (1936) 208, fig. 6; Travlos, *Dictionary*, 263, fig. 335; W. B. Dinsmoor, Observations, op. cit., 6–30.

47 S. Koumanoudis, diary entry 'Excavation of the burnt Agora' (11 Jan. 1886) 'in the area of the church,

a grave under the pavement'.

[48] Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 73.

[49] In the separate room of the Parthenon (*opisthonaos*), which was used as the narthex (Korres, Παρθενώνας, 145, 1994, fig. 10), can be seen three graves. One more has been recently explored in the north colonnade. The cavity under the shrine of Athena Ergane was turned to a bone house in the medieval period.

[50] Orlandos and Vranousis.

[51] Sakkelion, *ArchEph* 25 (1886) 235; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 282. Tombstones of Metse Droungarea, Eupraxia and Thomais of the years 856, 867 and 921, respectively, have been found. The first of them was daughter or wife of a droungarios (see *ODB* I, 663).

[52] S. Koumanoudis, diaries, op. cit., 21 Sept. 1885: '… appeared … underground cavity … deposit of human bones …'; 11 Oct. 1885: '… appeared a second built (room) with human remains …'; 2 Feb. 1886: '… were found two narrow rooms, plastered inside, in which there were many human bones …'.

[53] Lazaridis (1960) 65.

[54] Lazaridis (1967) 154, 155, drawing no. 6 (plan).

[55] E. Lygouri-Tolia, *ArchDelt* 349 (1994) B' 1 36–38. The graves published by A. Skias (*Prakt* 52 [1897] 73–85, pl. A') were destroyed.

[56] Choremi (1994) 18, 29; Choremi (1995) 22 ff.

[57] Choremi (1989) 12; E. Touloupa, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἀσώματος στά σκαλιά, in *Εὐφρόσυνον*, B' (Athens 1992) 596–598. The sherds testify the old age of the graves, but the funeral gifts in them date from the Post-Byzantine period.

[58] Choremi (1989) 12. See also above p. 61 n. 403.

[59] Given that distinguished persons were buried in arcosolia, the excavators thought that it was made for a member of the Chalkokondyles family (the founders of the church) and was therefore of the Late Byzantine period.

[60] Chatzidakis (1974) 184 ff. Graves of the first and third phases of the church.

[61] Shear (1997) 535.

[62] W. B. Dinsmoor, Observations on the Hephesteion, *Hesperia*, Supplement 5 (1941) 16–30.

[63] Ibid., 15.

[64] A. McCabe, Byzantine funerary graffiti in the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora, in *Proceedings of the 21* st *Intern. Congress of Byz. Studies* (London 2006) II, 127, 128. Dorothy Thompson, 70 years ago, assured Orlandos that the graves around the temple are of the twelfth century. See *ABME* Β' (1936) 216. Later, W. B. Dinsmoor dated the graves between 1057 and 1453.

[65] K. Zisiou, Χαράγματα ἐπιγραφικά, *ΔΙΕΕ* 2 (1885) 20–23; A. McCabe, op. cit.

[66] A. McCabe, op. cit.

[67] N. Emmanouilidis, op. cit., 337–331.

[68] P. Kalligas, Σταθμός Metro Ἀκρόπολις, *Kathimerini, Ἑπτά ἡμέρες* (18 June 2000) 8.

[69] Lazaridis (1967) 149–152.

[70] Shear (1977) 538.

[71] See above p. 63.

[72] Interesting is the case of burials of infants inside houses, in the Agora, J. Camp (2007) 629, 648; idem, Arch. Report, 2006–07, *JHS* (2007) 6, fig. 6.

[73] For general information about the churches of Athens, see Mommsen, *Athenae*; T. Neroutsos, Αἱ χριστιανικαί Ἀθῆναι, *ΔΙΕΕ* 3 (1898) 5 ff.; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*; Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν; Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*; Chat-zidakis, *Ἀθήνα*; Mango, *Architecture*, 252 ff.; Ch. Bouras, Μεσοβυζαντινή Ἀθήνα, Πολεοδομία καί Ἀρχιτεκτονική, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 223–245; N. Panselinou, *Βυζαντινή Ἀθήνα* (Athens 2001); Krautheimer, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 379–395; P. Hetherington, *Byzantine and Medieval Greece* (London 1991) 65 ff.; D. Constantios, Βυζαντινή Ἀθήνα, *Ἡ πόλη, τό μουσεῖο, τό μνημεῖο* (Athens 2003) 78–81.

[74] C. Mango, Byzantine attitudes to the conservation of monuments, *Casabella* 581 (1999) 38.

[75] N. Ambraseys, Material for the investigation of the seismicity of Central Greece, in S. Stiros and R. E. Jones (eds.), *Archeo-seismology* (Athens 1996) 23.

[76] Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 91.

[77] Kritoboulos of Imbros in D. R. Reinsch and F. Kolovou (eds.), *Ἱστορία* (Athens 2005) 424–427; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 173; Sp. Lambros, *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Β' (Athens 1904) 393–396.

178 Mainly during the siege of the Acropolis, from 3 August 1826 to 25 May 1827.

179 L. Ross maintained that most of his ancient findings came from the 114 ruined Byzantine and Post-Byzantine churches of Athens. Kleanthes and Schaubert listed 115 churches. See A. Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Ἐδουάρδος Σάουμπερτ* (Athens 1999) 75–77.

180 For a general catalogue including the place of each church, based on the first maps of modern Athens, see K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940).

181 Of great importance was a circular (7 March 1834) of the Synod of the Church of Greece, suggesting that the building of new churches be avoided in favor of embellishing and enlarging existing ones. See H. A. Chlepa, *Τά βυζαντινά μνημεῖα στήν νεώτερη Ἑλλάδα* (Athens 2001) 34–39.

182 Stefanos Koumanoudis was the most fervent supporter of the new ideology that denied the Byzantine past. As an archaeolo-gist he was active in the destruction of many medieval remains in Athens. See S. Mathaiou, *Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης, Σχεδίασμα βιογραφίας* (Athens 1999) 108–111, 113, 125, 127.

183 On the ruins of the monastery found by excavation, see *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) B', 49, drawing no. 17.

184 Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 286.

185 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 219, 247, 248, 619, 628, 630.

186 Kambouroglous, ibid., 267, 268.

187 It is evident from its degradation to a *metochion*, or dependency, of the Panachrantos monastery on the island of Andros.

188 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*. Ruins of the monastery buildings are visible in a photograph of 1872.

189 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 27, 34.

190 The ruins found in excavation were identified as monastery buildings. See above pp. 57–58.

191 C. Mango, Les monuments de l'architecture du XIe siècle et leur signification historique et sociale, *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976) 353.

192 Granstrem et al., op. cit., 26–27.

193 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 139 n. 2, 210 n. 3.

194 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 93, 104, 117, B', 449, 451, 454.

195 See above p. 61.

196 Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 276; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*, 236.

97 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 154, 210–212; Choremi, *Ἀγορά*, 30.

98 M. Korres, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) B', 9–10.

1 Known formerly as Holy Apostoloi of the Solaki (family).

2 Frantz, Holy Apostles. The monograph is accompanied by excellent drawings by J. Travlos and W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.

3 A. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, 2 (Paris 1905) 34, 35; *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (Paris 1884) 132, 133.

4 Megaw, Chronology, 103, 104, 105, 116, 120.

5 Frantz, op. cit., 25.

6 The measured sketches done by Kleanthes and Schaubert for the first general map of Athens (1833) show the fourth western conch of the church. It is possible that it was in ruins and that its destruction was recent, rather than from the Venetian campaign of 1687.

7 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 38.

8 Frantz, op. cit., 41 n. 5. Its models are the Panagia church of the Hosios Loukas monastery and Hagioi Iason and Sosipatros on Corfu.

9 G. Mauzy (ed.), *Οἱ ἀνασκαφές στήν Ἀγορά τῆς Ἀθήνας, 1931–2006* (Athens 2006) 74–89.

10 Frantz, op. cit., 13, drawing no. 10 c.

11 The marble *templon* (iconostasis, or icon screen), which was necessary for functional reasons, altered the understanding of the spatial design of the church.

12 Frantz, op. cit., 21.

13 Ibid., 20.

14 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 77.

15 Frantz, op. cit., pl. 6 d.

16 Ibid., pl. 6 e.

17 Ibid., 25, 26.

1 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 51, no 53; Janin, *Centres*, no 32.

2 Shear (1997) 538–546, pl. 108, 109; Shear and Camp (1992) 18.

3 Shear (1997) 540, fig. 12.

4 Ibid., 539 n. 92 and 93.

5 Exterior, semicircular *bema* conches were not usually built with ashlar blocks, but with less expensive coarse stones.

1 P. Lazaridis, Μεσαιωνικά Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) Β', 96, pl. 91 β, 92 α, β.

2 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 31, fig. 39.

3 Pallas, Μετάβαση, 26.

4 Platon (1965) 22.

5 A. Spetsieri-Choremi, Ἐνοποίηση Ἀρχαιολογικῶν Χώρων, *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) 45.

6 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 116, 117, fig. 146 with previous bibliography. See also R. Pouli, Φετιχιέ Τζαμί, in E. Brouskari (ed.), *Ὀθωμανική ἀρχιτεκτονική στην Ἑλλάδα* (Athens 2008) 70–73.

7 Choremi, *Ἀγορά*, 7, fig. 1, 9. Report in the newspaper *Kathimerini*, 29 May 2002.

8 N. Gioles, *Ἀθήνα*, fig. 72.

9 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 71, 73.

10 Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 35 ff.

11 J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie et du Levant*, 2 (Lyon 1678) 181.

12 L. Beschi, Una descrizione delle Antichità di Atene del 1687, *RendLinc* IX, 13 (2002) VIII, f. 3, fig. 6.

13 Today Panos Street, much larger in 1687.

14 This explains the remark of Kambouroglous that a cross was removed from the dome of the mosque. It is possible the mosque was transformed into the cathedral of the Roman Catholic rite, given that the Venetian authorities, at this time, preferred to occupy Ottoman mosques for their own use, rather than Orthodox churches (suggestion of H. Kalligas).

15 The rotation of the main axis of the new mosque to Mecca left free the northeast and the southwest parts of the church, which were excavated.

16 The intercolumniations of the ancient stoa were filled with coarse stonemasonry, perhaps in order to create an enclosure for the church.

17 The axis of the minaret is parallel to the axis of the church and not to the later mosque. This

confirms that it was built for the church after its occupation by the Ottomans.

18 The masonry of the *bema* conch is different from that of the two minor conches.

1 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 94, 95, fig. 108. The original name of the church is unknown.

2 I. Karani, Οἰκοδομικές ἐπεμβάσεις στόν ναό τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης στήν Πλάκα κατά τόν 19ο καί τίς ἀρχές τοῦ 20οῦ αἰῶνα, *DChAE* 28 (2007) 147–156. See also Strategos Makrygiannis, *Ὁράματα καί θάματα* (Athens 1983) 245, 246 nn. 54, 30–31. The last cleanup works on the church addition were executed by A. Orlandos. See Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 494.

3 Exactly 47 cm if we accept that the columns had no base.

4 Width 0.66 m and height 1.26 (originally 1.74) m.

5 M. Kappas, *Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Καλύμνου* (Thessaloniki 2001) 277, n. 129; idem, Ὁ ναός τῆς Παντοβασίλισσας στήν Τρίγλεια, *36ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2006) 30, 31.

6 Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 343–344; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 139.

7 Megaw, Chronology, 102, 122, 124, 126, 129.

8 Tsouris, op. cit., 107, 108, 113.

9 Megaw, Chronology, 126. See also Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία,* 256 n. 2.

10 Travlos, Ἀθῆναι, col. 729 and E. P. Blegen, Annual Report, *AJA* 50 (1946) 375.

11 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 180, no. H.

12 See above n. 361.

13 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 119, fig. 69, 374 (drawing by H. C. Stilling); Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 159, fig. 184.

14 A. Keramopoullos, Ἀθηνῶν εὑρήματα, *ArchEph* 50 (1911) 259–261.

15 The excavation was extended to Galanou Street and uncovered two more columns. See P. Vasilopoulou, *ArchDelt* 37 [1982] B', 20). See also G.C.R. Schmalz, The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered?, *Hesperia* 75 (2006) 33–81; R. Di Cesare, I resti Archeologici ai piedi Orientali dell' Acropoli, *ASAtene* 87 (2009) 805–822.

16 I. Threpsiadis, Ἀνασκαφικαί ἔρευναι Ἀττικῆς καί Βοιωτίας, *ArchEph* 112 (1973), Appendix 62 n. 1.

17 Karagiorga (1979) 32. On the 6 Galanou plot and 15 Lysikratous Street. Later in the same street was found a second stylobate with two piers. (Vasilopoulou, op. cit.) Drawings of the findings were not

published.

1 I. Travlos, Ἡ πυρπόλησις τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ὑπό τῶν Ἐρούλων καί ἡ ἐπισκευή του κατά τούς χρόνους τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουλιανοῦ, *ArchEph* 112 (1973) 218–236; idem, *Dictionary*, 444. A. Frantz supported the opinion that the temple was burnt by the Visigoths of Alaric. See A. Frantz, Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?, *AJA* 83 (1979) 395–401.

2 According to Travlos and Frantz, respectively.

3 A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity in the temples of Athens, *DOP* 19 (1965) 187–205; Travlos, Ἀθῆναι, 712; Pallas, Μετάβαση, 39, 40; C. Mango, The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church, The Tübingen Theosophy, *DChAE* 18 (1995) 201–203; Kaldellis (2009) 23 ff.

4 The coffered slabs of the marble ceiling were destroyed by the fire perhaps except for those of the west side of the *peristasis*.

5 Based on a now destroyed inscription, published by Pittakis (*Anc. Ath.*, 387).

6 Orlandos and Vranousis, 35.

7 The inscription of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Amarousion, of the year 851, gives the name of Niketas, metropolitan of Athens (Orlandos, *EMME*, A2 [1929] 201).

8 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 145, fig. 10. Plan of the *cella* during the Middle Byzantine period.

9 See also A. Norré, *Parthenon*; R. Ousterhout, Bestride the very peak of heaven, The Parthenon after antiquity, in J. Neils (ed.), *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge 2005) 293 ff.; M. Pavan, *L'avventura del Parthenone, Un monumento nella storia* (Firenze 1983) 37–52; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 32–33; A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, Β' (Athens 1977) 341–342, with extensive bibliography.

10 On the graves, see above in the relevant chapter and Korres, Παρθενώνας, 145.

11 Ibid., 145, fig. 11.

12 Based on measurements, old photographs and the study of scattered architectural members, M. Korres presented a drawing of the restored *bema* conch in Korre, *Παρθενών*. (1989) 48–52, fig. 24.

13 For a view from southeast of the medieval Parthenon, restored by Korres and published many times, see Korres, Παρθενώνας, 147, fig. 13. The part of the ancient frieze depicting the offering of the peplos to the goddess is at the British Museum.

14 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 146, fig. 12.

15 R. Schultz and S. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London 1901) 25 n. 1.

16 Th. Bowie and D. Thimme (eds.), *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington 1971) 32.

17 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148 n. 65, 66.

18 Restored drawing by Korres. B. Holtzmann, *L'Acropole d'Athènes* (Paris 2003) 244, fig. 209.

19 Korres, Παρθενών (1989) 143, fig. 23a.

20 A. Xyngopoulos, Ὁ μεσαιωνικός πύργος τοῦ Παρθενῶνος, *ArchEph* 99 (1960) 11–12.

21 See K. Biris, Ὁ Παρθενών διαψεύδει, *Ἐποχές* 26 (1965) 63–64.

22 It is completely unknown how this area was restored after the great fire in the third or fourth century. It is implied in the reconstructed ground plan by Korres (Παρθενώνας, 145, fig. 10) that the four Ionic columns of the western area were restored and that the wall between the western room and the nave remained in good condition. Travlos, too, implies the same (*Dictionary*, 446, fig. 546 γ and 456, fig. 576) and conjectures that there were three doors between the two areas at the gallery level. That the ancient wall was preserved after the fire that occurred on either side of it is demonstrated, according to Korres, by the way in which the part of the temple to the west of the wall was ruined during the explosion of 1687. In any case, the drawings of the nave before the destruction show that the saddleback roof over this section (the narthex) was significantly lower than that of the main nave. It should be noted that according to Spon's testimony in 1675, the Ottomans had recently constructed a heavy masonry pier in the narthex, possibly to support the roof. There is no known evidence for what sort of roof it was. For the reconstruction, see Korres, op. cit., 146, fig. 12.

23 In the fifteenth century a minaret was constructed over the Byzantine tower.

24 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148 n. 63–64; idem in R. Economakis (ed.), *Acropolis Restoration* (London 1994) 49.

25 G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris 1899) 50, fig. 24, pl. IV.1.

26 Ch. Barla, *Μορφή καί ἐξέλιξις τῶν βυζαντινῶν κωδωνοστασίων* (Athens 1959) 11, fig. 12, 27 n. 2.

27 Xyngopoulos, Ὁ μεσαιωνικός πύργος, op. cit., 11–12.

28 Ibid., 14. See also Norré, *Parthenon*, 112; A. Xyngopoulos, Παρθενῶνος βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι, *ArchEph* 59 (1920) 36–53.

29 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 49, 177. See also Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 413, fig. 15. According to Korres (Report, 1988), the stairs of the tower led up to the level of the coffered slabs of the *opisthonaos*. See also Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 296 n. 42, 43.

30 It is possible that a small door was opened in the wall. It is not clear whether the door mentioned by Evliya was in the west wall or between the narthex and the nave.

31 Xyngopoulos, Ὁ μεσαιωνικός πύργος, op. cit., 1, 5, fig. 4. It is possible that the huge central door of the Parthenon was opened again in the thirteenth century. We cannot exclude Pallas's hypothesis that a problematic architectural member, now in the Byzantine Museum (D. Pallas, Ἀνάγλυφος στήλη τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchEph* 92–93 [1953/54] Γ', 267–299), was the mullion of the gate of the Frankish Parthenon.

32 On the columns no. 6, 51 and 52 (of the Orlandos and Vranousis enumeration) are found graffiti nos. 37, 21 and 33, respectively.

33 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 149, fig. 14.

34 In view of the traces on the marble pavement, Korres believes that the doors had marble frames, as was usual in Byzantine churches.

35 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 149, fig. 14.

36 Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*, 39.

37 J. Spon, *Voyage*, op. cit., 155.

38 Or of jasper, according to Niccolò da Martoni (1395). See J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance visitors in Greek Lands* (Princeton 1951).

39 Like the excellent quality door frame no. T.153 of the twelfth century. M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου* (Athens 1999) 164–165. See also Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 169, fig. 70.

40 According to a report by Machiel Kiel, who is preparing the publication of the document, a decree of Sultan Murat III. If the order to send the columns to Constantinople was not executed, it may concern the members seen at a late date by Spon and Wheler inside the church. See Orlandos, op. cit., 341.

41 Six on the Acropolis and five in the Byzantine Museum of Athens.

42 The relatively small diameter of the epistyle (or cornice) excludes the opinion that it was part of a decorative string course inside the *bema* conch (Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 32). Two of the fragments are

straight and not circular. This makes the problem of restoration more difficult. See also Kaldellis (2009) 29, fig. 7.

43 G. Sotiriou, Μνημεῖα Χριστιανικῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *EMME* Α' (1927) 41, fig. 24 β; Pallas, Φιάλη, 20–23, fig. 1–3; G. Sotiriou, *Ὁδηγός*, 25, no. 12–13; M Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 178, no. 246.

44 On one fragment of the epistyle (or cornice) (Ch. Bouras and P. Tournikiotis [eds.], *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times* [Athens 1994] 318, fig. 11), we have part of the inscription with the words ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ Μ(Ε)ΘΩΝΗΣ. The mention of a bishop of Methone is not explicable. Four more fragments of the same member were found during the last 15 years on the Acropolis by M. Korres. But the letters on them do not permit a better reading of the inscription. We read 1) ΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΜ, 2) (Ε)ΡΓΟΝ ΜΕ, 3) ΡΟ, 4) ΟCΟ.

45 Pallas, Φιάλη; and Kaldellis (2009) 151–152.

46 Korres, Παρθενώνας; M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά,* op. cit., 178.

47 Confined between the columns and the west wall of the *cella*. See Pallas, Φιάλη, 28, fig. 5; Kaldellis (2009) 152, fig. 25.

48 Middle Byzantine *phialae* found in monasteries are octogonal in plan and have a dome supported by arches between the columns. See Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 110 ff.

49 The attempt to preserve the paintings (March 1913) failed. See Ph. Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η αναστήλωση των αρχαίων μνημείων στην Ελλάδα* (Athens 1998) 176, n. 483.

50 A. Xyngopoulos, Παρθενῶνος Βυζαντινή τοιχογραφία, *ArchEph* 59 (1920) 36–51. Based on a verse by Michael Choniates he tried to date all the paintings to the end of the twelfth century.

51 A. Xyngopoulos (ibid.) supposed that some of the figures were parts of a Deesis and that among the female saints he recognized the Virgin. Given that the paintings were a limited part of a greater program as well as that they were in a very bad state of preservation, we can consider these suppositions rather doubtful.

52 A similar decorative band existed on the south wall. Idem, 39.

53 Ibid., 27.

54 The colonnades were in two rows reaching the height of the wooden roof. In other words, there was no empty surface above them that was suitable for paintings.

55 M. Chatzidakis, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στόν Ὠρωπό, *DChAE* 1 (1959) 92–95.

56 The most impressive examples are in Sicily: the twelfth-century church in Cefalú and the Capella Palatina in Palermo. See O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York 1988) 202–205. Byzantine longitudinal programmes, fig. 7, 23, 24.

57 Like those in Martorana (ibid., fig. 51, 52) as well as in Hagia Sophia of Kiev (V. Lasarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [Torino 1967], 153, fig. 176).

58 M. Korres, Συμβολή στήν μελέτη τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ Παρθενῶνος, *5ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1985) 36–37.

59 N. Chatzidaki, *Ὅσιος Λουκάς* (Athens 1996) 65, 66, fig. 61–65.

60 N. Westlake (Paintings, 175) suggested that the technique was similar to that applied in some paintings in Pompei.

61 O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (London 1911) 291–292 'possessing repose and dignity … perhaps of the eleventh century …'.

62 Sp. Lambros (in *Ἀθῆναι*, 40) compared the wall paintings with '… the best works of the flourishing Italian art …'.

63 The absence of light inside the nave was noted especially by J. Spon, who visited the monument before the destruction. He commented on the same problem in other ancient buildings as well, observing that what little light penetrated the Parthenon interior derived from the window in the sanctuary apse, Spon, *Voyage*, II, 152–154. The wooden floor of the women's gallery obviously blocked the light coming in from the three windows that had been opened on either side at the height of the ancient frieze.

64 J. Darrouzès, Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès et George Tornikès, *REB* 23 (1965) 154–162.

65 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Στίχοι πρός τήν Θεοτόκον … ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μεσοποταμίτου, *Ἁρμονία* Γ' (1902) 284 ff.

66 Pallas, Φιάλη, 30–31; Korres, Παρθενώνας, 148 n. 78; Gregorovius, *Geschichte* 1, 204 ff.; Norré, *Parthenon*, 217.

67 As for instance the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas (Schultz and Barnsley, pl. 2, 9), the Hagioi Theodoroi of Athens (*EMME*, 73, fig. 62) and Hagios Demetrios of Varasova (A. Orlandos, *ABME* A' (1935) 107, fig. 2, 3).

68 On the wall paintings of the Parthenon, see Westlake, Paintings, and Xyngopoulos, Παρθενῶνος, op. cit.; A. Cutler, The Christian wall paintings in the Parthenon, *DChAE* 17 (1993–1994) 171–180; Kaldellis (2009) 151, 153, fig. 27–29; N. Chatzidaki, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες στίς βυζαντινές καί μεταβυζαντινές ἐκκλησίες τῆς Ἀθήνας in *Ἀθῆναι*, 248–249; G. Sotiriou in EMME 1 (1927) 39–40.

69 Tesserae from the Parthenon are kept in the British Museum. See M. Beard, *The Parthenon* (London 2002) 59–60; A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, Β' (Athens 1977) 341–342, A. Cutler, op. cit., 173 n. 20.

70 J. Spon, *Voyage*, op. cit., 158.

71 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Α' 325, Β' 531.

72 For the cupboards used to store liturgical utensils and relics, see Korres, Παρθενώνας, n. 75, 110. Reference to the relics was made by Niccolò da Martoni.

73 S. Lambros, Περί τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου, *Μικταί σελίδες* (Athens 1905) 407–415.

74 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 254, 631, 295, 641. Correspondence about a missing book that was found and returned.

75 Orlandos and Vranousis; Kaldellis (2009) 74–80.

76 K. Pittakis, *ArchEph* 9 (1853) leaflet 32 and *ArchEph* 12 (1856) leaflet 43, 1435–1441.

77 Antonin (1874) 40–76, n. 1–102.

1 K. Pittakis, *ArchEph* 9 (1853) leaflet 33, 838 and *ArchEph* 14 (1858) leaflet 50, 1810.

2 G. Sotiriou, Ἀρχαῖα μνημεῖα μετατραπέντα εἰς ἐκκλησίας, *EMME* 1, Α' (1927) 45, 47.

3 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 138 n. 3.

4 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 20, 214, fig. 258.

5 M. Beulé, *L'Acropole d' Athènes* (Paris 1862) pl. 2 (plan); *Paris, Rome, Athènes* (Paris 1982) 204–210, drawings by L. F. Boite (1864) fig. 1, 3, 4 and 10.

6 See above p. 35 and Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 33–35.

7 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 138.

8 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 294, 295, 305.

9 The high placement of the two arched double windows on the south wall makes it possible that the

chapel was covered by a wooden pitched roof.

10 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 33–35. The two drawings by L. F. Boitte are now in the archives of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts. The high stepped platform and the articulation of the marbles in the three-sided apse are similar to what was found at the Gorgoepekoos.

11 Republished by T. Tanoulas (Hansen, fig. 72; Desbuisson, fig. 83; Labouteux, fig. 87; Winstrup, fig. 90; Boitte, fig. 96).

1 K. Boukis in the newspaper *Ἀθῆναι*, 31 May and 7 June 1908. G. Lambakis, Γενική Συνέλευσις τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, *DChAE* 9 (1910) 100–101. Lambakis accused the ephor of antiquities, A. Adamantiou, of disfiguring the church.

2 R. Baumstark (ed.), *Das Neue Hellas* (München 2000) 473, no 328. View of the 'Theseion' from the Psyrri Square. Part of this drawing, including the church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, was used as a vignette in the well-known *Panorama von Athen* (München 1841). The drawing was made in 1835.

3 Given that the church was not published, its commentary here is longer than the usual.

4 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 19; Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 94, fig. 104; Mommsen, *Athenae*, no. 160. 6 A. Philadelpheus, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, 1 (Athens 1902) 275.

5 Given that he used a camera obscura.

6 A. Philadelpheus, *'Ιστορία τῶν 'Αθηνῶν, 1 (Athens 1902) 275.*

7 A. Orlandos, Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημήτριος τῆς Βαράσσοβας, *ABME* Α' (1935) 105–120.

8 Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke*, op. cit., 1, 2, 9.

9 Korres, Παρθενώνας, 145, fig. 11.

10 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 398–399.

11 Bouras, Soteira, 39.

12 Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke*, pl. 6–9.

13 See information of lesser importance about the *templon* of the church in D. Philippidis, *Ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργο τοῦ Λύσανδρου Καυταντζόγλου* (Athens 1995) 310.

1 A. W. Parsons, Klepsydra and the paved Court of the Pythion, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 191 ff. With complete drawings of the successive phases of the monument.

2 Ibid., and Travlos, *Dictionary*, 324–331, fig. 426–434; Barkas et al., *Κλιτύς*, 14–17.

3 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 331, fig. 433.

4 A. W. Parsons, op. cit., 251.

5 E. Breton, *Athènes décrite et dessinée par Ernest Breton* (Paris 1862) 182.

6 A. W. Parsons, op. cit., 250–251.

7 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 103.

1 Ibid., 92, fig. 99.

2 In 1858 the resolution to demolish the church was rejected. See D. Philippidis, *Ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργο τοῦ Λύσανδρου Καυταντζόγλου* (Athens 1995) 217 n. 487.

3 For old photographs prior to the second intervention. See in A. Struck, *Athen*, 143, fig. 165, and Chatzidakis, *Ἀθήνα*, fig. 56. Drawings of the church before any destruction and disfiguration that were made thanks to the Byzantine Research Fund (perhaps by R. W. Schultz) are kept in the British School at Athens. The drawings by A. Couchaud, *Choix*, 16, pl. VIII, have evident mistakes.

4 E. Stikas, Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀσωμάτων Θησείου, *DChAE* 1 (1959) 115–162; idem, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 494, fig. 105, 106; A. Orlandos, Ἀποκαταστάσεις μνημείων, *EEBΣ* 29 (1959) 524, 530 and 30 (1960) 685; *Prakt* 115 (1960) 343.

5 K. Biris, Ἡ ἀναστήλωσις τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἀσωμάτων, *Nea Hestia* 34 (1950) no. 795, 8 ff. Republished in *Μέντωρ* 9 (1996) 118–129; idem, Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς "Ἀναστηλώσεως" τοῦ Ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀσωμάτων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *Θεολογία* 31 (1960) 454–460. For refutation of his arguments by E. Stikas, see *Νέα Ἑστία* 34 (1950) no. 797, 4 ff.

6 K. Biris considered as erroneous the restoration of the unified pitched roof over the west part of the church and of its narthex. However, the old representations of the monument (B. Barskij, *Stranstbobanija*, 4, pl. of the 'Theseion', drawing by R. W. Schultz (see above note 3); R. Baustark, *Das Neue Hellas* (München 2000) 509–511, fig. 372 (drawing by L. Lange) show that the restoration was correct.

7 Because of the disfiguration of the church, A.H.S. Megaw did not include the Hagioi Asomatoi in his 'Chronology'.

8 E. Stikas, Ὁ ναός, op. cit., 119, fig. 3. The diameter of the arch (1.5 m) in relation to the width of the door (1.15 m) makes certain that it had a horseshoe form.

9 Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 348–349, fig. 10; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 139, 156 n. 515;

Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 255, pl. 77 α.

10 E. Stikas, Ὁ ναός, op. cit., 120. The word ‘bases’ is wrongly used to describe the foundations of the columns (pl. 44 A).

11 Idem, 120, pl. 46.

12 Megaw, Chronology, 105–106, Cufic friezes with champlevé work.

1 Mainly of the foundations of the sanctuary’s semicircular apse and of the frescoes which are in situ on the wall of the Library. Of great help in the restoration of the church as it appears in drawings were the dimensions of the wall, columns and the *crepis* of the Library.

2 Th. Bowie and D. Thimme (eds.), *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures* (Bloomington 1971) 79, 82, pl. 38, republished in *Ἀθῆναι*, 222.

3 R. Baumstark (ed.), *Das Neue Hellas* (München 2000) 512, no. 374.

4 A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, 3 (1829) pl. 93, drawing by A. Ravoisié.

5 K. Zisiou, Χαράγματα ἐπιγραφικά, *ΔΙΕΕ* 2 (1885) 23–29; S. Lambros, *NE* 7 (1910) 179, no. 219.

6 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 90, fig. 97.

7 Choremi (1989) 10ff.; A. Choremi, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἀδριανοῦ, *ArchDelt* 54 (1999) Β’, 65, fig. 28; E. Touloupa, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἀσώματος στά σκαλιά, *Εὐφρόσυνον*, Β’ (Athens 1992) 593–600; Choremi (1995) 22–23.

8 Bowie and Thimme, op. cit.

9 Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 42, fig. 19.

10 Ch. Bouras (ed.), *Ἐπώνυμα ἀρχοντικά τῶν χρόνων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens 1986) 116, fig. 15.

11 Colored engraving in the Museum of the City of Athens (1843).

12 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 90, fig. 97.

13 R. Baumstark (ed.), op. cit., 513, no. 375.

14 Ibid., 512, no. 374, and Kokkou, op. cit., 113, fig. 42.

15 By Le Roy (1755), Chacatton (1839) and Stuart and Revett.

16 According to the drawing by A. Ravoisié.

17 Showing evident similarity with those of the west façade of Kapnikarea (Megaw, Chronology, 127,

pl. 31, 1, 2).

18 Westlake, Paintings, 185, 186, pl. X, republished in *EMME* 1B (1929) 91, fig. 98 and by O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford 1911) 290, fig. 177.

19 According to the drawing of Gasparini, its pitched roof was as high as the columns of the Library.

20 See the drawing by von Heideck in R. Baumstark (ed.), 513.

21 In the drawing by I. Caffi (C. Spetsieri-Beschi, *Il pittore bellunese Ippolito Caffi in Grecia* [Belluno 2005] 65) on both sides of the arched opening between the narthex and the main church, were small pilasters with capitals.

22 S. Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας* (Athens 2000) no. 5, 116–121, pl. 12, 13; eadem, *Durand*, 64.

23 Westlake, Paintings, 185, 186, pl. X.

24 Megaw, Chronology, 121, 122.

25 Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, Β', 290; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*, 131 ff; idem, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, 2 (Athens 1926); idem, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, Γ' (Athens 1892) 191; idem, *Οἱ Χαλκοκονδύλαι* (Athens 1926); E. Touloupa, op. cit.

26 I. Threpsiadis, Ἀνασκαφή τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, *ArchEph* 110 (1971) Appendix 27–30, fig. 12 (drawing by J. Travlos) pl. ΙΗ α.

1 I. A. Papapostolou, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 23 (1968) Β', 19, pl. 14 α.

2 G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες καί μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) Β', 28–32, drawing no. 2, pl. 41 β.

3 The ground level of the church is a little higher than the stylobate of the ancient colonnade. The sanctuary was paved with ceramic ellipsoid slabs.

4 G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες, op. cit., 29, dr. n. 2.

5 I. A. Papapostolou, Ἀρχαιότητες, op. cit., pl. 14 α.

6 Ibid.

7 G. Dontas, Ἀρχαιότητες, op. cit., 30. We can guess that he means the twelfth century from the context; with the exception of a *templon* epistyle (?) found nearby (fig. 114).

8 Regarding preservation work on the ruins, see I. Tiginaga and F. Mallouchou-Tufano, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) Β', 9, pl. 9 δ and *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) 11.

9 Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση τῆς Μεγάλης Παναγιᾶς Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE* 27 (2006) n. 45, 48, 56, 57, 58, 60, 66, 67, 76, 84, 91, 92.

1 A. Orlandos published in 1921 a brief monograph on the church with an accurate description. (Orlandos, *Ὅμορφη Ἐκκλησιά*).

2 Megaw, Chronology, 101, 113, 114, 123, 125.

3 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 331–333.

4 As it was supposed by Orlandos, op. cit., 41, 42.

5 Idem, 13, fig. 11 below, right. Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 102 n. 3.

6 S. Mamaloulos, Ὁ ναός τοῦ Ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου στην Τανάγρα (Μπράτσι) Βοιωτίας, *DChAE* 25 (2004) 127–139 accepts indirectly a late dating of Hagios Georgios.

7 A.Vasilaki-Karakatsani, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὅμορφης Ἐκκλησιᾶς στήν Ἀθήνα* (Athens 1971) 113–115; N. Chatzidaki, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες, op. cit., 270–272.

8 Orlandos, *Ὅμορφη Ἐκκλησιά*, 5, 6.

9 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 99–102.

1 I. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφαί ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ Θεάτρῳ, *Prakt* 106 (1951) 45–50.

2 Ibid., 45 n. 5; Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 110.

3 J. Woods, *Letters of an Architect from France, Italy and Greece* (London 1828) II 269 (drawing 1818).

4 A. Orlandos, Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, *EMME* 1, Γ' (Athens 1933) 131.

5 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 29, 32.

6 A church with the name Alexandrinos is mentioned by the Paris Anonymous. See C. Wasmuth, *Die Stadt Athen in Altertum*, 1 (Leipzig 1870) 742.

7 P. Kastriotis, Ὠδεῖον τοῦ Περικλέους, *Prakt* 69 (1914) 117 (the bone house of the Hagios Georgios cemetery).

8 It is not known whether the east supports were columns or (as suggested by Travlos) elongated piers of the sanctuary. See J. Travlos, Ἀνασκαφαί, op. cit., 49, fig. 7 (excavation and schematic representation).

9 Travlos believed that the front porch was an addition from the Ottoman period. Ibid., 52.

10 Idem, 45.

1 It is considered possible that Cyriac of Ancona had seen an ancient inscription built into a wall of the church. See also below p. 184 n. 47 (B. Kiilerich).

2 K. Michel and A. Struck, Die Mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens, *AM* 31 (1906) 279–324, fig. 5–29 pls. XX–XXI.

3 P. Steiner, Antike Skulpturen am der Panagia Gorgoepikoos zu Athen, *AM* 31 (1906) 325–341.

4 C. Boettinger, Der Antike Festkalender am der Panagia Gorgoepikoos zu Athen, *Philologus* I; N. Svoronos, Ἀττικόν λαϊκόν ἡμερολόγιον, Ἡ ζωφόρος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐλευθερίου, *Ἁρμονία* 2 (1900) 65–82, pl. Στ-Η, 139–163; M. Droste, Der Kalenderfries an der Kleiner Metropolis zu Athen, in *MA* (Köln 1988); A. Choremi, Θραῦσμα ἀναθηματικοῦ ἀναγλύφου ἀπό τήν περιοχή τοῦ Ἀθηναϊκοῦ Ἐλευσινίου, *ArchEph* 139 (2000) 12–13, fig. 4. See also below n. 24.

5 G. Castellazzi, *Ricordi*, pl. 29, 30; Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 108, fig. 134; S. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Τό λεύκωμα Πεϋτιέ* (Athens 1971) pl. 8; *Byzance retrouvée*, 161, fig. 95; Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 446; Du Moncel, *Ὁδοιπορικό*, fig. 26, 27; Couchaud, *Choix*, pl. 14, 15; Gaillabaud, *Monuments anciens et modernes* (Paris 1850) repr. in *EMME*1B, 70, figs. 58, 60.

6 Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, fig. 44.

7 The belfry was formed by four piers and had a pyramidal roof. See photographs by J.-Ph. Girault de Prangey, taken in 1842, in *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900, Φωτογραφικές Μαρτυρίες* (Athens 1985) 32, no 5. The belfry existed in 1745 when B. Barskij depicted it. See *Stranstobanija*, II (no pagination).

8 *Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα*, pl. 1–10.

9 By R. W. Schultz et al. in the British Research Fund Archive Collection.

10 By M. Korres (1971–1973).

11 Kambouroglous, *Ἀθῆναι*, 221; idem, Ἡ Παναγία των Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE* 3 (1894) 80–81. The appellation Gorgoepekoos was familiar also in Constantinople. See C. Mango, The monastery of Abercius, *DOP* 22 (1968) 170.

12 T. Neroutsos, *Χριστιανικαί* Ἀθῆναι (Athens 1899) 83–84.

13 Kambouroglous, *Ἀθῆναι*, 224; Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 156 n. 1.

14 T. Neroutsos, op. cit., 84. In 1839 the dedication was changed to Soter and some time later to Hagios Eleutherios. The marble columns are mentioned by B. Barskij. In a photograph in *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900*,

op. cit., no. 56, we can see the columns of the church, lying in pieces, after their removal (photograph by Robertson and Beato).

15 Kambouroglous, *Ἀθῆναι*, 224.

16 The destruction of the mural paintings provoked serious protest at that time. See D. Philippidis, *Ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργο τοῦ Λύσανδρου Καυταντζόγλου* (Athens 1995) 206–207. On the paintings, see below.

17 Lazaridis (1971) 63, pl. 57; P. Lazaridis, Βυζαντινά καί μεσαιωνικά μνημεῖα, *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) B, 57; Lazaridis (1974) 182. Tidying up of the monument was done in 2004 and preservation of the sculptures in the years 2003–2005.

18 Millet, *École*, 86, 136, 144, 192 n. 3.

19 The superb construction holds in check the irregularities in the assemblage of the marble pieces that is typical in Byzantine buildings. Nevertheless, Byzantine practice cannot stand up to comparison with antique constructions. See P. Michelis, *Αἰσθητική θεώρηση τῆς βυζαντινῆς τέχνης* (Athens 1946) 3.

20 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 33, 51, 54.

21 Hadji Minaglou, Grand appareil.

22 Bouras, Ἀναγεννήσεις, 262, 263.

23 M. Chatzidakis, Ἡ βυζαντινή Ἀθήνα, *Σύναξη* 16 (1985) 16; Ch. Delvoy, L'architecture byzantine au XIe siècle, *Suppl. Papers, 13th Intern. Congress of Byz. Studies* (Oxford 1966) 58; Bouras, Ἀναγεννήσεις, 258; idem, *Ναοδομία*, 48.

24 H. Maguire, The cage of the crosses, ancient and mediaeval sculptures on the little Metropolis, in *Θυμίαμα*, 169–172; E. Dauterman Maguire and H. Maguire, *Other Icons* (Princeton 2007) 125–128, pl. 7; A. Delivorrias, Interpretatio Christiana, *Εὐφρόσυνον*, A', 116 ff., pl. 55–57.

25 The arch of the west entrance has an interior and exterior diameter of 1.42 and 2.00 m respectively. The arches of the side doors are 1.05 and 1.50 m respectively.

26 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 37–39, fig. 46 and 47.

27 K. Michel and A. Struck, Die Mittelbyzantinischen, op. cit. The same enumeration of the sculptures, in Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 45, fig. 43, 48.

28 Grabar, *Sculptures*, 96–99.

29 C. Mango, Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder, *DOP* 17 (1963) 64; idem, Byzantine Attitudes to the Conservation of Monuments, *Casabella* 581 (1991) 38, 60.

30 See above n. 4.

31 Grabar, *Sculptures*, 98, pl. LXIX b.

32 L. Boura, Τό δέντρο τῆς ζωῆς στήν μεσοβυζαντινή ἑλλαδική γλυπτική, *2ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (1982) 66–67.

33 Sculptures no. S.48 and S.45.

34 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 563–565.

35 Including «ζώδια», namely birds and small animals.

36 H. Maguire, The cage, op. cit.; Kaldellis (2009) 212–214.

37 C. Mango, Antique Statuary, op. cit., with ample information from written sources.

38 M. Chatzidakis, *Monuments byzantins en Attique et Béotie* (Athens 1956) 23.

39 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 451.

40 A nobleman in Rome who built his tower in the twelfth century had such intentions (confirmed in an inscription), using a great number of *spolia* taken from the antique city. See E. Kitzinger, The acts as aspects of the Renaissance, in R. Benson, G. Constable and C. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the 12th Century* (Oxford 1982) 639 n. 10, 649 n. 58, 650 n. 64; R. Krautheimer, *The arts as aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy* (Princeton 1980) 196–198. The chronological coincidence is of interest.

41 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 37–41.

42 Megaw, Chronology, 100, 112.

43 For instance, on the jambs of the door between the narthex and the main church, as well as on slab N.98 of the north side.

44 On the cornice over one of the door frames, as above.

45 A. Frantz, Holy Apostles, 32 n. 1.

46 Niketas Choniates (ed. Bonn 1835) 803, «... Τόν θυμόν ἐκριπίζει κατά τῆς πόλεως ... καί δή τοῖς οἰκοπέδοις ἐνίησι πῦρ καί προνομεύει τῶν ζώων τά εἰς ζεύγλην καί δίαιταν ἐπιτήδεια καί μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπαναστάς ταῖς Θήβαις προσβάλλει ...» (... his rage fans the flames against the

city… mainly puts fire to the houses and leads out the animals useful for ploughing and food. After some days starts out to attack Thebes.)

47 B. Kiilerich, Making sence of the *spolia* in the little Metropolis of Athens, *Arte Medievale* 4 (2005) 2, 95–114; Kaldellis (2009) 214. The view of D. Sourmelis (*Κατάστασις συνοπτική τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* [Athens 1842] 30) that the Gorgoepekoos is work of the Crusaders 'because of the large number of carved crosses on the external faces of the church' is also erroneous.

48 A. Orlandos, Ἐκ τῆς χριστιανικῆς Μεσσήνης, *ABME* 11 (1968) 113.

1 Millet, *École*, 44–45, fig. 21, 224 n. 1, 246.

2 A. Xyngopoulos, Ἀττικῆς βυζαντιακοί ναοί, *ArchEph* 52 (1913) 131–137.

3 G. Sotiriou, Βυζαντιναί βασιλικαί Μακεδονίας καί Παλαιᾶς Ἑλλάδος, *BZ* 30 (1929–1930) 572–574, fig. 6, 7.

4 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 130, fig. 164, 165.

5 Xyngopoulos, Ἀττικῆς, op. cit., 131–137.

6 Nothing is known about the roofing of the narthex, making reconstructive drawings unsupportable.

7 Xyngopoulos, Ἀττικῆς, op. cit., 134, fig. 5.

8 A. Orlandos, Ἀναστηλώσεις μνημείων, *EEBΣ* 29 (1959) 524 and 30 (1960–1961) 656, 682.

9 G. Millet had left it to be understood that the church was Byzantine. A. Xyngopoulos, based on the remains of mural paintings in it, proposed to date it in the fourteenth century. A. Orlandos says nothing about the dating of the church and makes reference to documents of 1773 and 1803.

1 Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios.

2 G. Sotiriou, Τά ἐρείπια τοῦ παρά τόν Ἄρειον Πάγον βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ, *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) 119–147. The author proposed a date for the ruins of the Post-Byzantine church in the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

3 Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios, 169; Dennert, *Kapitelle*, no. 299 α, pl. 53. Based on the style of the sculptures, the monument was dated in the period between the seventh and the ninth century. (Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios, 169). This date can be disputed on many grounds.

4 Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios, 194.

5 Idem, 164–165.

6 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 34.

7 Idem, 27.

8 Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios, 163.

1 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 87–88, fig. 101; K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 39; D. Kambouroglous, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἠλίας τοῦ Σταροπάζαρου καί ἡ θυρεοκόσμητος τοιχογραφία του* (Athens 1923); Janin, *Centres*, 308.

2 The church was abandonned. In Peytier's drawing we see the central door filled with masonry.

3 On the leveling of the church, see K. Biris, *Ἀθῆναι*, 91; D. Philippidis, *Ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργο τοῦ Λύσανδρου Καυταντζόγλου*, op. cit., 186 n. 214; A. R. Rangavis et al., *Πανδώρα* 3 (1852) 2, 'As for the two beautiful small churches behind the barracks, the first collapsed and the second was removed for the building of a new church.'

4 E. Dalezios, *Ἔρευναι περί τῶν λατινικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καί μονῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1964) 10.

5 G. Ladas, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἠλίας τοῦ Σταροπάζαρου, ὁ Ἅγιος Λεόντιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καί ἡ Madona Catalana, *Συλλέκτης* (1947) 1–9; N. Chatzidaki, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες, op. cit., 254–255; F. Boubouli (ed.), *The World of the Byzantine Museum* (Athens 2004) 112, fig. 89; D. Kambouroglous, Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἠλίας, op. cit.; L.J.A. Loewenthal, A note on the so-called Panagia of the Catalans, *AAA* 4 (1971) 89–91; D. Kambouroglous, Περί τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῆς τοιχογραφίας ..., *Ἱστορία* 2 (1890) 209 ff.

6 Sinos, Hagios Elias.

7 Plan, longitudinal section, west and south elevation.

8 In order to form an arcosolium, two pilasters were built on both sides of the grave. The door in this place is even later, although (according the drawing by P. Durand) it, too, had a marble door frame.

9 Similar to those of the *katholikon* of the Petraki monastery. We could regard them as broad semi columns.

10 Similar to the dome of the Hagioi Anargyroi of Psyrri Square. A break, like a step of the roof over the *bema* apse, is reminiscent of Early Christian monuments and Hagios Euthymios in Thessaloniki (G. Velenis, *Μεσοβυζαντινή ναοδομία στή Θεσσαλονίκη* [Athens 2003] 14–15, fig. 1, 3. See also Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 154, 249, and Sinos, op. cit., 355).

11 A. Megaw noted that this was the sole example of reticulate tiles in Athens. A.H.S. Megaw, Byzantine reticulate revetments, in *Χαριστήριον*, 3, 10–22.

12 Drawings in the Karlsruhe Collection and by P. Durand and E. Peytier.

13 According to the drawing by P. Durand.

14 C. Barla, *Μορφή καί ἐξέλιξις τῶν βυζαντινῶν κωδωνοστασίων* (Athens 1959) 51.

15 S. Sinos, op. cit., 354.

16 A. Megaw, Chronology.

17 On the archaic, namely the early type of the transitional inscribed cross churches, see Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 126. On Profitis Ilias 118 n. 2, 139, 148, 154 n. 1, 158, 159, 165, 170 n. 1, 192, 205 n. 2 (detail for the dating).

18 S. Sinos dates Profitis Ilias later than the church of the Hagioi Theodoroi (1049), to the middle of the eleventh century. See op. cit., 360.

19 The church is associated with three other Athenian monuments in which we see the influence of the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas. See Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 19–20.

20 S. Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας ἀπό σωζόμενα σχέδια καί σημειώσεις τοῦ Paul Durand*, B' (Athens 2000) pl. 25, drawing no. 14/10, pl. 26, 27; eadem, Δύο βυζαντινοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας, in *Θωράκιον, Ἀφιέρωμα στή μνήμη Π. Λαζαρίδη* (Athens 2004) 169–170.

21 See above n. 5 as well as Sinos, op. cit., 361. The painting was above the main entrance of the church.

22 S. Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί*, op. cit., pl. 25, drawing no. 14/9.

1 P. Lazaridis, Ἐρείπια βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ ἐπί τῆς ὁδοῦ Νίκης, *AAA* 3 (1970) 29–34; idem, Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) 138–142, pl. 108, 109.

2 The first topographical maps of Athens (1830) show that on the spot of the future Nikis Street were the remains of a church known as the Hagioi Theodoroi. See K. Biris, *Αἱ παλαιαί ἐκκλησίαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 46, no. 17.

3 Alexandri (1970) 77–79.

4 *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) 139, drawing no. 1, without scale.

5 See above p. 96.

1 K. Mentzou-Meimari, Χρονολογημέναι βυζαντιναί ἐπιγραφαί, *DChAE* 9 (1979) 80, no. 8803; Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 73–74, fig. 66. On the date, see below nn. 35–38.

2 Couchaud, *Choix*, 18, pl. XI, XII, XIII.

3 Castellazzi, *Ricordi*, pl. 5.

4 Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, pl. 23–29.

5 Not published. The drawings do not show elements changed since then.

6 G. P. Stevens, *Restorations of Classical Buildings* (Princeton, NJ 1955) pl. XVI.

7 According to the inscription «... μικρόν καί πήλινον καί σαθρόν λίαν ...» (small earthenware and very decayed), it is possible that the chapel was made of mud bricks.

8 *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900, Φωτογραφικές Μαρτυρίες* (Athens 1985) photograph no. 7 by P. Girault de Prangey.

9 P. Durand disregarded the Hagioi Theodoroi. This shows that during the years 1842–1843 the Byzantine or Post-Byzantine mural paintings of the church were destroyed.

10 Lazaridis (1967) 154–156, pl. 116.

11 Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 116 ff., mainly 126.

12 The blind arches could be said to stand in for the niches of a triconch *bema*.

13 Namely, they were openings for lighting. A similar case was that of the *katholikon* of Nea Moni. See Ch. Bouras, *Ἡ Νέα Μονή τῆς Χίου. Ἱστορία καί Ἀρχιτεκτονική* (Athens 1981) 73, 111–112. Stevens wrongly believed that the narthex is a later addition.

14 Hadji-Minaglou, Grand appareil, 168–169, 176, 186, pl. 2.

15 According to G. Miles the ceramic frieze on the façade was perhaps not contemporary with the building. See Krautheimer, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 509, n. 48.

16 If there had been a two-columned propylon, some trace of it should have remained on top of the arch, but nothing has been found there. Perhaps such an addition had been planned but was never executed.

17 Megaw, Chronology, 106, 108, 121. See also Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 66–67, 107–108, 113, 139, 323; Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 340–343; Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 19–20, 34.

18 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 111–112, fig. 183.

19 Megaw, Chronology, 125, pl. 31, 3; Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 255, n. 3.

20 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 39–40, fig. 55, 59, 60.

21 Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke*, 24, pl. 10.

22 A. Frantz, Holy Apostles, 9–10, pl. 8.

23 A.H.S. Megaw, Byzantine architecture in Mani, *BSA* 33 (1932–1933) 159.

24 I. Demakopoulos, Ἡ Παναγία τῆς Λεβαδιᾶς, *DChAE* 12 (1984) 309, fig. 2.

25 The deep carving of the relief was filled with white plaster (G. Nikolakopoulos, *Ἐντοιχισμένα κεραμεικά στίς ὄψεις τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν … ἐκκλησιῶν μας* [Athens 1978] 15 ff, mainly 25–40). The ceramic friezes of the Hagioi Theodoroi deserve careful study.

26 A.H.S. Megaw, Glazed bowls in Byzantine churches, *DChAE* 4 (1964–65) 147 n. 4.

27 G. Nikolakopoulos, op. cit., 21; idem, Ἕνα νέο κεραμεικό εὕρημα ἐντοιχισμένο στούς Ἁγίους Θεοδώρους τῆς πλατείας Κλαυθμῶνος, *Κεραμεικά Χρονικά* 48 (1988) 8–12.

28 Lazaridis (1967) 154–155, drawing no. 6.

29 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 73.

30 C. Barla, *Μορφή καί ἐξέλιξις*, op. cit, 14; Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 65.

31 See Ch. Bouras, The Byzantine bronze doors of the Great Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, *JÖB* 24 (1975) 243–245 nn. 62–67.

32 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 88–89, fig. 145. We have the same motif on a *templon* epistyle of the Hagioi Apostoloi in the Agora (Frantz, Holy Apostles, op. cit., 16, pl. 11 c, g, h), on an architectural member in the Asklepieion (Xyngopoulos, Χριστιανικόν Ἀσκληπιεῖον, *ArchEph* 54 [1915] 65, fig. 20) and on a *templon* epistyle of the Byzantine Museum (M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Τά γλυπτά,* op. cit., 120, no. 160).

33 On the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas and Hagia Sophia of Kiev. M. Kambouri-Vamvoukou, *Les motifs décoratifs dans les mosaiques murales du XIe siècle* (PhD diss., Paris 1983) 48, 50, 118.

34 Ch. Bouras, The byzantine bronze doors, op. cit., 243–245.

35 Megaw, Chronology, 96, 129; A.H.S. Megaw, The date of H. Theodoroi at Athens, *BSA* 33 (1932–1933) 163–169.

36 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 73–74; idem, Αἱ ἐπιγραφαί τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ΕΕΒΣ* 10 (1933) 494–497.

37 K. Konstantopoulos, Μολυβδόβουλον Νικολάου Καλομάλου, *Διεθνής Ἐφημερίς Νομισματικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας* 2 (1899) 125 ff, no. 5.

38 V. Laurent, Nicola Kalomalos et l'église des S.S. Théodore à Athènes, *Ἑλληνικά* 7 (1934) 72–82.

39 Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 115.

40 According to I. Nikolakopoulos, *Ἐντοιχισμένα κεραμεικά*, op. cit.

41 Megaw, Chronology, 125.

1 See above p. 44.

2 See above pp. 125–126.

3 It is noticeable that there are no thermal fractures in the marble due to fire except in the lower parts of the columns of the *opisthonaos*, at the re-entrant southeast corner of the *cella* and at its later south door.

4 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 262. It worthy of attention that since nothing is extant from the interior colonnade of the *cella*, a number of drums of the Doric columns of the *pronaos* (dismantled when the 'Theseion' was tranformed to a church) survived, and were found and restored in recent times. See Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 433, fig. 33.

5 A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens, *DOP* 19 (1965) 200 ff.

6 The pilaster capitals were published by Orlandos (Ἐργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως βυζαντινῶν μνημείων, *ABME* 2 [1936] 207–211, fig. 7, 10), but their dating is approximate. See photographs by A. Frantz in From Paganism, op. cit., fig. 17–22.

7 J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (London 1762–1816) 3, chapter 1.

8 Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 38–39, no. 12; Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 107, no. 49 (drawings by C. Hansen). The apse was low with two small rectangular windows, contrary to more usual Byzantine morphology. View of the apse from the southeast (by H. C. Stilling), see ibid., 109. The depiction by Dupré in the *Expédition Scientifique de la Morée* is republished by Orlandos in *ABME* 2, 1936.

9 A. Orlandos, op. cit., 212–213 n. 1, fig. 11–13.

10 Accurate measurements by M. Korres showed that the section of the barrel vault was originally semicircular and was deformed later when the lateral walls of the *cella* leaned outwards. The gaps between the vault and the entablature at the east and west end of the *cella* were filled with masonry by A. Orlandos during the restoration works (1935–1936).

11 Probably fifth century. To the west, almost at the keystone of the vault.

12 J. Spon, Voyage, op. cit., 188–189. They note that the airing holes of the vault are in random places.

13 I. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ Θεάτρου, *ArchEph* 92–93 (1953/54) 312; idem, Ἀθῆναι, 729.

14 Frantz, From Paganism, op. cit., 204–205.

15 G. Sotiriou, Αἱ χριστιανικαί Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας, *ArchEph* 68 (1929) 172.

16 A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι ..., op. cit., 214.

17 H. Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel* (Berlin 1955) 33–38.

18 W. B. Dinsmoor, Observations on the Hephaisteion, *Hesperia*, Supplement 5 (1941) 11. Dinsmoor believed that the vault was made of concrete.

19 Frantz, From Paganism, op. cit., 205.

20 S. Eleutheratou, *Τό μουσεῖο καί ἡ ἀνασκαφή* (Athens 2000) 20.

21 During the stay of the emperor Constans in Athens, in 662, 663. See Eleutheratou, op. cit., 19.

22 On the north side of the *cella* interior, near the northwest corner, the clamps and gudgeons were methodically removed from seven successive courses of isodomic masonry and also from the orthostats. Plundering of the iron elements can also be seen near the northeast corner, as well as in the south side of the *cella* near the southwest corner and in ten positions on the stylobate and the second step of the *crepidoma* on the west side. The plundering affirms that for a certain period of time the church had ceased to be used.

23 C. Morrisson, Byzantine money: Its production and circulation, in Laiou, *Economic History* III, pl. 6, 5. During the residence of Constans, the circulation of money in Athens significantly increased. The year of the Constans's stay in the city, during which the vault of the Theseion possibly was built, was, according to A. Frantz (Late Antiquity, 123), a 'brief period of prosperity'.

24 A seventh-century date for the consecration of the Theseion and its connection with the visit of Constans to Athens is also accepted by Camp, *Agora*, 212–214. This late date – a time when the fury of fanatical Christians against ancient art had waned – may be responsible for the preservation of the sculptures of the metopes and frieze.

25 The year of the most ancient coin found in a grave in the *cella*. Information from W. B. Dinsmoor.

26 W. B. Dinsmoor, Observations, op. cit., 12.

27 A. Xyngopoulos, Παρθενῶνος βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι, Ἐπίμετρον, *ArchEph* 59 (1920) 51–53.

28 A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι, op. cit., 214.

29 W. B. Dinsmoor, Observations, op. cit., 99–101.

30 A. Orlandos, *Τά ὑλικά δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων*, A2 (Athens 1958) 27, fig. 15, 57, 58; G. P. Stevens, Some remarks upon the interior of the Hephaisteion, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 160–163.

31 A. Frantz, From Paganism, op. cit., fig. 16. The same drawings in her picture guide, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1961) fig. 5. According to D. Pallas (Μετάβαση, 41) the two small appendages remind one of the pastophoria of Syrian church architecture.

32 B. Barskij, *Stranstobobaniya*, op. cit. The drawing (1745), a perspective view of the monument, has some mistakes: it shows five instead of six columns on the façade, bases under the Doric columns etc. A single pitched roof covered the temple.

33 T. Hope, *Εἰκόνες ἀπό τήν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ 18ου αἰῶνα* (Athens 1985) pl. 97, 232.

34 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 221, no. 169. Plan.

35 Lyons et al., *Photography*, 141, fig. 13; *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900, Φωτογραφικές Μαρτυρίες* (Athens 1985) fig. 75.

36 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 238, 623–624.

37 *PL*, vol. 215, 1560.

38 Antonin, 1874, 28, ἀρ. 28, 30, 33, 34, p. 29, no 36.

39 When Spon came to Athens (1678) the monastery did not exist as an institution and liturgies were infrequently celebrated in the church.

40 A. Xyngopoulos, Παρθενῶνος, op. cit., idem, Ἡ κτητορική ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Θησείου, *BNJ* 7–8 (1930/31) 147–148. Its transcription is at many points different from Kambouroglous's.

41 Antonin (above n. 38); K. Pittakis (*ArchEph* 9 [1853] no. 1599, 2449–54, 3468–78); K. Zisiou (*ΔΙΕΕ* 2 [1885] 22–23); G. Ladas (Βυζαντιναί ἐπί τοῦ Θησείου ἐπιγραφαί ἀνέκδοτοι, *Συλλέκτης*, 3–5, 57–80); K. Mentzou-Meimari (Χρονολογημέναι, op. cit., *DChAE* 9 [1977–79], 80–81); A. MacCabe, Byzantine funerary graffiti in the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora, in *Proceedings of the 21st Intern. Byz. Congress*, 2 [London 2006] 127–128).

1 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 112; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 201; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*, 148 ff; K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940) 38.

2 Chatzidakis (1974) 184–192, drawings 2–6, pl. 127–129; idem, Annual Report, *JHS* (1979–1980) 12. See also P. Lazaridis, Βυζαντινά καί μεσαιωνικά μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) B', 95; Lazaridis (1971) 63.

3 Chatzidakis (1974) 189, drawings 2–6, pl. 127–129.

4 Ibid., pl. 127 β, 128 β.

5 Ibid., pl. 128 α, γ.

1 G. Sotiriou, Παλαιά χριστιανική βασιλική Ἰλισσοῦ, *ArchEph* 58 (1919) 1–31; idem, Παλαιοχριστιανικά μνημεῖα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, in *EMME* 1 (1927) 51–55.

2 K. Pittakis, *ArchEph* 9 (1853) ff.

3 K. Konstantopoulos, Συμβολή εἰς τήν τοπογραφίαν τῶν χριστιανικῶν Ἀθηνῶν· τό μαρτύριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Λεωνίδου, *Ἡμερολόγιον. Ἐθνικά Φιλανθρωπικά Καταστήματα* (Constantinople 1904–1906) 331–334.

4 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 150–156, B', 359–360.

5 Ibid., 151, ὡς καί τούς ἐνταῦθα κειμένους καλλινίκους μάρτυρας (... as well as the victorious martyrs laid to rest here...). D. Pallas believed that the Ilissos basilica preserved its upper structure until the thirteenth century. See Pallas, Μετάβαση, 26.

6 For drawings of plan and section (restored), see in G. Sotiriou, op. cit., fig. 39.

7 Later the dome collapsed and the monument was covered with earth. For a drawing of it during the excavation, see in Sotiriou, *Ἀρχαιολογία*, 79, fig. 46.

8 G. Sotiriou in *EMME* A' (1929) 52, fig. 42.

1 E. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος Πλάκας, Ἐργασίες συντηρήσεως, *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) B', 54–56, 31 (1976) B', 62, mainly *AAA* 8 (1975) 140–150.

2 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 74, fig. 68.

3 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 35–36, fig. 13.

4 Klaus Stähler, Μελέτη (1985). Under the title 'Kirche am Fuss der Akropolis', we find a general view from the northeast, a plan, a front elevation and detailed drawings of the dome, cornice and an ordinary Corinthian capital.

5 On the form of the *tribelon* between the narthex and the *naos* in Middle Byzantine churches, see P.

Vokotopoulos, Περί τήν χρονολόγησιν τοῦ ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἰάσονος καί Σωσιπάτρου, *DChAE* 5 (1969) 160 n. 49.

6 Megaw, Chronology, 113, fig. 4, type 3; Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 255; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 139.

7 Mamaloukos, Παρατηρήσεις, 195–196 n. 41.

8 The monument under consideration is probably the unique example of a church with two *proskynetaria* of this kind.

9 Given that the moldings of its jambs reach the threshold without the usual rough lower part, the proportions of the door are not original and the masonry over the opening has been altered.

10 Megaw, Chronology, 129.

11 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou in *AAA* (1975) 142, fig. 2. The coin was found in the fill between the vaults and the tiled roof.

12 Eadem, 142–150; N. Chatzidakis, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες, op. cit., 250–251; S. Kalopisi-Verti, Ἐπιπτώσεις τῆς Δ' Σταυροφορίας στήν μνημειακή ζωγραφική in P. Vokotopoulos (ed.), *Ἡ βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά τήν 4η Σταυροφορία* (Athens 2007) 74–75, pl. 6.β.

13 N. Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint Pierre de Kalyvia Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Merenta* (Thessaloniki 1976) 49.

1 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 26, 34.

2 Ibid., 26, n. 86. On this small church see also above p. 49 n. 300.

3 K. Biris, Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, op. cit., 33, 49, no. 70.

4 Ibid.

5 *Byzance retrouvée*, 159, fig. 92. Vue d'Athènes prise du Nord (1780 or 1784).

6 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 333, no ρξη'. Τῷ πανοσιωτάτῳ καθηγουμένῳ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Προδρόμου κύρ Μαρτινιανῷ.

7 Ibid., 648–649.

1 P. Lazaridis, Βυζαντινά καί μεσαιωνικά μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν – Ἀττικῆς, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) 142–143.

2 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 151.

3 P. Lazaridis, Βυζαντινά, op. cit., pl. 110 α, β.

4 Ibid., drawing no. 3, pl. 110 δ, 143.

5 Ibid., pl. 111 α, β.

1 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 36–37, 362, fig. 14, 15.

2 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 128–131, no. 175, 176, 177. Two of the sculptured panels have been published many times, the third only once in *Γλυπτά.* M. Sklavou believes that the inscriptions of the twelfth century were engraved on the panels one century earlier.

3 Couchaud, *Choix*, pl. 5, 6.

4 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 76–78.

5 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 246 (Chr. H. 236)·Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 56–57, fig. 34, 35.

6 According to the accurate drawing by Durand (1835). Until then the three marble panels were intact (Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 76).

7 C. Konstantopoulos, Ἐπιγραφή ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Μαγκούτη, *EEBΣ* 8 (1931) 244–255.

8 The inscription begins with an encomiastic address to St John.

9 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 31.

1 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 13, 554.

2 Bibliography until 2002, see Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 162.

3 Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 131, fig. 158; Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 132, fig. 100–102, 350, LAW 130.

4 J. Strzygowski, Καισαριανή, Συμβολαί εἰς τήν ἱστορίαν τῆς νεωτέρας χριστιανικῆς τέχνης ἐν Ἑλλάδι, *ArchEph* 41 (1902) cols. 51–96; J. A. Hamilton, *The Church of Kaisariani in Attica* (Aberdeen 1916); L. W. Forrest, *The Monastery of Kaisariani, History and Architecture* (PhD. diss., Ann Arbor 1996).

5 In a letter of Michael Choniates to the abbot of the monastery, see Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 311–312, 642–643. The monastery is also mentioned in the well-known letter of Pope Innocent III.

6 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 159–162; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, Β', 191.

7 Orlandos, op. cit., 162–163; Chatzidakis, *Ἀθήνα,* fig. 113–120; N. Chatzidakis, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες, op. cit., 274–278; eadem, *Τό μοναστήρι τῆς Καισαριανῆς* (Athens 1977).

8 In the exonarthex of Nea Moni on Chios (Ch. Bouras, *Νέα Μονή*, op. cit., 59, fig. 28, 37–40), the arch has the same form (archivault).

9 By the Philodassiki Society of Athens, under the supervision of J. Travlos.

10 Among others, late antique architectural members reworked during the medieval period.

11 J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988) 192.

12 Megaw, Chronology, 93, 102–103, 107, 112, 116–117, 120, 122, 125.

13 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 159, 161.

14 B. Barskij, *Stranstbobanija*, 4, op. cit., pl. 16. The drawing is not without mistakes. For instance, the *katholikon* is represented as a church of the free cross rather than the inscribed cross type.

15 Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 103–106, fig. 114, 115. During the Ottoman period the bath was transformed into an olive press. One of its lateral apses was demolished, a terrace was formed over its dome and over it one more cell was built.

16 Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή*, 51, fig. 63.

17 The refectory and the kitchen have their access to the east, in order to facilitate direct access from the *katholikon*. Barskij's drawing shows the dome over the kitchen and its tall chimney.

1 A. Alivizatos, Ὁ πανεπιστημιακός ναός τῆς Καπνικαρέας, *Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀθηνῶν* (1936–1937) 169–188.

2 Du Moncel, nos. 24 and 25; Castellazzi, *Ricordi*, pl. 71 and 72.

3 Kambouroglous, *Ἀθῆναι*, 241, 244; idem, *Ἱστορία*, Β', 286–289.

4 Kokkou, *Μέριμνα*, 114 n. 3; D. Philippidis, *Ἡ ζωή καί τό ἔργο*, op. cit., 137, 214, 217, 303, n. 330.

5 Couchaud, *Choix*, 20, pl. XVI.

6 U. Monneret de Villard, Inedita byzantina, *Monitore Tecnico XVIII* (Milano 1912) no. 22.

7 Of the year 1850.

8 Millet, *École*, 124–125, 146, 154, 167, 177.

9 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 69, 71.

10 A. Orlandos, Ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς Κριεζώτη, *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 8 n. 1.

11 The inscription on the east façade of the chapel is on a late antique gravestone (K. Zisiou, *Σύμμικτα*, op. cit., 98–101; G. Dillenberger (ed.), *Atticae aetatis Romanae*, Pars II [Berlin 1882] 23, no. 1388).

12 Dimitrokallis, Καταγωγή, 204, 209.

13 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 368. See the plan by Monneret de Villard in *EMME*, A 2, 69.

14 R. W. Schultz ignored the lateral niches of the *bema* (Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke*, 16, fig. 9). The same mistake appears in the plan in *Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα*, pls. 12–22. The narrow passages between the *bema* and the *parabemata* (i.e. the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon*) were broadened in later times, consequently destroying the lower parts of the niches.

15 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 49–50, 364–366.

16 The door today has as its lintel an iron beam that is certainly modern. The same at the north door of the exonarthex.

17 One of the repairs of Kapnikarea was done in 1852. See the General State Archives (Ministry of Education) from the period of King Otto.

18 *Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα*, pl. 16. In the east elevation of the church the arch is ignored.

19 Where the indisputedly Byzantine colonnade seems to be later than the chapel or, rather, than the building that occupied the chapel's position. The north wall of the chapel of Hagia Barbara was erected on the foundations of the Byzantine building and was widened by approximately 53 centimeters over a length of twelve meters. The widening is obvious in the façade of the present-day exonarthex, which was lenghtened at the spot where today the modern bell tower stands. A considerable number of large ashlars belonging to the original building are incorporated into the wall of the chapel and serve to confuse the issue of the later wall's date.

20 Quadripartite with three-barrel vaults and one groin vault. On the façade we have columns alternating with piers.

21 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 49–50, 363–365.

22 Ibid., 365–367. The porch with the two columns is an addition to the exonarthex. It is possible that the conversion of the open portico to a closed exonarthex was done early, already during the twelfth century. The ornate marble frame of the south entrance as well as the propylon (porch) would be quite useless to a portico open from three sides.

23 Hadji-Minaglou, Grand appareil, 176, 186, pl. 2. On the south side of the church there are erect stone blocks in equal distances and of the same height, creating crosses with others horizontally arranged.

24 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 40, pl. 56, 61, 62.

25 In the engraving of the *Algemeine Bauzeitung* it shows the south door with a marble frame. Today

only two small fragments of it are in situ.

26 A general feature of the marble frames in medieval Greece.

27 Megaw, Chronology, 120–121, 124, 127, pl. 31 a, b.

28 Ibid., 107, 114, 119, fig. 2, 5 A, pl. 31 b.

29 C. Kanellopoulos and L. Tohme, A True Kūfic Inscription on the Kapnikarea Church in Athens?, *Al Masāq* 20 (2008) 133–139.

30 J. P. Sodini, La sculpture architecturale à l'époque paléochrétienne en Illyricum, in *Εἰσηγήσεις 10ου Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας* (Thessaloniki 1984) 63, fig. 17.

31 The monogram on the capital of Kapnikarea can be read *Θεοδώρου*.

32 *ArchDelt* 35, 1980, B2, pl. 363 γ.

33 Orlandos, *Βασιλική*, B', 329, fig. 287.

34 L. Wamser (ed.), *Die Welt von Byzanz-Europas Östliches Erbe* (München 2004) 74, fig. 91.

35 R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Ephemia Kirche* (Berlin 1966) 73, 75, pl. 12 c.

36 E. Maillard, *Les Cahiers du Nombre d'Or, II, Eglises Byzantines* (Paris 1962) 17, pl. 6.

37 Velenis, *Ἑρμηνεία*, 21, 23, 53, 255, 266–268.

38 Megaw, Chronology, 102, 107, 116, 118, 120, 126, 129.

39 We must exclude the possibility that the chapel construction was earlier than the Kapnikarea, given that its dome is an awkward imitation of the Athenian type that came to Athens after the year 1000.

40 N. Zias, *Φώτης Κόντογλου* (Athens 1991) 110–111, fig. 290, 291.

1 Michael Choniates used the name 'Kynegos ton Philosophon' for the monastery. It would be proper to call it 'of the Kynegos and of the Philosophoi'. For the monastery and its history, we have a long entry by A. Orlandos in Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 170–175. See also Janin, *Centres*, 333; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 198–201, figs. 217–219, 623. See also the old article of J. Strzygowski in *ΔΙΕΕ* 3, 117–128.

2 Megaw, Chronology, 94, 97–99, 101, 116, 123, 125–127.

3 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 171. The inscriptions are a) on a cornice of a door frame, with the name of the monk Philosophos in the year 1205; b) on a tombstone of the founder Loukas and the monk Philosophos, in the year 1235; c) on the base of a font dedicated by the monk Philosophos; and d) on a small column at Stavros, of Neofytos in the year 1238. On the older bibliography, see

Orlandos, op. cit., 174–175. For comments on the inscriptions, see in Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, 628–630.

4 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 219, 247, 248, 619, 628–630; Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*, 83 n. 1.

5 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 171, 173; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, B', 213.

6 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 267–268, no. Chr. H. 336–343; Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 48, 49, figs 21–24.

7 The exterior dimensions are only 6.70 × 6.70 m.

8 Mamaloukos, Παρατηρήσεις, 200, fig. 7.

9 Long pilasters arranged to form a space like a vestibule, covered with a transverse barrel vault and two small domes.

10 The cornices were made of dressed porous stone, now destroyed.

11 In Hagios Nikolaos at Kampia and Hagios Nikolaos at Larymna (Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 407, fig. 186 and 431).

12 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 184, fig. 257; Bouras, Sculptures, 67, pl. 25, fig. 10; Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 174, fig. 233; Sotiriou, *Ὁδηγός*, pl. 3 γ; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 200, fig. 219 β. Orlandos's opinion was that it was a *templon* epistyle.

13 Ch. Bouras, Unfinished architectural members in Middle Byzantine Greek Churches, in J. Emerick and D. Deliyannis (eds.), *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker* (Mainz 2005) 8, fig. 11.

14 Idem, *Ναοδομία*, 200, fig. 219 α.

15 The latent asymmetry of the sculpture as a whole is interesting. The left end of the slab is cut off.

16 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 453, fig. 493.

17 S. Mamaloukos, Ὁ πυλώνας τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Κυνηγοῦ στόν Ὑμηττό, in *Ἁρμός. Ἀφιέρωμα στόν καθηγητή Ν. Μουτσόπουλο* (Thessaloniki 1990–1991) B' 1107–1119; Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 133, fig. 104.

18 A. Orlandos, *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960–61) 683; Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 494; Lazaridis (1960) 66–68; Lazaridis (1964) 98; idem (1967) 154; idem (1972) 186.

1 K. Pittakis, *ArchEph* 52 (1884). See also N. Moschonas, *Ἡ τοπογραφία τῆς Ἀθήνας κατά τήν βυζαντινή καί τήν μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο* (Athens 1996) 141.

2 P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα τῶν παλαιοχριστιανικῶν ψηφιδωτῶν δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 2

(Thessaloniki 1987) 138, no. 75.

3 A plan of the city in 1869 (to scale 1:2000, on measurements of 1841) gives the general dimensions of the church, 7 × 11 m approx. Travlos, Athen, *RBK*, 722; idem, *Πολεοδομική*, 136 n. 4. See also Pallas, Μετάβαση, 23 n. 78; Janin, *Centres*, 323–334. Biris does not mention Hagios Loukas, because it was outside the limits of the old city.

4 *PL*, vol., 215, 1559–1562, XI, letter 256, «… monasteria … Sancti Lucae…».

5 The abbot of the monastery was a certain Daniel (Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, Β', 1893, 268).

6 K. Pittakis, op. cit. The inscription is published by Boeckh in *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828–1877) 318, no. 189.

7 K. Stähler, Architekturzeichnungen aus dem Athen von 1840, als Quelle für die bauhistorische Forschung, *Boreas* 13 (1990) 136–142.

8 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 109, drawing no. 4, fig. 168.

9 Scranton, *Corinth*, 106, pl. 22, fig. 19. We have a similar form of *proskynetarion* on the *templon* of the church of the Virgin in Studenića (O. Kandić, The shape of the stone altar screen from the Church of Our Lady, in V. Korać (ed.), *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* (Beograd 1988) 144, fig. 3, fold-in pl. 7.

10 Miles, Byzantium and Arabs, 28.

1 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 105, fig. 131, 132. The drawings are not correct. See also Janin, *Centres*, 307.

2 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 27, 34 (A2 16 of the manuscript).

3 Ch. Koilakou, *ArchDelt* 36 (1981) Β' 79–80, pl. 26–28; *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) Β' 68, pl. 31 β, 32; *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) Β', 60, 63–64; N. Chatzidaki, Ψηφιδωτά καί τοιχογραφίες, op. cit., 252–254, fig. 6–10; S. Kalopisi-Verti, Ἐπιπτώσεις τῆς Δ' Σταυροφορίας, op. cit., 74, pl. 47 α.

4 J. Travlos believed that the rock was carved out in antiquity to be used as a water reservoir (Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 142).

5 We do not know whether, on the exterior, the original dome of Hagia Marina was circular or octogonal, as was usual in Athens.

6 The paintings of the dome, according to C. Koilakou (op. cit.) are works of the seventeenth century. The form of the dome was irregular from the outset (see drawing of section) and its windows

rectangular, not arched.

7 As the drawing by H. C. Stilling (Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 120, no. 75, 122, no 77; Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 41, pl. 30, 156, fig. 173), by Du Moncel, 20–21 and by F. Stademann (*Panorama von Athen* [München 1841] pl. 10). The last one shows the dome of the church in ruins.

8 Architect Achilleos Georgiadis.

9 Photograph of the years 1891–1897 of the German Archaeological Institut, in *Ἀθῆναι*, 329, fig. 15.

1 Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση τῆς Μεγάλης Παναγιᾶς Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 25–35, in which see the revision of the restored plan by J. Travlos (*Prakt* 105 [1950] 61–63, fig. 16) is revised and all relevant bibliography. See also Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 50–51, 637.

2 Kokkou, *Μέριμνα,* 158–161.

3 Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση, op. cit., 32.

4 The height of the dome soffit reached 11 m.

5 That is, as high as the arched opening of the early Christian building on which the *bema* of the church was erected.

6 Can be seen in the drawing by C. Hansen. See Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 44, 248, fig. 246.

7 Couchaud, *Choix*, 13, pl. III.

8 Ch. Bouras, Ἐπανεξέταση, op. cit., 33–34.

9 Westlake, *Paintings*, 173–188, pl. VIII, IX; Ch. Bouras, op. cit., 27 n. 31, 33.

10 The dome's tympanum is formed by carved limestone blocks, without bricks, as in the Gorgoepekoos dome. The decoration with *disepsilon* indicates a date at the end of the century.

11 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 50–51.

1 First published by Xyngopoulos, Ἀττικῆς βυζαντινοί ναοί, *ArchEph* 52 (1913) 137–143. See also A. Adamantiou, *Prakt* 65 (1910) 233 n. 3; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 52, 53, 637.

2 In order to extend the church they demolished both its east and west walls. After the Greek War of Independance a decision was taken to pull it down. See A. Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Ἐδουάρδος Σάουμπερτ* (Athens 1999) 75–77, document no. 4, fig. 28 (St. Sauveur a démolir).

3 Philippidou, Μεταμόρφωσις, 81–91.

4 The diameter of the dome reaches 1.60 m.

5 Shown in drawings by C. Hansen and H. C. Stilling. See Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 105, fig. 128 and 162, fig. 187 respectively.

6 P. Lazaridis, Μεσαιωνικά Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) B', 113–116.

7 Ibid., 114, drawing no. 2.

8 Ibid., 115, drawing no. 3.

9 Philippidou, Μεταμόρφωσις, 87–88, pl. 13, 14.

10 The elegant dome of the Metamorphosis, considered by P. Michelis as a characteristic example of 'grace and emphasis' (*Αἰσθητική θεώρηση τῆς βυζαντινῆς τέχνης* [Athens 1946] 149, 151), convinced him that it was a building of the late Byzantine period.

11 *Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα*, longitudinal section pl. 31.

12 P. Lazaridis, Μεσαιωνικά, op. cit., pl. 112 α.

13 Idem, 118, drawing no. 4.

1 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, Βυζαντινά, μεσαιωνικά καί νεώτερα μνημεῖα Ἀττικῆς, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) B' 115, pl. 26 and 35 (1980) B', 97.

2 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 95, fig. 105, 106 (plan of the church in actual state). Note that at the southeast corner, over the buttress, are shown bulky cornerstones and cloisonée masonry.

3 A belfry with three arches was added over the north wall of the *prothesis* (see photographs).

4 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Ραγκαβᾶς, Συμβολή στήν ἱστορία τοῦ μνημείου, *DChAE* 24 (2003) 55–62.

5 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 329, 518; idem, *Greece*, op. cit., 124, fig. 123; idem, Μεσαιωνική Ἀθήνα, Πολεοδομία καί Ἀρχιτεκτονική in *Ἀθῆναι*, 229, fig. 9. Photographs of the monument after the restoration: Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, op. cit., fig. 3, 5–11.

6 *Byzance retrouvée*, 165, fig. 98.

7 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 343, no. LAW.092.

8 As for the patterns of the Cufic ornaments, we find single vertical units, back-to-back Ls or 2s, as well as Ss. For other motifs of the same kind, see Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 123, 128–129.

9 At the right of the great arch the dentil course is double, in order to adapt to the springer of the smaller arch located at a lower level.

10 The existing pavement is modern with square slabs of white and gray marble from Hymettus.

11 See the drawing by L. A. Winstrup, Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 343.

12 The dimensions of the four columns, of the arches and of the well-preserved dome make it possible to redraw the longitudinal section of the church in its original form.

13 On the classification by A. Orlandos, see *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 67, fig. 4 B.

14 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, op. cit., 58–59, fig. 7, 8. She considers the other two columns to be Byzantine. Today their capitals are covered with plaster moldings.

15 Op. cit., 59, fig. 9.

16 Ibid., fig. 10.

17 Dimensions of the capital: length 74, width 58 and height 22 cm. Built in the northeast corner of the church.

18 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, op. cit., 58.

19 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 60 n. 4, 75–78, fig. 96, 97.

20 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, Παράσταση προσωπείου σέ βυζαντινά γλυπτά, *DChAE* 13 (1985–86) 175–180; D. Mouriki, The Mask motif in the wall paintings of Mistra: Cultural implications of a classical feature in late Byzantine painting, *DChAE* 10 (1980–1981) 307 ff.

21 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 224, no. 316, with more information on this motif.

22 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 95. Dating to the eleventh or twelfth century.

23 H. Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, op. cit., 59.

1 According to W.M Leake, the monastery's name was preserved as 'Mologhitádhes' until his time. See *Topography of Athens* (London 1821) 363–365.

2 A brief report on the excavation is published in *BZ* 26 (1926) 247. The excavation was undertaken later by M. Chatzidakis.

3 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 128, fig. 162. See also Janin, *Centres*, 330; Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, Α', 226, Β', 269; C. Enisleidis, *Οἱ Ἅγιοι Πάντες τῆς ἐν Ἀμπελοκήποις Ἀθηνῶν ἱερᾶς μονῆς τῶν Ὁμολογητῶν καί τό ἱερόν τῆς ἐν κήποις Ἀφροδίτης* (Athens 1977).

4 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, op. cit., 127, fig. 161. The walls are built with the typical cloisonné masonry and large stone blocks at the northeast corner.

5 G. Daux, Chronique des fouilles, *BCH* 82 (1958) 668 ff.

6 Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 493–494, fig. 101, 102 n. 70, p. 573; A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι, *ΕΕΒΣ* 26 (1956) 439; *ΕΕΒΣ* 27 (1957) 463.

7 The corner sections of the church are covered with 'half grown cross-vaults'. See Mamaloukos, Παρατηρήσεις, 198.

8 C. Kritzas, Ἐπιτύμβια ἐπιγραφή ἀπό τόν ναό τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων Ἀμπελοκήπων (Ἀθηνῶν), in *Θωράκιον, Ἀφιέρωμα στη μνήμη τοῦ Παύλου Λαζαρίδη* (Athens 2004) 205–218.

9 M. Korres, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Attisch-Ionischen Architektur, in E. Schwandner (ed.), *Säule und Gebalk* (Mainz 1996) 90–113.

10 Ibid., 105, fig. 22.

11 N. Moutsopoulos, Ὁ Ταξιάρχης τῶν Καλυβίων παρά τήν Κάρυστον, *Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 8 (1961) 235 ff; idem, Παρατηρήσεις.

12 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Β', 89, 252–257, 261–263, 580, 631–633, 640.

13 The monastery as 'monasterium Cinoloitae' is mentioned in a letter of Pope Innocent III. See T. Halušcynskyi, Città del Vaticano, Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198–1216) (Rome 1944) 358, no. 126 of the year 1209.

14 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 129, fig. 163. Drawing by the author.

15 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, Α', 197, Β', 479, 580; Lambros, *Ἀθῆναι*, 82.

16 See above n. 12.

1 See M. Biris, Μεταγενέστερες προσθῆκες στό καθολικό τῆς μονῆς Πετράκη στήν Ἀθήνα, *Ἐκκλησίες* 2 (1982) 191–202; K. Tsouris, Ἡ μονή Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου Καρέα, *Κληρονομία* 30 (1998) 291; Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 125–128; E. Lekkos, *Τά ἑλληνικά μοναστήρια* (Athens 1995) 229–232; S. Lambros, Τρία πατριαρχικά σιγίλλια μονῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, *NE* 4 (1907) 83 and 6 (1909) 113.

2 Sotiriou, Μονή Πετράκη, 103, 106, fig. 1 (plan).

3 Ibid., 114.

4 Like the drawing by G. Bindesbøll (Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 304, fig. 81); Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 114–115, fig. 144, 143.

5 Drawings by M. Biris, op. cit.

6 A. Orlandos, Ἁγία Τριάς Κριεζώτη, *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 8 n. 4.

7 Frantz, Holy Apostles, 19, fig. 8 e, 23, pl. 13 α.

8 Vokotopoulos, Ἀρχιτεκτονική 10ου αἰ., 206 n. 32.

9 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 12.

10 Travlos, Ἀθῆναι, col. 736.

11 I. Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Ἱερά Μονή Πετράκη* (Athens 2000).

12 M. Biris, op. cit.

13 M. Kappas, *Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Καλύμνου* (Thessaloniki 2001) 41, 276, 277 (no. 127).

14 Idem, n. 161, 165.

15 Dated about 960.

16 The domes of both monuments have horizontal cornices and all eight corners are rounded.

17 See pp. 192–193.

18 Sotiriou, Μονή Πετράκη, 112, pl. 50, 2; Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 127, fig. 159; M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 10, 88, 98, 102, 104, 106, 111, 134; O. Gratziou and A. Lazaridou, *Ἀπό τήν χριστιανική συλλογή στό Βυζαντινό Μουσεῖο* (Athens 2006) 359, fig. 654.

19 ‘Scalloped bema’ (C. Mango).

20 A.H.S. Megaw in Chronology ignores completely the *katholikon* of the Petraki monastery because in the 1930s the monument was completely covered with modern plaster (Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, fig. 157).

21 ‘Arcade pattern’ (A.H.S. Megaw, Chronology).

22 Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 143, 153 n. 2, 165, pl. 201.

23 In the longitudinal section is shown the outline of the keystones of the barrel vault inclined to the east and the awkward support of the west vault.

24 A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων, *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 207–208, fig. 1, 2.

25 P. Lazaridis, Ἐργασίαι συντηρήσεως, *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) 65; *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) 133, 134; *ArchDelt* 23 (1968) 114; *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) 63; *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) 185; *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) 53; *ArchDelt* 29 (1974)

182.

1 The north of Hagios Demetrios and the south of Hagios Georgios.

2 The plan by Monneret de Villard (Inedita byzantina, *Monitore Tecnico* [Milano 1912] 433) was republished by Xyngopoulos in Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 94–95, fig. 107. It represents the church before the second extension.

3 Under the influence of the *katholikon* of the Petraki monastery. See Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 153 n. 2.

4 In the garden, to the west of the church, lie three column shafts, possibly those which originally supported the dome. Two of them are of marble from Hymettus, the third is of Karystian stone (cipollino).

5 It seems that the damage on the helixes was done before their use in the Sotera church, given that the broken corners of their *abaci* are reworked, perhaps in order to upgrade their form.

6 The level of the floor was raised twice. The height difference between the pavement of the sanctuary and the space west of the four columns is 53 cm. Between the east columns stands a modern, marble *templon*.

7 M. Kappas, *Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Καλύμνου* (Thessaloniki 2001) 41; idem, Ὁ ναός τῆς Παντοβασίλισσας στήν Τρίγλεια, *26ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2006) 30–31.

8 See above p. 259.

9 The plastered east façade was restored in 1939. A. Orlandos, Ἐργασίαι ἀναστηλώσεως μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων, *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 207; Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 494.

10 Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, n. 177, 179.

11 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν.

12 Megaw, Chronology. He did not study the Sotera of Kottakis because in 1933 the church was covered with plaster.

13 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 12; M. Kappas, op. cit., 278; Chatzidakis, Μεσοβυζαντινή Τέχνη, 294–295.

14 Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 205 n. 2.

1 The church of the Soteira Lykodenou, known also as Hagios Nikodemos, is the largest surviving

church in Athens.

2 Bouras, Soteira.

3 *Byzance Retrouvée*, 163, fig. 96.

4 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 305, no. G.B. 074.

5 A. Lenoir, *Architecture Monastique* (Paris 1856) 329, 343, 369.

6 Couchaud, *Choix*, 18, pl. XI, XII, XIII.

7 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 43–44.

8 Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke*, 15, fig. 8.

9 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 80–83.

10 Known as 'Anargyreia Apospasmata'. Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, 285 ff.

11 Antonin, 1874, 1–14, no. 1–21, pl. 1–5.

12 Bouras, Soteira, 12 n. 18.

13 Ibid. Compare the drawings 8 and 9.

14 S. Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας ἀπό σωζόμενα σχέδια καί σημειώσεις τοῦ P. Durand* (Athens 2000) A' Text, 35–38, 237–251, B' Pl. 54–59, 61–63.

15 G. Lampakis, Ὁ ναός τοῦ Νικοδήμου, *Ἑβδομάς* (1885) 557ff., 575 and Bouras, Soteira, 13, fig. 2.

16 See the drawing by K. Koliopoulos in Bouras, Soteira, 14, fig. 3.

17 Bouras, Soteira, 13. For the recent works of preservation, see A. Orlandos in *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960–61) 682; Stikas, Ὀρλάνδος ὁ ἀναστηλωτής, 497; Lazaridis (1960) 65; Lazaridis (1967) 149, 152; P. Lazaridis, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) 138 κ.ἑ.

18 In *EMEE* A2 (1929) 80, fig. 76. For a photograph of the bell tower just after its construction, see *Ἀθήνα 1839–1900, Φωτογραφικές Μαρτυρίες* (Athens 1985) fig. 71.

19 E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou* (Paris 1951) 41, fig. 19, 71, 109.

20 G. Lampakis, Ὁ ναός, op. cit.

21 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 44. Between the windows were depicted full-length prophets and above, in the next zone, angels supporting the cycle of heavens. See also T. Kalantzopoulou, Δύο βυζαντινοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας κατά τόν 19ο αἰῶνα, in *Θωράκιον, Ἀφιέρωμα στή μνήμη Π. Λαζαρίδη* (Athens

2004) 170–171.

22 Bouras, Soteira, fig. 10–13.

23 Between the two visits of P. Durand in Athens.

24 Republished by Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 81, fig. 80. For the original *templon*, see also Neroutsos, Χριστιανικαί Ἀθῆναι, *ΔΙΕΕ* 3 (1889) 87 ff.

25 A typical feature of neoclassical architecture prevailing in Athens at that time.

26 Megaw, Chronology, 95, 96, 104–116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, pl. 30 nos. 46–54, 31 no. 4; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 66–67, 107–108, 113, 128, 140, 156; Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 336–338.

27 Bouras, Soteira, 21, 22, fig. 16.

28 See above n. 21.

29 See above n. 14.

30 Bouras, Soteira, 22, comparative table.

1 According to K. Pittakis *ArchEph* 9 [1853] the church was burnt down during the Greek War of Independence and restored in 1852. In the church was found an ancient pedestal with an inscription (no. 1835) published by Pittakis. A stele, also with an inscription, was used to support the altar.

2 The name of the new church is Panagia Gregorousa.

3 Bouras, Taxiarchs, 69–74.

4 *Byzance retrouvée*, 164, fig. 97.

5 R. Baumstark (ed.), *Das Neue Hellas* (Munich 2000) 511–512, fig. 373.

6 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 304, fig. 84, 85; Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 104, fig. 126.

7 Gailhabaud, *L'architecture du Ve au XVIIe siècle* (Paris 1854) i. The drawings are republished in *EMME*, 1, B, 1929, 87, fig. 91, as 'unknown church'. On its identification with the Taxiarchs, see Philippidou, Μεταμόρφωσις, 81, fig. 2.

8 In the plan drawing by Couchaud are shown the two sarcophagi in the later narthex of the church (Couchaud, *Choix*, 20, pl. XVI).

9 According to the section drawings by Bindesbøll. We do not know whether P. Durand, who studied systematically the wall paintings of the Athenian churches, ignored the Taxiarchs or gave the monument the name Hagios Michael by mistake (Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 87).

1 J. Travlos (*Πολεοδομική*, 259, no. 94) argues that the existing church is part of the (repaired) original.

2 Couchaud, *Choix*, 12, pl. II. Republished by Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 63–65, fig. 49, 50.

3 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 74. Perspective views of the church from southwest and of the interior looking east.

4 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, G.B. 073, 122, fig. 78, 305. A drawing by Chr. Hansen of a three-aisled basilica (ibid., Chr. H. 250, fig. 80, p. 249) cannot be identified with Hagios Filippos.

5 S. Kalantzopoulou, *Μεσαιωνικοί ναοί τῆς Ἀθήνας*, op. cit., A', 212–215.

6 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1940).

7 On the last phase of the small church of Hagios Nikolaos, see Shear (1997) 544–546.

8 K. Biris, op. cit., 51. In the map the two adjacent churches have the numbers 93 and 94.

9 Note that both churches were in ruins and that the Athenians had not celebrated a liturgy there for more than twenty years before the visit of P. Durand.

10 Drawing of the west façade by Couchaud.

11 G. Sotiriou, Τά ἐρείπια τοῦ παρά τόν Ἄρειον Πάγον βυζαντινοῦ ναοῦ, *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) 119 ff.

12 Ibid., 132.

13 Travlos and Frantz, St. Dionysios.

14 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 65.

15 Millet, *École*, 21, based on the two drawings by Couchaud. The three-aisled Middle Byzantine basilicas will be discussed again. A. Couchaud already made some vague allusions to the relation between the three-aisled Byzantine timber-roofed basilicas and the architectural traditions of the West.

16 See above p. 48 and A. Orlandos, Αἱ ἁγιογραφίαι τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Πύλης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, *Πλάτων* 20 (1968) 39–40.

17 According to A. Xyngopoulos, church of Hagios Ioannes Chrysostomos.

18 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 418, fig. 536, 537, general map fig. 104.

19 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 103, fig. 127–129.

20 Barkas et al., *Κλιτύς*, 20.

21 Archive of the Christian Archaeological Society, no. 6588. The mural paintings no longer exist.

22 Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 176 (without drawings).

23 Proceedings of Central Archaeological Council, 2 Oct. 2002.

24 By the excavators of the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. Near the church large storage *pithoi* were found buried in the ground.

25 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 105–106, fig. 133, 134.

26 Barkas et al., *Κλιτύς*, 9–12, fig. 5, 6, 7. Fig. 6 gives restored façades of the church in two possible variations.

27 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, fig. 18, no. Chr. H. 011, 176; Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, pl. fig. 67, p. 70, 127, 113 n. 49.

28 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 106, fig. 134.

29 From both A. Xyngopoulos and B. Barkas et al. The publication of the monument is brief.

30 The projecting pilasters of the sidewalls, in correspondence with the columns inside, confirm that the vaults of the corner spaces of the church were independent, small domes or groin cross-vaults.

31 Demolished already in 1778 during the construction of the Haseki wall.

32 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 112–113. Travlos argued that in this place there once existed an early Christian basilica. See idem, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ Θεάτρου, *ArchEph* 2 (1953–54) 314.

33 Orlandos, *Βασιλική*, 155 n. 1.

34 Kalantzopoulou, *Durand*, 83.

35 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, op. cit., 45–54.

36 T. Kalantzopoulou, Ἄγνωστος τρουλλαῖος ναός στήν Ἀθήνα, *DChAE* 27 (2006) 73–74.

37 O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford 1911) 248, fig. 153.

38 Ch. Bouras, *Greece*, op. cit., 248, fig. 153; A. Orlandos, Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα Αἰτωλοακαρνανίας, *ABME* 9 (1961) 13 n. 3 (dating of the monument to the tenth century).

39 See above p. 191 fig. 134.

40 J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (London 1762–1816) vol. 2, pl. II 1 and 11.

41 Pittakis excavated the site (*ArchEph* 13 [1857] 1637; *ArchEph* 14 [1858] 1710).

42 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 91; K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*, op. cit., 53, no. 13.

43 The recycling of any kind of building material near the fortifications makes it difficult to correlate the inscription with the church. A dating according to the Alexandrine chronological system (6427=934) cannot be supported. See J. Travlos, Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου Ἀθηνῶν, *ArchEph* 78–80 (1939/1941) 67.

44 See below p. 313.

45 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 110; Kambouroglous, *Ἀθῆναι*, 277 ff.

46 Alexandri (1969) 49.

47 K. Biris, *Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι*, op. cit., 36.

48 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, fold-in pl. XII, no. 87.

49 Shear (1997) 535–537; *Ἀθῆναι*, 234, fig. 13.

50 S. Voyatzis, Ἡ Ἁγία Εἰρήνη στήν Πλάκα, *DChAE* 31 (2010) 41–51.

1 P. Vokotopoulos, book review in *Μνημεῖο καί περιβάλλον* 8 (2004) 170.

2 For the transitional type of Byzantine churches, of the so-called pre-Helladic group, see Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 116–126.

3 D. Hayer, Saint Georges près de Scala (Laconie), *DChAE* 12 (1984) 272 ff; D. Athanasoulis and M. Kappas, Ὁ σταυροειδής ἐγγεγραμμένος μέ συνεπτυγμένο τό δυτικό σκέλος. Τυπολογικές διευκρινίσεις, *25ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2005) 13–14, with reference to other examples.

4 Or three-aisled, timber-roofed.

5 M. Kappas, *Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Καλύμνου* (Thessaloniki 2001) 276–278. (Determination given by G. Velenis, 41). See idem, Ὁ ναός τῆς Παντοβασίλισσας στήν Τρίγλεια, *26ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (2006) 30–31.

6 See above p. 262.

7 Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 95–105, mainly 99, 100. Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 345, 371 n. 22–28.

8 Bouras, Soteira.

9 E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou et autres édifices de même type* (Paris 1951); Millet, *École*,

105–115; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 352–353.

10 Bouras, Soteira, 22–23.

11 Ch. Bouras, Δύο μικροί ναοί, ὀκταγωνικοῦ τύπου, ἀνέκδοτοι, *DChAE* 3 (1962–63) 127–156.

12 G. Dimitrokallis, Ἡ καταγωγή τῶν σταυρεπιστέγων ναῶν, *Χαριστήριον*, Β', 194–211.

13 A. Cutler and J. M. Spieser, *Byzance Médiévale 700–1204* (Paris 1996) 7.

14 Given that, naturally, there were no schools of architecture in the Middle Ages and, moreover, because the word *Grecque* is associated with classical Greece or with the modern Greek state or territory. On this point, see the preface by A. Grabar in the 1974 reprint of the *École*.

15 M. Chatzidakis, A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc, *Cah. Arch.* 19 (1969) 127–150; idem, Précisions sur le fondateur de Saint Luc, *Cah. Arch.* 22 (1972) 87–88.

16 Ch. Bouras, Originality in Byzantine architecture, Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini, *Travaux et Mémoires* 15 (2005) 106, 108.

17 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 22–56.

18 'Athenian' domes we have in Athens in the Hagioi Apolstoloi, Hagia Aikaterine, Hagios Asomatos near the Theseion, Hagioi Asomatoi 'sta Skalia', Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos, Hagios Georgios in Galatsi, Gorgoepekoos, Hagioi Theodoroi, Hagios Ioannes in Plaka, Kapnikarea, Megale Panagia, Metamorphosis in Plaka, Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas, Sotera of Kottakis and the Taxiarchs in the Roman Agora. The 'Athenian' type of dome was also adopted by some Middle Byzantine churches of the Mani (Hagia Barbara in Skoutari, Episkopi, Taxiarch in Glezos, Taxiarch in Charouda, Hagia Barbara in Eremos et al.).

19 Even in the late Post-Byzantine period, as in Hagios Dimitris and the *katholikon* of the Phaneromeni monastery, both on the island of Salamis.

20 A. Orlandos, Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἄνδρου, *ABME* 8 (1955–1956) 52–53.

21 The break like a step of the roof makes sense in the case of large domes or large conches, in order to reduce the weight of the filling between the extrados of the vaults and the tile coverings as e.g. in the Rotunda of Thessaloniki.

22 Similar cases are the domes of the Hodegetria of Monemvasia and of the *katholikon* of Daphni.

23 Namely Hagia Aikaterine and Sotera of Kottakis.

24 The masonry with big ashlar stones was studied in particular by G. Hadji-Minaglou (Grand appareil). For the chronological classification of the monuments based on this kind of masonry, see ibid., 184–186, pl. 3.

25 In the Hagioi Apostoloi, Hagioi Asomatoi near Theseion, Hagioi Theodoroi. See idem, 180, pl. 2.

26 In the above churches and also in Gorgoepekoos.

27 As in Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas.

28 At the corners of the west façade of Soteira Lykodemou, the big blocks are still in situ. The *bema* apse of Gorgoepekoos is formed with big ashlar blocks, adapted to the 120-degree corners. On the Hagioi Apostoloi, see Frantz, Holy Apostles, fig. 12. Upright, vertically arranged ashlar blocks form pillars that were incorporated into the façades of Hagioi Apostoloi and Kapnikarea.

29 R. Ginouvez et al., *Dictionnare méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine*, 1 (Paris 1985) 102, pl. 26, 1–3.

30 A. Orlandos, Ἐκ τῆς χριστιανικῆς Μεσσήνης, *ABME* 11 (1969) 111.

31 Ibid., n. 1. A unique example known in Greece in a domestic building is found in Corinth.

32 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 32–33. The building of unknown use, south of the refectory in the monastery of Hosios Loukas, also has a horseshoe arch. See E. Stikas, *Τό οἰκοδομικόν χρονικόν τῆς μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ* (Athens 1970) 218, pl. 163, 164.

33 Orlandos, Πεταλόμορφον τόξον; Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια μέ νευρώσεις* (Athens 1965) 48 n. 190.

34 Miles, Byzantium and Arabs, 28 ff.

35 Bendtsen, *Sketches*, 249, no. Chr. H. 255; Kristensen, *Ἀθήνα*, 88, fig. 100.

36 Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 466 n. 607–617.

37 According to G. Millet, the system was created by the stonemasons, who tried to reinforce the masonry, driving wedges of bricks or small slates between the stones.

38 E. Stikas, *Τό οἰκοδομικόν*, op. cit., 154–155, fig. 71, 72; Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, fig. 11–14.

39 Megaw, Chronology, 103.

40 Ibid., 102–112.

41 Given that he believed that the building of the *katholikon* was older than the church of Panagia.

42 On metal works of art, ceramics, textiles etc.

43 Only one example of Cufic architectural decoration (of ambiguous form) is known in the capital. See S. Gerstel and J. Lauffenburger (eds.), *A Lost Art Rediscovered* (Baltimore 2001) 20, 26–27, 112–113.

44 Sotiriou, Διακοσμήσεις.

45 Megaw, Chronology.

46 Miles, Byzantium and Arabs.

47 Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, mainly 330–331 n. 3; Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 18–21; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 138–139 n. 428–446; G. Miles, Classification of Islamic elements in Byzantine architectural ornament in Greece, in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines* III (Beograd 1964) 281 ff.

48 In the ceramic friezes of Hagioi Theodoroi, the Cufic motifs are very limited.

49 The fragments of ceramic plaques found during the excavation confirm that a frieze decorated one of the façades of the church. See also Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 349, fig. 10.

50 In the south gable of the church and the small gables of the exonarthex. It was recently argued that the Cufic motif of the south gable is a legible inscription; see C. Kanellopoulos and L. Tohme, A true Kūfic inscription on the Kapnikarea Church in Athens?, *Al Masāq* 20 (2008) 133–139.

51 Nikonanos, Διακοσμήσεις, 344.

52 In the churches of Episkopi in Tegea and the Koimisis in Zourtsa. In certain Middle Byzantine churches of the Mani, the reticulate friezes with diagonal tiles are considered indicative of the masons' conservatism.

53 As in Hagios Achilleios in Prespa.

54 As in churches of Arta and Mystras.

55 A.H.S. Megaw, Glazed bowls in Byzantine churches, *DChAE* 4 (1964–65) 145–162; Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 474–475; Tsouris, *Κεραμοπλαστικός διάκοσμος*, 113–116.

56 E.g. the bowl in Hagioi Theodoroi. See above p. 203.

57 The shafts of columns in secondary use, in order to have the appropriate height, could have been truncated at the one end (with the ancient *apophyge*).

58 Krautheimer, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 433–434. For comments on the figural patterns and the style of the

tenth-century sculptures in Athens, see M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, Στοιχεῖα τοῦ γλυπτοῦ διακόσμου ναῶν τῆς Ἀθήνας τόν 10ο αἰ, in C. Pennas and C. Vanterheyde (eds.), *La sculpture byzantine* (Athens 2008) 287–302.

59 Boura, *Διάκοσμος*, 100–103, 112–114, 120, fig. 165–170, 182, 183, 185.

60 Miles, Byzantium and Arabs, fig. 42.

61 Orlandos, *Ὅμορφη Ἐκκλησιά*, fig. 20, 21.

62 Miles, Byzantium, op. cit., 43, 47–48; Sotiriou, Διακοσμήσεις, fig., 7, 9, 15, 32, 44, 46.

63 Orlandos, Ἔκθεσις.

64 J. Strzygowski, Die Akropolis in altbyzantinischer Zeit, *AM* 14 (1889) 271 ff.

65 A. Xyngopoulos, Χριστιανικόν Ἀσκληπιεῖον, *ArchEph* 54 (1915) 62, fig. 14.

66 As for instance the ashlar masonry of Hagios Nikolaos at Kampia and the Omorfi Ekklesia in Aegina. See Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 171–174 and 55–57 respectively.

67 Moutsopoulos, Παρατηρήσεις.

68 E. Maillard, *Les cahiers du nombre d'or, II, Églises byzantines* (Paris 1962).

69 Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 80, fig. 81 (photograph no. 1884 in the Collection of the Christian Archaeological Society).

70 During the restoration works of the monument in 1959. E. Stikas, Ὁ ναός τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀσωμάτων «Θησείου», *DChAE*, 1 (1959) 115 ff.

71 Frantz, Holy Apostles, 9–10.

72 Ibid., pl. 6 d.

73 As in the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Kampia, Bouras, *Ναοδομία*, 173.

74 M. K. Langdon, Hymettiana II, an ancient quarry on Mt. Hymettos, *AJA* 92 (1988) 75–83.

75 M. Chatzidakis, Ἡ Βυζαντινή Ἀθήνα, *Σύναξη* 16 (1985) 13–18.

76 A limited number of Cufic ceramics preserved on the south gable of Hagia Aikaterine is evidence of influence from the group of churches which had adopted forms from Hosios Loukas.

3
A Historical Interpretation of the Athenian Monuments

It is not the aim of this chapter to retell the history of the city of Athens in the Middle Ages and repeat the well-known information derived from the written sources and highlighted by research. The objective, instead, is to interpret – to the extent it is possible – the built environment, architecture and urban fabric of Athens with the help of historical documentation and the data provided by archaeology. Our intent is to investigate, in a diachronic manner, to what extent the known historical events impacted the built space, not only the erection of new buildings, but also the continuous degradation of the ancient architectural heritage. Because it is our intent to view the question diachronically, we will be required to offer a cursory overview of the changes that occurred in periods prior to the tenth to twelfth centuries.

In our introduction we noted several of the general historical studies of Athens, as well as the most important written sources on which these studies depend. It is a fact that large gaps exist in our information about the history of Athens, and there are also many hypotheses that cannot be proven but have nevertheless gradually acquired acceptance.

Besides the old and somewhat dated synthetic studies by Mommsen,[1] Gregorovius,[2] and Neroutsos[3], there are also the studies by Kambouroglous,[4] who also made use of information drawn from local tradition. There are also disquisitions about Athenian history by Veis,[5] Koder and Hild,[6] Janin,[7] Zakythinos,[8] and Setton,[9] written in the context of wider historical

investigations, or as introductions to more specialized subjects. Three chapters in the writings by John Travlos on the urban development of Athens[10] always retain their principal value in connection with the built environment of the city. Information about Athens is repeated in some large-scale works such as the *Cambridge Medieval History*[11] and the *Historia tou Hellenikou Ethnous*.[12] Recapitulations of medieval Athenian history were produced by Pavan[13] and Tanoulas.[14] Finally, we may note smaller contributions related to the architectural wealth of the city by Bouras,[15] Chatzidakis,[16] Ševčenko and Gregory,[17] Sotiriou,[18] and others.

After the damage caused by Sulla's sack of the city, the next great assault on the monuments of Athens was the Herulian attack of 267. The excavators of the Agora found evidence of serious destruction, and the results are presented in various publications.[19] What is important in our context is that although there was continuity in everyday life and in the city's institutions,[20] there was no disposition to rebuild the buildings that were destroyed to their original form, but instead considerable changes were made. Some of the well-known buildings remained in use.[21] Part of the building material, even if it was in good condition, was incorporated into the Post-Herulian wall. However, one remains with the impression that the greatest part of the building material was never found, not even in a fragmented state. From the Temple of Ares,[22] for example, only very few fragments were found, and with great effort a very few *spolia* from the coffered slabs of the Parthenon *peristasis* and fragments of their inner columns were located built into early fifth-century walls.[23] The fact that the panels had neither thermal fractures nor indications that they had fallen onto the pavement of the portico has been interpreted to suggest that they did not come from the catastrophic fire of 267, but more likely from the systematic removal of marbles from the great temple[24] just before 400. Similar observations were made about the Temple of Hephaistos[25] since all the marble material from inside the temple disappeared without a trace.

The quality of the Parthenon repair – made in the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363) according to Travlos[26] – raises questions about the decline

of Athenian architecture in Late Antiquity. We find inferior gypsum filling and metal supports,[27] or more substantial reconfigurations with marble in secondary use, for example in doorjambs[28] and inner colonnades.[29] Later, during the course of the building's conversion to a church, more radical changes occurred, which have been mentioned above.[30]

The descent of the Visigoths into Greece occurred in 396. Zosimus reports that Athens was not taken,[31] and the erection of a public building[32] in the same period indicates peaceful conditions. However, the archaeological evidence, mainly in the Agora (apart from the Post-Herulian wall), suggests that there was a new wave of destruction at the end of the fourth century,[33] followed by the recycling of building material from structures that had not been destroyed in 267.

In the next century, with the construction of public buildings, but especially private habitations, the architecture of Athens takes a new departure that was alien to the classical city. We know that on the south slope of the Acropolis and on the Areopagus luxurious villas with peri-style courtyards, large apsidal reception halls and spacious service rooms were constructed. These have been linked, without proof,[34] to the flourishing Athenian schools of philosophy and, on grounds of morphology and construction, to the timber-roofed Early Christian basilicas that were built in large numbers across the entire Roman Empire. With a slight delay, Athens was part of the new architectural developments dictated by the great political, social and religious developments. After 400, we find the beginnings of building activity: in the Agora with the erection of the Palace of the Giants, in the Library of Hadrian with the large tetraconch, and in the Theatre of Dionysos with a new raised *bema*.[35] In addition to the consecration as churches of temples inside the city,[36] as also in the area outside the walls,[37] timber-roofed basilicas were also built in Athens during the fifth and sixth centuries. Nothing but foundations and scanty remains of these structures have survived. Systematic attempts at interpretation have been made only in the Palace of the Giants[38] and the tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian.[39] The impossibility of arriving at precise chronologies for the other buildings from this time,[40] combined with our

ignorance of the local, social, political and economic conditions under which they were constructed, makes nonsense of such efforts.

However, already from the fifth century the decline of cities in the eastern Roman Empire had begun to set in, with the main symptoms being the abandonment of ancient institutions and a demographic fall.[41] The phenomenon becomes more pronounced in the sixth century, and quickens after the death of Justinian.[42] For Athens in particular, the turning point is considered to be 529, the date of the imperial decree that closed the philosophical schools of Athens. Opinion is divided[43] over the abolition of the schools, but it is clear that state pressure to embed the Christian religion increased. The supplementary fortifications of Athens under Justinian have already been discussed.[44]

Conventionally, the onset of the Dark Ages is ascribed to the year 582. The Slavic and Avaro-Slavic invasions spelled destruction for the urban conception of life and the last vestiges of urban institutions, with the result that the entire Balkan Peninsula became ruralized,[45] except a few coastal cities.[46] Whether or not Attica and Athens were occupied by the Slavs remains a problem. Destruction is also attested here,[47] but cannot be dated with precision, and at the same time there are signs that life went on in the seventh century,[48] and Slavic names for toponyms[49] – which would point to permanent settlement by the invaders – are lacking. A few written sources make general comments about the occupation of the whole area (Menander, John of Ephesus, the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*) but do not mention Athens in particular. Coin hoards from the period are also considered evidence of a great invasion.[50] Travlos believed that the city was not taken, as it was protected by the then new Justinianic defenses,[51] and both Frantz[52] and Charanis[53] joined him in this view. To the contrary, Homer Thompson,[54] Camp,[55] Vryonis,[56] Gregory and Ševčenko,[57] and Tanoulas[58] consider it likely that the city was in fact captured, in the light of evidence of late destruction in the Agora. It is not made clear, however, whether the section of the city inside the Post-Herulian wall, and most notably the Acropolis citadel that was by its nature impregnable, also fell.

Even if Athens was captured by the Slavs, it was a passing event. The city remained in Byzantine control. This is documented by the sojourn of Emperor Constans II during the critical period for Byzantium between 662 and 663 – described as 'Athens' brief period of prosperity'.[59] In addition to the numismatic evidence,[60] many buildings in the Agora[61] were repaired to meet the needs of the troops that accompanied the emperor, and a cluster of buildings was erected on the south slope of the Acropolis, which can be reasonably attributed to the emperor. Already in 1965 Frantz noted[62] that a ceremonial building would have been a necessity: 'the Byzantine court could never belong without ceremonial, even when in transit, and the account in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the exchanges of visits between Emperor and Pope makes it clear that Constans' retinue was well equipped for ceremonies.'[63] It is our opinion that the great, domed basilica whose lowest part was found in the excavations for the New Acropolis Museum[64] had all that was required for an official ceremonial hall. It was accompanied by a bath, a triconch, a circular hall and still unidentified[65] service rooms. It is believed that in the same period the Theseion was roofed with a large vault.

It is important to note that both the renovated buildings in the Agora and the complex on the south slope were abandoned and fell into ruin very quickly, only a few years after Constans departed.[66] This is the beginning of the 'Dark Ages' for Athens.

The archaeological testimony for the period known as the 'Dark Ages' comes mainly from the Agora and the area south of the Acropolis, and is represented by nothing but large deposits[67] that occupy the space between the sixth- and seventh-century levels and the tenth-century levels. In the areas inside the Post-Herulian wall, the excavations of the levels dating after Late Antiquity have not been systematic and, as has been already observed, the deposits were relatively small. The disappearance of building material, especially marble, that is usually ascribed to the Dark Ages is not considered likely because, on the one hand, building activity in Athens stopped at this time and, on the other, the difficulty of maritime communications brought to an end the transportation of marble, whether for primary or secondary use.[68]

For the long period between the seventh and tenth centuries, the written sources do inform us about events related to Athens, but we draw very little information from the monuments, as their historical interpretation remains more or less beyond our grasp.

The events surrounding the uprising of 727, as briefly related by Theophanes the Confessor,[69] in which the inhabitants of Greece and the Cyclades turned against Emperor Leo III, seem to have unfolded at sea, and it appears that the strong fortresses, like that of Athens, played no role. However, the wedding of Eirene in 768 and Emperor Leo IV is seen as a milestone. Eirene was an Athenian,[70] but her family was not known.[71] It is speculated that, as she was married to the emperor, she must have descended from the property-holding elites of the province. In conservative circles of local aristocracy, the iconoclastic movement[72] was not accepted, and the empress later opposed iconoclasm. The *Life of Eirene*,[73] which contains information about her background, is much later in date.

Figure 238 Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens. Impost capital, no. T. 217. Phot. Byzantine Museum.

A very simple and quite humbly adorned (Fig. 238) impost capital, housed today in the Byzantine and Christian Museum,[74] could date to the eighth

century. It bears a monogram[75] set inside a circle that reads: 'Lord help Empress Eirene'. The size of the capital would fit a column in a medium-size church. We consider it very likely that the capital comes from a church built in her home city by Eirene, who is known to have made other dedications in Constantinople[76] during her reign, between 797 and 802. This unknown church would have been the only imperial foundation in Athens and the only testimony to a connection between Eirene and her birthplace after her marriage.[77] A little later another Athenian woman, Theophano, who was a relation of Eirene, married an emperor, Stavrakios,[78] in the year 807. When he was tonsured a monk after four years, Theophano, with the financial support of the new emperor Michael I, founded the monastery of Hagia Triada.[79] It is not known whether she had any connection with Athens.

Figure 239 Acropolis. Inscription in memory of the *strategos* of Hellas.

One of the graffiti on the Parthenon commemorates the death of Leo, *strategos* of Hellas, in 848.[80] This, together with a fragment from the grave slab (possibly Leo's) (Fig. 239), represents serious evidence that he had his seat

in Athens – in other words, that the city served as the capital of the theme of Hellas in the mid-ninth century.[81] It is unclear whether later this position was held by Thebes, Athens, or Larissa.[82] Nevertheless, remains of the buildings that would have been required for the seat of a *strategos* have not been found (or sought, for that matter), such as a praetorium, remains of a fortress, a prison etc. In all likelihood they would have been located in the Acropolis.

The graffiti on the Parthenon columns, studied by Orlandos and Vranousis,[83] are of great historical interest because they document events that are not known from the written sources dating from the fifth to fifteenth centuries, and demonstrate the continuity of life during the so-called Dark Ages. From a total of 235 graffiti, 60 are dated with exactitude and refer mainly to Athenian church figures.[84] And while they do not offer information about buildings, they do give the names of many bishops and metropolitans, known also from other sources, as well as about the promotion of the local church from episcopal to archiepiscopal status before 841, and from archiepiscopal to metropolitan status in 981.[85] It is not clear which of the graffiti contains the earliest invocation to the Theotokos, and as a result there are no conclusions to be drawn about the date when the Parthenon was dedicated to her.

Another uprising is mentioned in circa 915, this time against Khasé, a government official[86] whose prodigality and greed the Athenians could no longer endure, so they stoned him inside the 'church in Athens' (the Parthenon?) where he had fled, presumably in pursuit of safe asylum. Khasé, the son of Ioubes, a Saracen, held the office of *protospatharios* in the service of the emperor.[87] The consequences of this uprising are unknown. It should be noted, finally, that during this same period, Athens was a place of exile[88] from the capital city for undesirables. It is not known whether the great plague[89] that afflicted Greece in 745 also spread to Athens.

Whether or not Athens was taken by the Arabs at the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth is a problem that has occupied many scholars.[90] There is no clear evidence from the written sources, but the fact that that the Arabs excelled themselves in the art of piratical attacks in Greek

waters, even occupying Crete from 827 to 961, combined with the discovery of some legible Arabic inscriptions in Athens, has led to the impression that the city was not only taken by the Arabs, but even inhabited by them.

It has been explained[91] that the illegible pseudo-Cufic letters used as decorative motifs make their first appearance at the monastery of Hosios Loukas and that they were adopted by the architects of Athenian churches after the year 1000. Clearly these motifs are not related to the few specimens of legible Arabic inscriptions found in Athens, as well as in Chalcis and Corinth. The contents of the inscriptions are not completely clear, but they seem to belong to a religious building. And the erection of such a building indicates the establishment of Muslims and not simply an incursion for the purpose of plunder, as happened with great frequency along the Greek coastline before the year 961. In the cities that were occupied, such as Demetrias and Thessalonica, the raiders did not settle.

The matter became more complicated when Kambouroglous[92] formulated the view that a fifteenth-century 'lament' on the fall of the city to the Ottomans referred to the fall to the Arabs five hundred years earlier. This view did not receive acceptance.[93]

The fragments with the legible Arabic letters are seven in total.[94] Various students of Athenian history have occupied themselves with them, and the fragments have been interpreted in various ways. Sotiriou,[95] in 1933, after the first systematic documentation of the fragments, conceded the existence of a mosque for Muslim captives,[96] but not the conquest of Athens. Twenty years later, Setton[97] assembled much more material concerning the activities of the Arabs in the Aegean – both written and archaeological evidence – and arrived at the conclusion that there was indeed no Arab conquest of Athens, but a small community of Muslim captives or artisans[98] was formed for whom the mosque was built. The fullest investigation of the subject was carried out by G. Miles,[99] a scholar well versed in Islamic civilization who studied the content of the inscriptions[100] and brought together sources and monuments from across Greece.

His view was that there was not, in fact, an Arab occupation of the city, but

that a mosque was built in Athens in the second half of the tenth or first half of the eleventh century.[101] Irrespective of whether its founder was himself a prisoner or the master of a prisoner, he himself either honorifically or officially was connected with the then ruling caliph.[102]

Beyond the inscriptions there is no other proof for the occupation of Athens. There are no coins[103] or artifacts of Arab manufacture.[104] Comparable inscriptions in Corinth[105] and Chalcis,[106] cities that were not taken by the Arabs, help contextualize the problem of the nature of their peaceful settlement in the provinces after the abolition of the pirate state on Crete. It is known that there were, in roughly the same period, two mosques in Constantinople.[107] The transfer of the Athenian inscriptions from nearby Aegina, which certainly was captured by the Arabs, has been suggested by Christidis.[108] The decree of Leo V forbidding trade with the Saracens[109] and the total absence of information in the Cairo Geniza[110] about communication with Greek harbors should be deemed persuasive evidence that the Arabs that concern us were not merchants. In the end, the Arab mosque in Athens remains without a historical explanation.

With the ascent of the Macedonian dynasty to the throne in 867, there was a clear recovery and improvement in all aspects of life in Byzantium. Already from the time of its founder Basil I, architecture in the capital experienced a new flowering. The recovery in Athens was marked by the first secure date for a church construction, that of Hagios Ioannes Mangoutes[111] in 871. Twenty years earlier another church had been built, that dedicated to the Theotokos in Marousi,[112] while the erection of the large church at Orchomenos/Skripou in 872,[113] financed by an imperial official, denoted the beginning of a new age of church building in Greece. Despite the above-mentioned difficulties experienced in the provinces, this revival in the architectural realm did not lag behind developments in Constantinople. We find an ensemble of churches dubbed by Vokotopoulos as ‘pre-Helladic’,[114] among which should probably be included the large Athenian church located on the site of the later mosque in the Roman Agora.

In Greece, however, the continual threats and disasters continued for

another century, whether from the Arabs of Crete (until 961) or the Bulgars who had established a strong state (until 1018). But it seems that the Slavs, at least in southern Greece, were gradually assimilated,[115] the cities began to develop,[116] and the government in Constantinople made efforts to regulate the reacquired provinces. There were lively communications with what was then Byzantine Magna Graecia,[117] as well as pilgrim traffic, despite the insecurities at sea. We get a picture of the conditions of everyday life in mainland Greece in the first half of the tenth century from the *Life of Hosios Loukas* of Steiris.[118] He moved for reasons of security and was tonsured a monk at some monastery in Athens in 911. A similar picture of life in the Peloponnese emerges from the *Life of Hosios Nikon the 'Metanoeite'*.[119]

A landmark in Athenian history was the visit to the city by Basil II in 1018 and his pilgrimage to the Parthenon, where he offered 'thanksgiving for victory to the Theotokos'.[120] As has been already noted,[121] the visit had more of a political rather than genuinely pious character, given that Basil was not given to occupying himself with religious matters and disdained both letters and literary types.[122] And while he offered rich gifts to the Theotokos in Athens, he did not found churches and monasteries[123] either here or in Constantinople, as other Byzantine emperors had done, evidently in an effort to husband state resources.

In the eleventh century, and indeed in the first half of that century, the Byzantine Empire was flourishing.[124] The period was characterized by administrative reorganization, demographic growth, economic development, increased coin circulation, and the flowering of arts and letters, especially[125] in the capital. In Athens – considered the second important city in Greece[126] – the archaeological evidence confirms this situation. The fine churches of the eleventh century, the city's spread into new neighborhoods outside the Post-Herulian walls,[127] and the strengthening of the Acropolis defenses leave no room for doubt that the Middle Byzantine period was a time of prosperity, peace and reorganization. It is a disappointment that the written sources are silent about Athens in the eleventh century and, consequently, our capacity for interpreting the above-mentioned developments in the light of the

historical context is considerably limited. What we have are the inscriptions and graffiti, while economic ease is suggested by the numismatic evidence,[128] which is constantly enriched, and the indirect, inferred large outlays of money required for the construction of churches and monasteries.

We know that the construction of the Hagioi Theodoroi was thanks to a state official, the *spatharokandidatos* Nikolaos Kalomalos,[129] although we do not know whether he was an Athenian or a state official who lived in Constantinople.[130] On the basis of the graffiti, it is thought that the Soteira Lykodemou church was built by members of the Lykou family,[131] while the name Rangavas associated with the founders of the church of Hagios Nikolaos survived to the present day. We may conjecture that, as in the case with these two churches, other Middle Byzantine churches of Athens also had founders who were members of the small, landed local aristocracy, the '*archontes ktematikoi*'.

We have already mentioned that, in Byzantium, the members of the aristocracy lived in the cities. We have a reference to the residence of the official known as '*asecretis* Pastophilos',[132] but cannot relate it to the city's topography. The local landowning elites may have been the same people whom Choniates in his *Memorandum to Alexios III Angelos*[133] later calls the '*kastrenoi*'. This name was already attributed to the permanent guard on the Acropolis,[134] but it may also have referred to the local landowners.[135] The same word was used later in the Aegean settlements to describe the members of the old, wealthy families that had once lived in the fortified areas.[136] If Choniates was referring to this group, we should conjecture that the local aristocracy lived in the part of the city that was encircled by the Post-Herulian wall. The existence of a *tzinganisterion*[137] indicates that the *archontes* of Athens upheld some aristocratic customs, as they are indeed said to have done in Lacedaemonia during the same period in the *Life of Hosios Nikon*.[138]

The Parthenon graffiti give us the names and years of tenure for six metropolitans of Athens from the tenth century and six for the eleventh. Some of these are widely known. Leo, metropolitan between 1060 and 1069, who held the titles of *synkellos*[139] (of the patriarchate?) and rector,[140] built a tower,

probably on the Acropolis, and an inscription relating to it is kept in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.[141] Poorly written and marred by misspellings, the inscription reveals the founder was not an educated man. But what is of greater interest is its revelation that already in the eleventh century the local hierarchs had administrative duties related to the city's defense.

Figure 240 Michael Choniates. Fresco in the church of Hagios Petros of Kalyvia Kouvaras, in Attica.

As previously stated, the wide distribution of the architectural forms found in the churches of Athens and in church building practices across mainland Greece and the islands may have been owed to the fact that many bishoprics

in the Middle Byzantine period fell under the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Athens,[142] a view that was formulated long ago by Orlandos.[143] The wide distribution of the same forms in the Mani has not been studied.

In 1084 the plague is believed to have hit Athens.[144]

As in the eleventh, in the twelfth century,[145] too, the sources of information about Athens are very scant, until the year 1182 when Michael Choniates arrived as metropolitan (Fig. 240). His writings have been repeatedly discussed with regard to their reliability and his indifference to the art and architecture of his day. There is a clear disjunction between his complaints about the poor quality of provincial life[146] and his activities as metropolitan, as between his low estimation of his flock[147] and his care for it.[148] This patent intention to demonstrate his prowess in the language and letters of ancient Greece[149] was married to his tendency to write letters which, in their dozens,[150] provide information about individuals and affairs of his day, communicating the atmosphere of a time characterized by great troubles that culminated in the catastrophe of 1204.

From the eleventh to the last quarter of the twelfth century, little seems to have changed in Athens. The settlements that gradually developed outside the Post-Herulian wall from the eleventh century experienced their greatest prosperity, with houses and workshops flourishing until the end of the period. At least eight Athenian churches can be dated to the twelfth century,[151] one of which (and the most important), the Gorgoepekoos, seems to belong to the last quarter of the century.

We have already provided considerable information about the fortifications of Athens.[152] It should perhaps be accepted that during the last part of this period the defenses ceased to be kept in good repair and offer effective defense, except for the Acropolis, as was claimed by Michael Choniates and proved in the assault by Leo Sgouros.

The large area covered by the city indicates demographic growth. In Choniates's *Memorandum*[153] he describes the sudden drop in the population in his day: 'our city of Athens was already long since emptied of the crowd of its inhabitants by one disaster after another. Now there is a danger that the

fabled Scythian desert will encircle it.'[154] He attributes the drop to the tremendous tax burden, especially in Athens. But it is not documented in the excavated remains. Or, rather, it was undocumentable.

Despite the protestations by Choniates and the confirmed maladministration of the provinces, it is accepted today that until the end of the twelfth century Greece experienced relative prosperity.[155] This is confirmed by the sharp rise in coin circulation attested in the Agora excavations[156] and indicates not only commercial activity but also the monetization of the economy.[157] It is considered likely that a mint[158] operated in Athens under Manuel I (1143–1180).

Considerable evidence concerning secondary production in Athens – both with regards to commerce and industry – has already been discussed.[159] This activity was obviously (as Choniates affirms)[160] much smaller-scale in comparison with production in Corinth, Chalcis, and Thebes; nevertheless, the basis of the economy was primary production. Piraeus (about which we do not have specific information) was on the route between Thessalonica and the West and its importance was as a stopover, not a center of export.[161] In the twelfth century, Piraeus was under the jurisdiction of a state official.[162] The free trading privileges granted to the Venetians under Alexios III included Athens,[163] though in what exactly their trade consisted we are not informed, unlike the case of Corinth.

The erection of churches in Athens and its environs in the twelfth century is one further indication of economic prosperity.[164] A truly lavish expenditure of money was manifest in the erection, at the turn of the eleventh to twelfth century, of the Daphni monastery, whose founders remain unknown, although it is reasonable to assume that they were Athenians. The size of the monastery, which was surrounded by a defensive wall,[165] and the luxury apparent in the construction and decoration of its *katholikon* testify to enormous investment in a provincial monument.

Especially characteristic of the last two decades of the twelfth century is the alienation of Constantinople from the provinces. It is clear that there developed a political ideology[166] aimed against the consumerist establishment

of the capital which constantly and increasingly neglected the provinces. Choniates expressed precisely this conviction that the entire empire furnished the capital with consumer goods[167] while the only concern of the state was tax collection. The capital did not cease to be the cultural and religious center for all Greek peoples, but there was a certain rivalry with the provinces,[168] as well as cultural variations (like those mentioned by Choniates) also expressed in the realm of church architecture between the two 'schools' that became ever more perceptible.

Entrance into Athens was forbidden to state officials by imperial decree,[169] but they got round it under the pretense of participation in the pilgrimage to the Theotokos shrine in the Parthenon, which was resented by the Athenians since they were obliged to pay the expenses. The local authorities had, practically speaking, passed to the metropolitan, who lived on the Acropolis and was responsible even for defense.[170] We do not have in Athens the phenomenon of strong local leadership that took initiatives, developed autonomously and refused the state officials, as was the case in Lacedaemonia, Argos and Monemvasia.[171] The centrifugal tendencies[172] in Athens were limited. Choniates penned flattering addresses for the men of power[173] who came to Athens, but did not omit to write also about their injustices, unlawful enrichment and arbitrariness. Many of the officials in charge of the themes lived permanently in the capital and were indifferent to the problems experienced in the provinces. An overview of the reasons that led to the dissolution of the Byzantine state mechanism in the last years of the twelfth century has been provided by Judith Herrin.[174]

The poor condition of the city that is described by Choniates is attributed by some to the Norman occupation[175] and by others to the Saracens.[176] Neither can be confirmed. Norman occupations of cities are known from other sources, and piratical attacks from Aegina or Makronesos were made mainly along the coast in '*skaphidia*'[177], in order to plunder rather than occupy cities. It is also unclear whether Athens suffered from the plague[178] of 1172.

What consequences the reorganization of the state had on the built environment of Athens we cannot know. The neglected and ruinous state of

the defenses is known to us only from Choniates[179] and not from the walls themselves since they have been destroyed. The only secure information derives from excavation, which revealed extensive fire damage, probably at the end of the twelfth century, and has been interpreted as the result of the attack by Leo Sgouros.[180]

In this climate of the dissolution seen in the state structure at the end of the Middle Byzantine period, the organization of the Church alone remained solid.[181] As in the eleventh century, too, the metropolis of Athens included the same bishoprics as before, but they are referred to by new names: of the islands Kea and Kythnos, on the one hand, and of Moundinitsa, Megara,[182] and Thisbe (medieval Kastorion), on the other.[183] Matters related to ecclesiastical organization and the status of the metropolis of Athens have often been the subject of research.[184]

The combination of the information gleaned from the Parthenon graffiti and the *Synodikon* of Athens[185] provides a full catalogue of twelfth-century metropolitans, including the date of death for most of them:

Niketas † 1103	Georgios † 1160
Epiphanios	Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites † 1175
Nikephoros † 1163	Ioannes
Leo Xeros † 1163 Michael	Choniates 1182–1204

Except for Ioannes, the metropolitans who cover the period between 1121 and 1204 belonged to families that produced distinguished generals, jurists and political officials.[186] Their appointment was of considerable significance, given the great importance of the metropolis of Athens as a result of the extensive bishoprics subject to it and the increased responsibilities which had been assigned to its metropolitan. The lead seals of the metropolitans[187] show the Theotokos Athenaïs (or in Athens) and testify to the appeal of the city's pilgrimage shrine.

We learn from the *Praktikon*[188] that the metropolis of Athens had incomes from landed estates[189] – it mentions indirectly five such properties. The

metropolis also had private property inside the city of Thebes,[190] mentioned in the *Praktikon*, and it is known that the metropolitan of Athens had a residence in Constantinople.[191] It is also believed that workshops were taxed by the metropolis.[192] The metropolitan of Athens was a member of the Synod,[193] played a role in the conferment of official appointments,[194] and Michael Choniates in particular traveled to the capital to participate in official feasts.[195]

All of the above were related to the importance of the metropolis of Athens, but also to the question of patronage and ecclesiastical works, which are of direct relevance to our topic. In the context of the medieval Parthenon we have already discussed the bare references made by Nikolaos Agiotheodorites[196] and Michael Choniates[197] to the work done on the Great Church 'Megalos Naos'. We have noted the discovery on the Acropolis of an inscription, probably referring to a foundation,[198] that mentions some '*proedros* [i.e. bishop] of Methone'. It is believed, with good reason, that the church of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos was the work of Michael Choniates.[199] And if we accept the view that the metropolitan residence was situated at that time in the Pinakotheke of the Propylaia, then we should also accept that the small church, accessible from there, was the chapel of the metropolitan and the work of one of the last men to hold that office in the Middle Byzantine period. Consequently, the metropolitans of Athens emerge as the only known and probable patrons of architectural works in the twelfth century.

It is not known when the pilgrimage of the Theotokos in the Parthenon was established. We do not know whether the dedication was inspired by some icon of the Panagia, or from the church itself which, despite the various disfigurations it had endured,[200] still retained its grandeur. The truth is that the Great Church 'Megalos Naos' passed without comment, reference or praise – except from Choniates,[201] and his were limited to general expressions of admiration. The same can be said for the laudations by Choniates's nephew[202] that were included in the monody he wrote for his uncle.

As we have already seen,[203] of special political importance for Athens were the pilgrimage and offering of dedications by the emperor Basil II after his

victory against the Bulgars. This can be contrasted with the spiritual motivation behind the visits by the three monks who played the most important roles in the revival of monastic life in medieval Greece. Each visited the church to express his devotion to the Theotokos, but in none of the three *Lives* – of Loukas,[204] Nikon,[205] or Meletios[206] – is any icon mentioned, but only the church of the Panagia. Michael Choniates mentions other visitors at the end of the twelfth century, such as Basileios Kamateros,[207] brother of the wife of Alexios III, and the *megas dux* Michael Stryphnos[208] with his wife. He also mentions state officials and their retinues who used the pretext of pilgrimage to the Theotokos to visit Athens at the expense of the local inhabitants.[209]

Later traditions talk about an icon of the Panagia Atheniotissa,[210] and there is information about another icon with the inscription 'Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἀθηναία' that was preserved in the patriarchal church in Cairo.[211] But these are probably not related to the (presumed) original icon.

Nevertheless, churches and monasteries dedicated in honor of the Panagia Atheniotissa could be found in the wider Byzantine world, for example, in southwest Asia Minor in the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion[212] in 1186 and, with a later attestation, in Pontos at Soteroupolis.[213] In Constantinople, among the foundations of Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes was a monastery 'of the Mother of God Atheniotissa'[214] We possess no further information about these now nonextant monuments. The notion that their name derived from an icon type of the Theotokos Atheniotissa should be excluded.[215] Invocations to the Panagia as 'Mistress [Δέσποινα] of Athens' are preserved in the Parthenon graffiti.[216]

The importance of the cult of the Theotokos in Middle Byzantine Athens is also attested on surviving lead seals[217] of four Athenian metropolitans: of Sabbas, perhaps ninth century,[218] an otherwise unknown Georgios,[219] Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites,[220] and one Michael, probably Choniates.[221] They show an image of the Theotokos and the relevant inscription,[222] but there is a problem with the suggestion that some icon in the Parthenon was the prototype, because the three later lead seals show the Panagia as Hodegetria,

whereas in the first, belonging to Metropolitan Sabbas, she appears in the Panagia Blachernitissa type.

The *martyrion* of Leonides, bishop of Athens,[223] and his fellow martyrs was completely neglected by the medieval Athenians, even though this, too, should naturally have been a pilgrimage shrine, at least one of local importance. Choniates reminds his flock of the martyr and his shrine, and reprimands them for their indifference.

Notes

1 Mommsen, *Athenae*.

2 Gregorovius, *Geschichte*.

3 T. Neroutsos, Χριστιανικαί Ἀθῆναι, *ΔΙΕΕ* 3 (1889) 3 ff.

4 Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*; idem, *Ἀθῆναι*; idem, *Μνημεῖα*, op. cit.

5 Veis, Ἀθῆναι.

6 Koder and Hild, *Hellas*, 60–67, 126–129.

7 Janin, *Centres*, 298–340.

8 Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*.

9 K. M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (six articles) (London 1975).

10 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 125–162.

11 J. M. Hussey (ed.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (Cambridge 1966) 184, 383, 389, 518.

12 *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους* (Athens 1970–78) vols. 7–9.

13 M. Pavan, *L'aventura del Parthenone. Un monumento nella storia* (Firenze 1983) 37–52.

14 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 18–21.

15 Ch. Bouras, Middle Byzantine Athens, *GLASS, CCCXC de l'Académie Serbe des sciences et des arts* 11 (2001) 103–113.

16 Chatzidakis, *Ἀττική*, 9–11.

17 *ODB* I, 221–223 *s.v.* Athens (T. Gregory and N. Ševčenko).

18 G. Sotiriou, Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀθηνῶν κατά τούς χριστιανικούς χρόνους, *EMME*, A1 (1927) 2–26.

19 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 3–5, including bibliography; Camp, *Agora*, 197.

20 P. Castrén (ed.), *Post Herulian Athens*, Finnish Institut Papers I (Helsinki 1994) passim; G. Fowden, City and mountain in Late Roman Attica, *JHS* 108 (1988) 48–59.

21 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 52–53.

22 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 104; P. Castrén, General aspects of life, Post Herulian Athens, in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post Herulian Athens* (Helsinki 1994) 1.

23 W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., New Parthenon finds in the Agora, *AAA* 4 (1971) 264–268; idem, New fragments of the Parthenon in the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 132–155.

24 Ibid. (1971) 268.

25 Travlos, *Dictionary*, 262.

26 I. Travlos, Ἡ πυρπόλησις τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ὑπό τῶν Ἐρούλων καί ἡ ἐπισκευή του κατά τούς χρόνους τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰουλιανοῦ, *ArchEph* 112 (1973) 218–236. Different views on the problem, A. Frantz, Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?, *AJA* 83 (1979) 395–401; Ch. Bouras, Alaric in Athens, *DChAE* 33 (2012) 1–6.

27 A. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, Γ' (Athens 1978) 464, 465, including bibliography.

28 M. Korres, *Μελέτη ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, 4 (Athens 1994) 63–106.

29 I. Travlos, Ἡ πυρπόλησις, op. cit., 226–232.

30 See above pp. 146–148.

31 See Kat. Karapli, Ἡ Ἀθήνα καί οἱ βαρβαρικές ἐπιδρομές. Ἀρχιτεκτονική καί πολεοδομία ἀπό τήν Ἀρχαιότητα ἕως σήμερα. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς Ἀθήνας, in *Πρακτικά Διεπιστημονικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Athens 1997) for a full reference of the written sources. For new arguments in support of the theory of A. Frantz in which she argued that it was the Visigoths who set Parthenon on fire, see Bouras, op. cit.

32 A. Frantz, A public building of Late Antiquity in Athens, *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 194–203.

33 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 52–53; Camp, *Agora*, 198–199.

34 G. Dontas, based on indications from written sources, first attributed the house to Proklos (Μαρίνος, *Βίος Πρόκλου*, 29). See Brouskari, Ἀνασκαφές, 73 and n. 88, 91, 92. See also P. Castrén, op. cit., 115–140; Thompson, Twilight, 68; S. Vryonis, The Ghost of Athens in Byzantine and Ottoman times, *Balkan Studies* 43 (2002) 10–23; Frantz, Late Antiquity, 34, 42, 44–47, mainly 43 n. 169. For changes in architecture during the fifth century, see P. Bovini, Erat Athenis spatiosa, *ASAtene* (2004) 236.

35 A. Frantz, The date of Phaidros bema in the Theater of Dionysos, in *Studies … presented to Homer A. Thompson* (Princeton, NJ 1982) 34–39.

36 For a brief report on the conservation of the ancient temples of the city, see G. Sotiriou, in *EMME*, A1, 33–50. On the early Christian basilicas of Athens, see Travlos, *Ἀθῆναι*; A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens, *DOP* 19 (1965) 187–205.

37 The Ilissos basilica, the Klematios basilica at the foot of Mt Lykabettos and the basilica in the position of Hagios Loukas at Patissia.

38 H. Thompson in Frantz, Late Antiquity, 95–116.

39 I. Travlos, Τό τετράκογχο οἰκοδόμημα τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ in *Φίλια Ἔπη εἰς Γ.Ε. Μυλωνᾶν*, Α' (Athens 1986) 343–347; A. Karivieri, The so called Library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens, in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post Herulian Athens* (Helsinki 1994) 89–114; Frantz, Late Antiquity, 44, 72, pl. 51; Krautheimer, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 119, 121, 230, 473.

40 On the city during the fifth and sixth centuries, see N. Gioles, *Ἡ Ἀθήνα στούς πρώτους χριστιανικούς αἰῶνες* (Athens 2005).

41 Loungis, Ἐξέλιξη, 36–43.

42 Ibid., 43–51.

43 J. Beaucamp, Le philosophe et le joueur. La date de la «fermeture de l'école d'Athènes», in V. Déroche (ed.), *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, Travaux et Mémoires* 14 (Paris 2002) 21–35; A. Cameron, The last days of the academy at Athens, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 15 (1969) 7–29.

44 See above pp. 16–17.

45 Loungis, Ἐξέλιξη, 57 n. 60, 61.

46 The city of Patras included. See A. Moutzali, Ἡ πόλη τῶν Πατρῶν κατά τόν 6ο καί τόν 7ο αἰ. Ἡ μυθολογία τῆς ἐγκατάλειψης, in P. Themelis (ed.), *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη καί Ὀλυμπία*, 2

(Athens 2002) 185. On the advance of the Slavs in the Peloponnese, see M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Σλαβικές ἐγκαταστάσεις στή μεσαιωνική Ἑλλάδα* (Athens 2000) 36, n. 31.

47 Thompson, Twilight, 70–72; Camp, *Agora*, 212.

48 As in the area of the ancient Tholos in the Agora. H. Thompson, The Tholos of Athens and its predecessors, *Hesperia*, Supplement 4 (1940) 121–126.

49 K. Biris, *Τοπωνυμικά τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens 1945). In the catalogue of the *Praktikon* (Granstrem et al., Praktikon) there are no Slavic place-names and very few Slavic names of paroikoi. In Attica only eighteen Slavic place-names are detected (M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 68).

50 D. M. Metkalf, The Slavonic threat to Greece, circa 580: Some evidence from Athens, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 134–157.

51 Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 149.

52 Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity, op. cit., 197; Frantz, Late Antiquity, 93; Kaldellis (2009) 61.

53 P. Charanis, The significance of coins as evidence for the history of Athens, *Historia* IV, 2–3 (1955) 163–172.

54 Thompson, Twilight, 70.

55 Camp, *Agora*, 212.

56 S. Vryonis, The Ghost of Athens, op. cit., 1, 32.

57 *ODB* I, 221–223 *s.v.* Athens (T. Gregory and N. Ševčenko).

58 Tanoulas, *Προπύλαια*, 18 n. 57, 58.

59 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 123.

60 Ibid., 93 n. 232, 234. A gold solidus of the year 705 was recently found in the excavation of Amalias Ave. O. Zachariadou, *Ἡ πόλη κάτω ἀπό τήν πόλη* (Athens 2000) 189, cat. no. 178; Choremi (1996) 27; Alexandri (1962) 63, 75; I. Touratsoglou, *Σύνταγμα βυζαντινῶν «θησαυρῶν»* (Athens 2002) 75.

61 Frantz, Late Antiquity, 118 n. 7, 119; Camp, *Agora*, 214.

62 A. Frantz, From Paganism to Christianity, op. cit., 199.

63 Constans's intentions to erect prestigious buildings in his capital are evident in the looting of building materials from Rome. C. Mango, Antique statuary and Byzantine beholder, *DOP* 17 (1963) 58 n. 21.

64 Known as building E'. Eleutheratou and Saraga, 51–54. Plan of the whole area pp. 47 and 49.

65 Except for minor general reports, the building is unpublished. Its dating is based on some coins of Heraclius and Constans II, see idem, 53.

66 Camp, *Agora*, 214.

67 Thompson and Wycherley, 216.

68 *ODB* II, 1296 *s.v.* Marble trade (including bibliography) (A. Cutler); J. P. Sodini, Stone and stoneworking in Byzantium, in Laiou, *Economic History* I, 129–146.

69 C. Mango and R. Scott (eds.), *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford 1997) 560, 561.

70 Ibid., 613.

71 The connection of Eirene with the Sarantapechos family (J. Herrin, *Women in Purple* [London 2001] 55 ff.) is not confirmed by the Theophanes text. See also Kaldellis (2009) 73.

72 For opposite views see Herrin, *Women*, op. cit., 56–57.

73 The life of Eirene is known from a unique manuscript of the middle of the twelfth or thirteenth century (Analecta Bollandiana 21, 1902, 14, 6). See W. Treadgold, The unpublished life of the Empress Irene, *Byz. Forschungen* 8 (1982) 237–251 and P. Schreiner, Réflexions sur la famille impériale à Byzance (VIIIe-Xe siècles), *Byzantion* 61 (1991) 188.

74 M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 82, no. 111, cat. no. Byz. Museum 546, T.217; C. Barsanti, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 4 (1993) 207–208.

75 Of the type of cruciform monograms.

76 As in the church of the Theotokos tes Peges (*ODB* III, 1616).

77 According to the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (Mango and Scott, op. cit., 658, n. 11) the Empress was exiled to Athens. According to Theophanes (ibid., 658) to Lesbos, where she died.

78 Ibid., 664.

79 Ibid., 677.

80 A. Orlandos, Une inscription Byzantine inédite du Parthénon, *BCH* 70 (1946) 418–427; Kaldellis (2009) 80; O. Karageorgou, Ἀπό τό σιγγιλογραφικό corpus τοῦ θέματος τῆς Ἑλλάδος, *27ον Συμπόσιον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 27 (2007) 44.

81 Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*, 55; Orlandos and Vranousis, 129–130.

82 Orlandos and Vranousis, 27.

83 Idem, 27, 31.

84 Ibid., 35. See also Kaldellis (2009) 74–80.

85 According to two inscriptions, the promotion of Athens to metropolis was much earlier. The first, of 851, is found in the church of the Hagioi Anargyroi Panagia Marmariotissa on Mt Pendeli (Orlandos, *Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς*, 201); the second, of 895, in Episkopi on Skyros (Ch. Bouras, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονική τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Σκύρου, *DChAE* 2, [1960–61] 66), in which the metropolitan of Athens is mentioned. According to the Paris *Taktikon* the promotion occurred even earlier, in 733. See G. Konidaris, Πότε προήχθησαν αἱ Ἀθῆναι εἰς μητρόπολιν, *PraktAkAth* 10 (1935) 285–291; V. Laurent, L'érection de la Métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de lllyricum au VIIIe s., *REB* 1 (1943) 68–71.

86 Bekker (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus: Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius monachus*, 11 (Bonnae 1838) 249, 9; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin* (Paris 1951) 171n. 3; Kaldellis (2009) 92–93.

87 Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, in G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins (eds.), *De administrando Imperio* (Washington 1967) 242.

88 Mango and Scott, *Chronicle*, op. cit., 650, 658 n. 11; Anonymous Monk, *Βίος Εὐθυμίου*, A. Alexakis ed. (Athens 2006) 31 n. 13, 39 n. 22; I. Skylitzes, *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*, I. Thurn ed. (Berlin and New York 1973) 174, 180.

89 Mango and Scott, *Chronicle*, op. cit., 585.

90 J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg 1910) 365–376; Millet, *École*, 252; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 160; A. Kyrou, Νομισματικές μαρτυρίες ... στόν νότιο ἑλλαδικό χῶρο κατά τούς «σκοτεινούς αἰῶνες», *Πελοποννησιακά* 29 (2007–08) 249.

91 See above p. 288.

92 D. Kambouroglous, *Ἡ ἅλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπό τῶν Σαρακηνῶν* (Athens 1934). The threnos (lamentation) is preserved in a manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The text, in a popular style with many syntactical errors and obscurities, refers to the capture of the city by Persians, who can be read as Arabs, Turks or others. In Kambouroglous (1934), see other studies on the same text.

93 K. M. Setton, On the raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the 9th and 10th centuries and their alleged ocupation of Athens, *AJA* 58 (1954) 315.

94 Four from the Agora, one from the Roman Agora, one from the Asklepieion and one of unknown provenance. Now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum and the Stoa of Attalos.

95 G. Sotiriou, Ἀραβικά λείψανα ἐν Ἀθήναις κατά τούς βυζαντινούς χρόνους, *PraktAkAth* 2 (1929) 266–272; idem, Διακοσμήσεις.

96 Ibid., 88–20.

97 K. M. Setton, op. cit., 311–319.

98 Idem, 318.

99 Miles, Byzantium and Arabs.

100 Idem, 19–20. Photographs of the inscriptions fig. 15, 16, 17.

101 G. Miles, The Arab mosque in Athens, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 329–344.

102 Ibid., 344.

103 Ibid., 18. Only four Arab coins among thousands are found in the Agora. See also D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820–1326* (London 1979) 35–36; G. Miles, The circulation of Islam coinage in the 8th–12th centuries in Greece, *Congresso Intern. di Numismatica*, 2 (Roma 1965) 458–498.

104 As a bronze ewer found in Eleusis, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities*, 1, Metalwork (Washington, DC 1962); Miles, Byzantium and Arabs, op. cit., fig. 18, 19.

105 G. Miles, op. cit., 18 n. 92.

106 Ibid., 18 n. 93.

107 Sotiriou, Διακοσμήσεις, 90.

108 V. Christidis, The raids of the Moslem of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and conquest, *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 99.

109 T. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatengeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 2, Diplomata XII-XIV (Wien 1856–1862) 1, no. 3, 3.

110 S. D. Goitein (ed.), *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton 1973).

111 Of the first phase of the church. Dating based on the inscription (Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 85, 87).

[12] We have only the inscription of the demolished church (Orlandos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν-Ἀττικῆς, 201–202).

[13] M. Sotiriou, Ὁ ναός τῆς Σκριποῦς Βοιωτίας, *ArchEph* 70 (1931) 119–157; Bouras, *Ἱστορία*, 159, 160; Idem, *Greece*, 75–77.

[14] Vokotopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 205.

[15] J. Herrin, Aspects of the process of Hellenization in the early Middle Ages, *BSA* 68 (1973) 113–126; A.H.S. Megaw, The Skripou Screen, *BSA* 61 (1966) 20–23 (The historical setting).

[16] Loungis, Ἐξέλιξη, 58 ff.

[17] N. Oikonomides, The first century of the monastery of Hosios Loukas, *DOP* 46 (1992) 254.

[18] D. Sofianos, *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς*, Ἁγιολογική βιβλιοθήκη, 1 (Athens 1989).

[19] O. Lampsidis, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου ὅσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε* (Athens 1982).

[20] I. Zonaras, *Ἐπιτομή ἱστοριῶν*, I. Grigoriadis ed. (Athens 1999) 58.

[21] Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή καί Μεταβυζαντινή ἀρχιτεκτονική στήν Ἑλλάδα* (Athens 2001) 85.

[22] M. Psellos, *Χρονογραφία*, Vr. Karalis ed. (Athens 1992) 80; I. Zonaras, op. cit., 54.

[23] On the contrary, he had it in mind to demolish the monastery founded by Basil Lekapenos (M. Psellos, op. cit., 66, 68). The opinion that the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas is an imperial foundation of Basil II (P. Mylonas, *Μονή Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη* [Athens 2005] 86–87) is unjustified.

[24] For general information on the situation in southern Greece during the eleventh century, see Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*, 66 ff.

[25] The information from Georgian chronicles that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries young scholars were sent to Athens to learn Greek and philosophy (Gregorovius, *Geschichte*, 235–236) is not confirmed elsewhere.

[26] N. Oikonomides, The first century, op. cit., 253; G. Dagron, The urban economy 7th–12th centuries, in Laiou, *Economic History* II, 404–405.

[27] An indication of demographic expansion. People from Sicily and South Italy emigrated during the second half of the century to Greece. Herrin, Organisation, 135; Svoronos, Cadastre, 68–71.

[28] C. Morrisson, Byzantine money: Its production and circulation, in Laiou, *Economic History* III, 958 ff, pl. 6–5.

[29] Xyngopoulos, Μνημεῖα Ἀθηνῶν, 73.

[30] Like the *protospatharios* Leo who built the church at Orchomenos (Skripou). See N. Oikonomides, Pour une nouvelle lecture des inscriptions de Skripou en Béotie, *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994) 489. The title of Nikolaos was inferior to Leo's. See N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines* (Paris 1992) 297.

[31] Bouras, Soteira, 11 n. 6; Orlandos, *Ὅμορφη Ἐκκλησιά*, 38.

[32] Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 35. Michael Choniates was in correspondence with members of the Pastophilos (or Pistophilos) family. See Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B, 232, 303, 622, 641.

[33] Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 311.

[34] See above p. 53 n. 329.

[35] For this obscure passage by Choniates, see Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B, 518–519.

[36] As e.g. on the island of Siphnos. See A. Tzakou, Σίφνος, *Ἑλληνική παραδοσιακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*, B' (Athens 1982) 184, 210.

[37] Gransterm et al., Praktikon, 26, 33.

[38] O. Lampsidis, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου Ὅσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε*, op. cit., 80, 428, 458. See also Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καί πολιτισμός*, Γ', op. cit., 139–142.

[39] *ODB* III, 1993–1994 *s.v.* Synkellos (A. Papadakis).

[40] Δούξ, ἡγεμών, ὀρθωτής, ἄρχων ἐπαρχίας, according Du Cange, col. 1280, 1287.

[41] M. Sklavou-Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά*, op. cit., 147, no. 201. See also above p. 21 n. 66.

[42] The metropolis had jurisdiction over the following bishoprics: Euripos (Chalcis), Koroneia, Diauleia, Andros, Oreoi, Skyros, Karystos, Eretria, Avlon and Syros. See Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*, 71, 72.

[43] A. Orlandos, Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἄνδρου, *ABME* 8 (1955–56) 4 n. 2, 24.

[44] K. M. Konstantopoulos, Ἄγνωστος εἰς Ἀθήνας λοιμός κατά τούς μέσους χρόνους, *Ἁρμονία* 1 (1900) 110–120; G. Sotiriou, *EMME* A1 (1927) 13.

[45] On a general view of Athens during the twelfth century, see Setton, Athens.

[46] *Χωνιάτης* (ed. Lambros) 11: 'there is a lack not only of philosophical men, but even artisans … seeing dilapidated walls and deserted streets and a cause for tears'; 12: 'from here the great city is just a mass of ruins, once far famed'; 17: 'the glorious emptiness of what was once a noble city'; 19: 'Alas,

how I have been condemned to this exile, alas for this least of all places into which we have descended as into a place of weeping and there is a great divide between us tortured souls on this side and you who repose in the bosom of Abraham'; 23: 'I slipped down from the fullness of happiness and was dragged into the valley of wailing.'

47 *Χωνιάτης* (ed. Lambros) 41: 'The endless wilderness of Athens and its deprivation not only of other good things but even of friendship and love in Christ'; 44: 'Just a barbarian mob that rejects philosophy and where once there were Atticists now there are only barbarists'; and 564.

48 The care for his flock is obvious in the letters he had sent when he was in exile.

49 The meaning of the poem (Lambros, op. cit., 397, 398) remains obscure, mainly of the last verse ἴνδαλμα ταύτης γραφικῶς ἐστησάμην ... (I set up graphically its appearance ...). Did Choniates mean that he commissioned a painting of ancient Athens from an artist, or is he referring to the composition of this poem? See H. G. Beck, *Ἡ βυζαντινή χιλιετία* (Athens 1990) 443–444. Sp. Lambros accepted that the «ἴνδαλμα» was a painting (*Ἀθῆναι* 57). See also P. Speck, A Byzantine depiction of Ancient Athens, in S. Takács (ed.), *Understanding Byzantium: Studies in Byzantine Historical Studies* (Ashgate 2005) 29–32; Kaldelis (2009) 156–157.

50 Ph. Kolovou, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Berlin and New York 2001).

51 The Gorgoepekoos, the chapel of the Propylaia, Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos, Hagios Ioannes Theologos in Plaka, Megale Panagia, Omorfi Ekklesia at Galatsi and the *katholikon* of the Kaisariani monastery.

52 See above pp. 17–25.

53 To the emperor Alexios III in 1198. Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, 307–311, 512–519; G. Stadtmüller (ed.), *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Memorantum to Alexios III Angelos (Rome 1934) 282–286.

54 For the Scythian desert, see B. Katsaros (ed.), *Λεξικό Σουίδα* (Thessaloniki 2002) 1039.

55 Herrin, Organisation, 136–137. In an encomium of the emperor Manuel I (1161) the renewal of the cities is mentioned. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (S. Peterburg 1913) 169, 173; G. Dagron, The urban economy, op. cit., 401–403.

56 C. Morrisson, Byzantine money, op. cit., 958, pl. 5–6.

57 N. Oikonomides, Σέ ποιό βαθμό ἦταν ἐκχρηματισμένη ἡ μεσοβυζαντινή οἰκονομία; *Ροδωνιά. Τιμή στόν Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα* (Rethymnon 1994) 363–370.

[58] F. S. Kleiner, *Mediaeval and Modern Greek Coins in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1978) 16.

[59] See above pp. 115–124.

[60] Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 98, 514, 583.

[61] H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966) 168.

[62] Ibid., 228.

[63] G. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels – und Staatengeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 1 (Wien 1856) 2665; H. Ahrweiler, op. cit., 277.

[64] For the creation of one more monastery by a certain Symeon, see P. Gautier (ed.), *Theophylaktos Achridos* (Thessaloniki 1980) 329. Of the eleventh or twelfth century.

[65] Ch. Bouras, The Daphni monastic complex reconsidered, in I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (eds.), *Ἀετός, Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998) 1–14.

[66] H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975) 87–102. Patriotisme provincial et attitude anticonstantinopolitain.

[67] Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 83, 578.

[68] Herrin, Realities, 282–284; eadem, Collapse, 198.

[69] Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 308 «... καθότι προσκυνητόν χρυσόβουλλον καί αὐτήν ἀπείργει τήν εἰς Ἀθήνας αὐτῷ πάροδον» (given that the respected chrysobull prohibited even his entrance in Athens); Herrin, Realities, 259–260.

[70] Herrin, Realities, 258, 266.

[71] A. Bon, *Le Peloponnèse byzantin* (Paris 1951) 124–125.

[72] H. Ahrweiler, op. cit., 66; D. Zakythinos, *Βυζάντιον* (Athens 1951) 124.

[73] To the *praetor* Nikephoros Prosouch (Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 142, B', 455), the *praetor* Demetrios Drimys (ibid., A', 157–179, B', 460), the *megas dux* Michael Stryphnos (Ibid., A', 324, B', 531) and the *logothetes* Basileios Kamateros (Ibid., B', 312, 530).

[74] Herrin, The Collapse.

[75] View of Spyridon Lambros. Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 461; Idem, *Ἀθῆναι*, 14, 32.

[76] Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 162.

77 Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*, 96.

78 K. Konstantopoulos, Ἄγνωστος ἐν Ἀθήναις λοιμός κατά τούς μέσους χρόνους, *Ἁρμονία* 1 (1900) 119–120.

79 See above p. 23 and nn. 74–76.

80 Thompson and Wycherley, 218 n. 30; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, 163 n. 1, 2; Kaldelis (2009) 162–165.

81 Herrin, Organisation.

82 Ibid., 13.

83 A. Dunn, The rise and fall of towns, loci of maritime traffic, and silk production: The problem of Thrisvi-Kastorion, in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge 2006) 38–69.

84 V. Grumel, *Les regestres des actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople* (Bucarest 1947) 1, 3; V. Laurent, La liste épiscopale de la Métropole d'Athènes, in *Mémoire Louis Petit* (Bucarest 1948) 272–291; Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινή Ἑλλάς*, 70–73; Herrin, Organisation; Veis, Ἀθῆναι; S. Lambros, Ἐπίσκοποι Ἀθηνῶν, *NE* 20 (1926) 22–24. According to Neilos Doxapatres under the jurisdiction of the Metropolis of Athens there were 11 bishoprics, *PG,* 132, 1108.

85 J. Gouillard, Le Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie, *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) 108.

86 For general information and bibliographical notes on the families of Xeros, Bourtzes and Hagiotheodorites, see *ODB* III, 2210, 317–318 and 899 respectively (A. Kazhdan). On Michael Choniates and his brother Niketas the historian see ibid., 427, 428. See also J. Darrouzès, Obit de deux métropolites d'Athènes, Léon Xeros et Georges Bourtzès, *REB* 20 (1962) 190, 196; Kaldellis (2009) 123–128.

87 N. Oikonomides, *Dated Byzantine Seals* (Washington 1986) 113, 115–116.

88 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 310, B', 516.

89 Granstrem et al., Praktikon, 8.

90 A. Dunn, *The Rise*, op. cit.

91 P. Gautier, Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator, *REB* 32 (1974) 124–125. Among the properties that were given in 1136 to the monastery of Pantokrator was ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν ('The house of the metropolitan of Athens').

192 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 54, 570; G. Dagron, The urban economy, op. cit., 418.

193 The metropolitan Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites made a proposal to the Synod of 1166. See V. Grumel, *Les regestres*, op. cit., 123.

194 Svoronos, Cadastre, 71.

195 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 256, B', 499.

196 Works mentioned on the funeral speech delivered by Euthymios Tornikes. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀθηναϊκά, *Ἁρμονία* 3 (1902) 222–223; J. Darrouzès, Notes sur Euthyme Tornikes, Euthyme Malakes et George Tornikes, *REB* 23 (1965) 148–167.

197 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, op. cit., 284.

198 See above p. 151 n. 44 and fig. 91.

199 M. Chatzidakis, *Monuments byzantins en Attique et Béotie* (Athènes 1956) 23.

200 See above pp. 146, 149, 150.

201 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 104, B', 27, 451.

202 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, op. cit., 278, πόλεως φημί λαμπρᾶς καί ἀοιδίμου, ναοῦ περικλύτου καί οὐρανίου θαλάμου καί Παρθενῶνος τῆς Θεομήτορος (I say of the brilliant and famous in songs of the city, of the renowned temple, the heavenly chamber, the Virgin room of the Mother of God).

203 See above p. 305 n. 121 and Kaldellis (2009) 81–91.

204 D. Sophianos, *Ὁ βίος*, op. cit., 166, πρός τάς Ἀθήνας ἔρχονται καί τῶν ἐκεῖσε νεῶν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Μητρός εἰσελθόντες καί προσευξάμενοι (They come to Athens and to the temple there of the Mother of God, they entered and they prayed)

205 O. Lampsidis, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου ὅσιος Νίκων*, op. cit., 54, Εἶχον οὖν Ἀθῆναι τόν Ὅσιον καί ὁ καιρός ἐκάλει τά εἰωθότα αὐτῷ ἐκτελεῖν. Καί ἐπεί τό αἰπείνιον κατέλαβε τῆς πόλεως, ἔνθη δή ὁ περιώνυμος ἵδρυται ναός θεῖος τῆς Θεομήτορος (Athens had the presence of the Hosios and the opportunity called him to accomplish the usual [task]. Since he reached the seaport of the city, where is founded the famous and divine temple of the Mother of God.) See also Kaldellis (2009) 97.

206 Chr. Papadopoulos, *Ὁ ὅσιος Μελέτιος ὁ νέος*, op. cit., 76, τό γουν ἐκεῖσε πανσέπτῳ τῆς πανσέμνου τεμένει ἐπιδημήσας καί τάς εὐχάς ἀποδόμενος τῷ Θεῷ (From there he goes to the sanctuary of the all venerable and the all-modest [Theotokos] and renders his prayers to God.) See also Kaldellis (2009) 103.

207 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, 458; *ODB* II, 1098 *s.v.* Kamateros, John (A. Kazhdan).

208 Ibid.; *ODB* III, 1968 *s.v.* Stryphnos, Michael (A. Cutler).

209 According to the memorandum, Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 309; Herrin, Collapse, 197.

210 G. Sotiriou, Εἰσαγωγή, *EMME*, A, 1, 35 n. 3.

211 D. Kambouroglous, Ἡ Παναγία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *DChAE*, 2 (1892–94) 80–81.

212 F. Miklosich and I. Miller, *Acta et diplomata*, 6 (Vindobonae 1890) 121. The foundation of a certain Ioannikios in the locality of Hagios Ioannes tou Vatou.

213 Ibid., I (Vindobonae 1860) 477. Of the year 1364, foundation of the local metropolitan.

214 A. Failler, Pachymeriana altera, *REB* 46 (1988) 80; V. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328* (Wiesbaden 1994) 67–68.

215 A. Failler, op. cit., 83.

216 Orlandos and Vranousis, 9, no. 17.

217 On the lead seals with the representation of the Virgin, see I. Koltsida-Makri, Εἰκονογραφία τῆς Θεοτόκου ἀπό παραστάσεις μολυβδοβούλλων, in *Θωράκιον, Ἀφιέρωμα στή μνήμη τοῦ Π. Λαζαρίδη*, op. cit., 285.

218 G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Berne 1984) 400, no. 883.

219 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 452, no. 1.

220 N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington 1986) 114–115, no. 120.

221 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 452, no. 2.

222 On the lead seal of Hagiotheodorites «Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἀθηναΐς» or «Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ (ἐν) Ἀθήναις». On the seal of Michael Choniates «Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἀθηνιό(τισσα)».

223 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, A', 151, B', 459.

4

Epilogue

The Athens of legend during the Middle Ages

After the collapse of the ancient world, during the Middle Ages and even after the period addressed in this book, Athens continued to be the stuff of legend. It was believed that it had once upon a time been a unique and glorious city inhabited by philosophers and poets, the birthplace of literature and the arts. This legend[1] was fostered by the Constantinopolitan elite with its love for ancient Greek literature, but also in the collective memory of ordinary people, which is known to us mainly from Constantinople. This recollection of the greatness of classical Athens is one more testimony to the continuity between ancient culture and medieval Byzantium.

It was not unnatural for educated people, admirers of ancient literature, to feel nostalgia for the glories of classical Athens, even though they were ignorant or extremely ill-informed about the state of the city in their own day. Michael Psellos disapproved of officials who, having been posted to Athens, treated as a place of exile the place whose history he so admired, 'fabled Greece'. He proclaims that we ought to love the offspring – he means the Athenians and the Peloponnesians – for the sake of their glorious ancestors[2] 'even if they preserve nothing of their character'; and he requests information about the topography of Athens.[3] About a century later, Eustathios of Thessalonica could not hide his enthusiasm for the Athens he knew from the ancient texts: 'O sweet Athens and much-hymned Hymettus', 'Attica was the adornment of Greece', 'O that light which made Attica so famous … from

which the city of Athens too received its light', 'brilliant, golden, violet-crowned Athens'.[4] Ioannes Komnenos[5] praises '… the mother of letters, golden Athens the famous city'.

About Metropolitan Michael Choniates much has already been said. He felt nostalgia for the ancient city, he recognized many of its ancient monuments and place-names, in all probability he ordered an artistic reconstruction of it,[6] and he made use of the expression 'golden Athens'. He was terribly disappointed by his flock's educational and linguistic deficiencies and their religious sensibility, but still he lets slip his pride in 'my Athens', the city to which he has dedicated himself. He misses no opportunity to allude to its ancient glories. When one of the strongmen of those times[7] visited Athens, Choniates flattered him and at the same time admonished him: 'Come on, best of men, honor Athens by staying here. Embrace as a man of wisdom the soil in which literature (flowered); as most righteous of judges, the mother of Solon; and as a lover of Demosthenes's voice, the nurse of the rhetors and sophists. Show it your affection, if any trace of its one-time happiness can still be seen.' We may observe that the Painted Stoa to which Michael Choniates alludes was well known in Byzantium,[8] and the expression 'golden Athens' was commonplace.[9]

Choniates specially emphasizes the Athenians' lack of education at the end of the twelfth century, but that may not have been true of all our period. The abbots with whom he corresponded were evidently not uneducated, nor were the cathedral officials. But the stories about the erudition of the Athenians,[10] which deceived modern scholars, belong in fact to popular traditions reflecting events and ideas belonging to Late Antiquity, and were transmitted to us, once more, via the capital.

As we can see from the anonymous *Patria Konstantinopoleos* and the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*,[11] in the collective memory of Constantinopolitans, Athens was the city of wise men and idolaters,[12] a place that in some ideal sense had managed to remain outside time, or at least outside Christian history.[13] Men felt awe before the unknown, and superstitious beliefs gathered round the ancient works of art that adorned

Constantinople[14] and only philosophers from Athens could interpret.[15] Two statues with outstretched hands were believed to be of Athenian provenance, and one Ligurios, an idolater, explained that they were images of philosophers.[16] Another one, a seated female figure in the Hippodrome, was said to be an image of Athena, and to have come from Greece.[17] The Empress Eudocia's seven brothers (?) explained to the emperor the various signs of the zodiac in the Hippodrome, and solved riddles[18] for him too. The elephants on the Golden Gate[19] were believed to have come from Athens, as also the monolith of Strategion.[20] The Athenian philosophers persuaded Justinian not to pave Hagia Sophia completely in silver,[21] lest it be looted '… in the last days…'. Also, a false prophet called Katananges, who foretold the death of Alexios Komnenos in the Great City, was said to have been from Athens.[22] Popular imagination wrapped the ancient city in myth.

After our period, the myth of Athens kept its hold on its audience. A text composed in 1380, expressing enthusiastic admiration for the monuments on the Acropolis,[23] for the first time gets beyond myth and touches on reality. Then comes the visit by Cyriac of Ancona,[24] who is attracted by the city's fame but also, for the first time, shows real scholarly interest in classical antiquity and the monuments.

According to Kritoboulos,[25] the legend of Athens reached the ears of Mehmet II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, with the result that he was possessed by '… an overpowering love both of the city and of the wonders in it…', and accorded it privileges during his visit. But a little later, in the *Theatres and Schools of Athens* by the Vienna Anonymous of Vienna (1460)[26] and in the writings of Urbano Bolzanio (known as the Anonymous of Milan: 1475, 1485)[27] and of Evliya Çelebi,[28] we again find information derived from popular collective memory mixed with praises and the great names of antiquity, in an attempt to augment the city's prestige. These are the works of half-educated writers who are not in a position to provide reliable data for modern research.

Notes

1 On the legend of Athens, see S. Vryonis, The Ghost of Athens in Byzantine and Ottoman times, *Balkan Studies* 43 (2002) 5–115; H. Hunger, Athen in Byzanz. Traüm und Realität, *JÖB* 40 (1990) 43–61; M. Di Branco, Atene immaginaria. Il mito di Atene nella letteratura bizantina tra agiografia, teosofia e mirabilia, *RendLinc* IX, 16 (2005) fasc. 1, 65–134.

2 M. Psellos, Ἱστορικοί λόγοι, in K. Σάθας (ed.), Ἐπιστολαί, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice 1876) no λθ' (letters no 26, 32, 33, 34, 135).

3 Ibid., 258, letter no 20, recipient unknown.

4 D. Sophianos, *Βυζάντιο* (Athens 2006) 39.

5 D. Kambouroglous, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, III, op. cit., 127.

6 Lambros, *Χωνιάτης*, B', 398, 657.

7 Demetrios Drimys, *praetor* of Greece and Peloponnesus, came to Athens at the end of the year 1183 during the reign of Andronikos Komnenos (Lambros, *Χωνιάτη,ς*, B', 46). For the Drimys family, see *ODB* I, 661–662 (A. Kazhdan).

8 The ruins of the Stoa Poikile during the Middle Byzantine period certainly were covered with earth. The excavation began in 1981 (Camp, *Agora*, 66, 68–71). Michael Choniates perhaps believed that the colonnade of the façade of the Hadrian's Library was the Poikile. For other references of the monument, see R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphic Testimonies*, Athenian Agora III (Princeton 1957) 15; D. Kambouroglous, *Μνημεῖα*, op. cit., 127; M. Psellos, Ἱστορικοί λόγοι, op. cit., 268 no. 33, 472 no. 186 and in an inscription on the walls of Constantinople, see A. Rhoby, Zu Iambischen versen an einer Mauer in Konstantinopel, *BZ* 96 (2003) 685–687.

9 A. Sideras, Die unedierte trostrede des Georgios Antiochos an den Logothetes Michael Hagiotheodorites, *JÖB* 55 (2005) 147–190; A. Rhoby, Spontane Ammerkungen zum "goldenen" Athen in Byzanz, *JÖB* 56 (2006) 53–58.

10 G. Sotiriou and Gregorovius. See *EMME*, A1, 14.

11 On these two books, see *ODB* III, 1598 and 1586 (A. Kazhdan).

12 Τάς Ἀθήνας τάς θερμάς μέν πάλαι τήν εἰδωλολατρίαν, εἴπερ τις ἄλλη τῶν πόλεων ('Athens, once warm to idolatry, more than any other city'), *Βίος ὁσίου Μελετίου τοῦ νέου*, Chr. Papadopoulos ed.

(Athens 1968) 76.

13 G. Dagron, *Constantinople Imaginaire* (Paris 1984) 115.

14 C. Mango, Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder, *DOP* 17 (1963) 53–75.

15 A. Cameron and J. Herrin (eds.), *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί* (Leiden 1984) 140, 144.

16 Ibid., 62.

17 Ibid., 138.

18 Ibid., 140 ff.

19 G. Dagron, *Constantinople*, op. cit., 128.

20 Idem, 129.

21 Idem, 205, 246 n. 150.

22 B. Leib (ed.), *Anna Komnene Alexias* (Paris 1967) 59.

23 W. Miller, *Ἱστορία τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας στήν Ἑλλάδα*, transl. S. Lambros (Athens 1909) A', 447; K. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens* (London 1975) 187.

24 E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriakus of Ankona and Athens* (Bruxelles-Berchem 1960); idem, Athens in April 1436, II, *Archaeologia* 23, III (1970) 188–199.

25 Kritovoulos of Imbros, *Ἱστορία*, D. Reinsch and F. Kolovou eds. (Athens 2005) 424–427.

26 Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris 1854) 19.

27 J. M. Paton, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (Princeton 1951) 177; K. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, op. cit., 238–240. On these late texts see also S. Lambros, Δύο ἐκθέσεις περί Ἀθηνῶν, περί τά τέλη τοῦ δεκάτου ἑβδόμου ἀιῶνος, *ΔΙΕΕ* 5 (1900) 219–227; Gregorovius, Mirabilien der Stadt Athen, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos. Histor. Classe* (1881) I, 348.

28 S. Vryonis, The Ghost, op. cit., 46–49; K. Biris, Τά Ἀττικά τοῦ Ἐβλιγιά Τσελεμπῆ, *Ἀθηναϊκά* 6 (1957) 319, 1 (1958).

Captions for the Map of Byzantine Athens

N Churches

N.1 Agora. Hagioi Apostoloi (1)
N.2 Agora. Hagios Nikolaos (2)
N.3 Roman Agora. Church beneath the Fethiye Mosque (3)
N.4 Hagioi Apostoloi ‘sta marmara’ (8)
N.5 Hagia Aikaterine (4)
N.6 Our Lady ‘the Athenian’ in the Parthenon
N.7 Chapels in the Propylaia (6)
N.8 Hagioi Anargyroi in Psyrri Square (7)
N.9 Basilica of the Asklepieion
N.11 Hagioi Asomatoi near ‘Theseion’ (9)
N.12 Asomatos sta Skalia (10)
N.14 Hagios Georgios Alexandrinos (13)
N.17 Panagia Gorgoepekoos (14)
N.19 Hagios Dionysios Areopagites (16)
N.20 Profitis Ilias in the Staropazaro (17)
N.22 Hagioi Theodoroi on Nikis Street (18)
N.23 Hagioi Theodoroi (19)
N.24 Hephaisteion Hagios Georgios (20)
N.25 Hagios Thomas (21)
N.26 Hagios Ioannes o Theologos, Plaka (23)
N.30 *Martyrion* of Hagios Leonides (Ilissos basilica) (22)
N.31 Kapnikarea (28)
N.32 Panagia Krystalliotissa

N.35 Hagia Marina (31)
N.36 Megale Panagia (32)
N.37 Metamorphosis tou Soteros, Plaka (33)
N.38 Hagios Nikolaos Rangavas (34)
N.42 Panagia stin Petra
N.45 Soteira Lykodemou (38)
N.47 Sotera of Kottakis (37)
N.48 Taxiarchs church in the Roman Agora (39)
N.49 Hagios Filippos (40)
N.50 Hagios Ioannes o Prodromos (24)

M Monuments of antiquity in the medieval city

M.1 The Parthenon (5)
M.2 Post-Herulian wall
M.3 The Erechtheion
M.4 Hephaisteion 'Theseion'
M.5 Temple of Athena Nike
M.6 Temple of Olympian Zeus
M.7 Temple of Artemis Agrotera
M.8 Gate of the Roman Agora. Archegetis
M.9 Gate of the Library of Hadrian (11)
M.10 Horologion of Andronikus
M.11 Giants in the Athenian Agora
M.12 Stoa of Attalos
M.13 Agoranomeion
M.14 Odeon of Herodes Atticus
M.15 Theatre of Dionysos
M.16 Stoa of Eumenes
M.17 Asklepieion
M.18 Monument of Thrasyllos

M.19 Choregic columns
M.20 Monument of Philopappos
M.21 Gate of Hadrian
M.23 Monument of Lysicrates
M.24 Columns close to the church of H. Aikaterine

Γ Excavations in the region south of the Acropolis

Γ.1 Excavation at 18–21 Makrygianni Street
Γ.2 Excavation at Lempesi and Porinou Street
Γ.3 Excavation at 3 Makri Street
Γ.4 Excavation at 10 Sygrou Street
Γ.5 Excavations on the Dionysiou Areopagitou Street
Γ.6, 7, 8 Excavations for the Acropolis Station of the Metro of Athens
Γ.9 Excavation on the Dionysiou Areopagitou and Makri Streets
Γ.11 Excavation within the precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus
Γ.12–15, Γ. 38, 39 Excavation in the Makrygianni area
Γ.16 Excavation on the R. Galli and Karyatidon Street
Γ.17 Excavation at 33 R. Galli Street
Γ.23, Γ.32 Excavation in the Makrygianni area
Γ.24, Γ.40 Excavation in the Theatre of Dionysos
Γ.25–30 Excavation on the Dionysiou Areopagitou Street
Γ.31 Excavation at 16 Kallisperi Street
Γ.33 Excavation in the Odeon of Herodes Atticus
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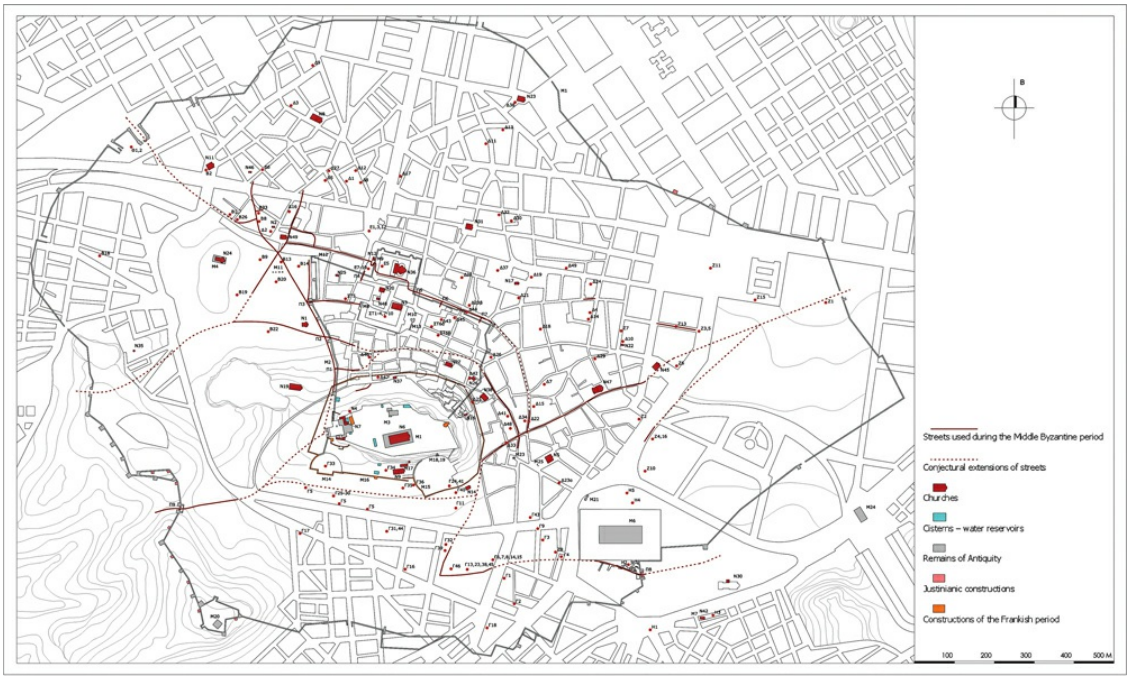

Pl Topographical map of medieval Athens.